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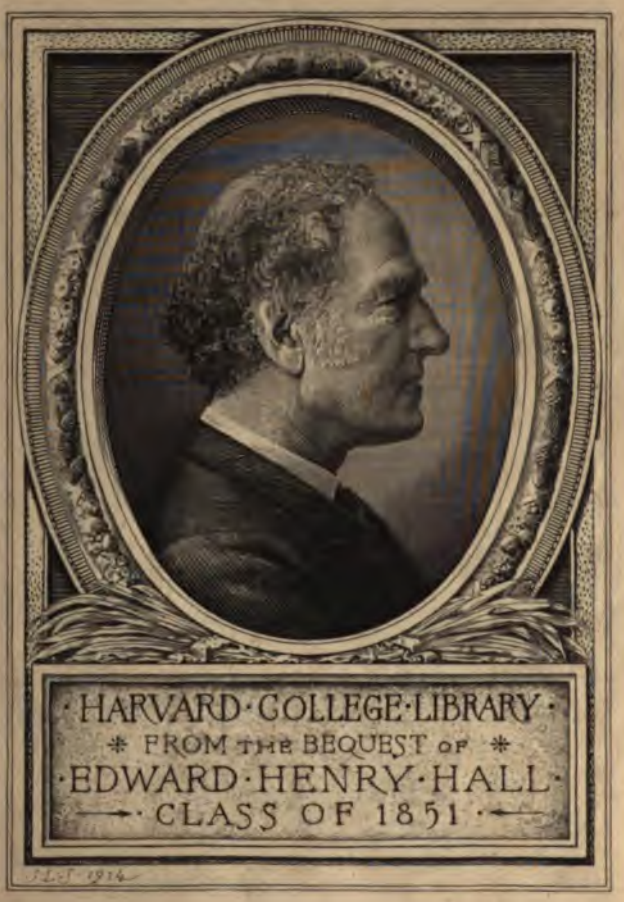
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JAMES HUTTON.

Born [illegible] Sept.r 1715 ... Died 3.d May 1795

MEMOIRS

OF

JAMES HUTTON;

COMPRISING

THE ANNALS OF HIS LIFE,

AND

CONNECTION WITH

THE UNITED BRETHREN.

BY

DANIEL BENHAM.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

The information contained in the following Memoirs, is derived—

1. From gleanings out of a large collection, made in the course of a number of years, from manuscript and printed sources;
2. A manuscript History, drawn up by the Rev. John Plitt, the late keeper of the archives at Herrnhut;
3. Correspondence of the renewed Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel;
4. Diaries of the Brethren in London; and, chiefly,
5. From an extensive selection of diaries and correspondence in the archives at Herrnhut.

For the use of these materials acknowledgments are specially due to William Mallalieu, Esq., treasurer, and the gentlemen of the Committee of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; the Rev. Mr. Miller, Minister, and the Elders' Conference of the Brethren in London; and the Rev. Mr. von Schweinitz, the present Keeper of the archives in Herrnhut.

Thanks are also due to the Rev. Mr. Clemens, of Baildon, Yorkshire; the Rev. Mr. Eberlé, of Devonport; and other friends favourable to the undertaking, who have rendered indispensable assistance in the production of this work.

In making these acknowledgments, it must be distinctly understood that none of the friends, to whom the compiler avows his obligations, are in the slightest degree responsible for any portion of the contents of these Memoirs; which

are given as nearly as possible in the words of the original documents from whence they were drawn.

For an account of the Portrait the Reader is referred to p. 544. It was engraved by Mr. W. Dickes, No. 5, Old Fish Street, Doctors' Commons.

It is thought that when the Reader shall have perused this volume, he will possess a considerable amount of authentic and valuable information, never before presented to his view; much that is calculated to yield instruction, and much that will impart a knowledge of facts; which, while they exhibit the life and character of an extraordinary man, also set forth the early United or Moravian Brethren, not as they have been represented in some quarters, as unworthy of existence in society; but, as men, who, constrained by the love of Christ, steadily maintained the course of an exemplary life, and self-denying exertion in extending His kingdom upon the earth—a course worthy the imitation of every lover of mankind.

THE WISE WILL REMEMBER THAT FRAILTY IS INSEPARABLE FROM HUMANITY.

DANIEL BENHAM.

No. 18, Regent Square, London,
9th December, 1856.

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MEMOIRS OF JAMES HUTTON.

As preliminary information is requisite to understand correctly the political condition of a country in relation to which the details of a particular reign are about to be described, so it appears necessary that some prefatory statement should be made of the circumstances, social, moral, or religious, which have formed the character and overruled the actions of an individual, the incidents of whose life are to be narrated—it seems therefore proper to present the reader with a brief historical sketch of religion from the time of the Reformation, as an introduction to this memoir of a religious man.

The Reformation in England under King Henry VIII. was a separation from the Papacy, as a foreign and unconstitutional power, and had reference much less to doctrine and mode of worship than to church government; and yet, even in this, the episcopal hierarchy was still retained in close connection with the constitution of the state. A reformation of doctrine followed after, under the reign of King Edward VI., with the co-operation of foreigners, chiefly theologians, who nearly all, like Archbishop Cranmer and others, adhered to the Helvetic view of the Lord's supper. Hence the English church became a part of the evangelical "Reformed" church, although differing in mode of worship and government from the continental churches.

The Scotch church, founded by the instrumentality of the zealous reformer John Knox, and other men educated at Geneva, became a strictly "Reformed" church, not in doctrine only, but also in her external form and ecclesiastical

constitution. In the Scotch church the presbyterian form was adopted, in the church of England the episcopalian system was imposed; the former exhibiting the greatest separation from, and the latter maintaining the nearest possible approximation to papistical forms, while both agreed in a vehement repudiation of the papal power.

In the year 1560, the Scotch Reformed presbyterian church, organized after the model of the apostolical congregations, and according to the constitution of the church of Geneva, was legally recognized in the General Assembly by the voice of the people; and so also in England the Reformed episcopal church in her 39 Articles was legally acknowledged by the Uniformity Act of Parliament of 1559, at the will of the sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, upon the basis of the ancient Roman Church and its received usages—supplemented under that Queen by the stringent act of Parliament, of the year 1572. All which took place prior to the death of the German reformers, and before the conclusion of the Council of Trent, which defined the creed of the modern Papal Church in 1563. The opposition of the non-conformists was very soon exhibited in England, for they sensibly felt themselves oppressed by the political and ecclesiastical uniformity which was attempted to be enforced upon the nation; and hence a struggle for liberty both in Church and State, which the Government strove to quell, and which in some degree found relief in numerous emigrations, voluntary and compulsory, to the North American Colonies. For many transported themselves thither, in order to enjoy unmolested freedom from outward ecclesiastical restrictions, rather than from political controul. This happened between the years 1558 and 1625, under the sway of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. But outward commotions in the Church did not begin until about the close of the period of the Reformation, during the reign of the second Stuart, King Charles I.; from the year 1625 to 1649. The non-conformists stood in intimate connection with the stern spirit of civil liberty, which opposed the growing despotism of the sovereign, and raised that general agitation which resulted in the fearful revolution that changed for a time the monarchical into a republican form of government.

The revolutionary turbulence in the state, was strongly felt by the king and his court, who were apparently leaning

to Popery. The Episcopal Church, under her leader Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, settling down more and more upon old traditional usages, strenuously opposed every reformatory movement, that was in conformity with the Churches of Geneva and Scotland. On the other hand, the Puritans, (by which name a majority of non-conformists was then called), pursued another course in their efforts to purify the Church. They were ready to do this, filled as they were with republican notions regarding political affairs, either by force of arms, or by separating from the established Church, and forming churches and congregations independent on her. Encouraged by the civil commotions of the nation, every one being left to the bent of his own mind, the last named alternative was eventually followed. Hence, from among the Puritans, gradually arose congregations separated from the national English Episcopal Church, such as the English Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Friends, &c. &c. All of which at a later period, were by way of distinction from the established Church, classed together under the general appellation of Dissenters, each of these advocating one or more favourite opinions on points of doctrine, modes of worship, or forms of church government.

The Presbyterians laid great stress upon the Helvetic and Scottish doctrine of predestination, church government by presbyters, church discipline, and simplicity in their worship. About the year 1581, the Congregationalists separated from them, demanding a distinct and independent government for each congregation; and decidedly gained ground after the beginning of the civil war in 1642. These are known in history as religious and political agitators, whose views were based upon the conception of absolute Christian freedom, and ecclesiastical independence. These views, prevailing among a large portion of the people, were made use of by ambitious men for political purposes, in the promotion of their own selfish ends.

Distinct from the above, the followers of the peace-loving George Fox, formed themselves into the congregation of Friends, better known under the appellation of Quakers.

The ecclesiastical structure of all these denominations became more fully developed in later years. After the death of King Charles I., and during the protectorate of Cromwell, a calm succeeded. There was a compulsory,

and not a legal toleration:—toleration was granted afterwards, but not through the power of the sword. At this period, such was the state of society, that it seemed as though every existing Church constitution would degenerate into a general chaos of dissociated sects, and that England * would be distinguished in this respect from the rest of Western Christendom.

The restoration of the monarchy in 1660, under the royal house of the Stuarts, was followed by the re-establishment of the Episcopal Church, about a century after it had been first nationally established. The bishops in their convocations laboured chiefly for the external establishment of ecclesiastical principles; and the acts of the Legislature, the Corporation and Test Acts, passed respectively in 1660 and 1673, served to exclude Protestant Dissenters and Papists from government and certain civil offices, and were intended at the same time to secure the nation as well against the encroachments of the republican, as of the monarchical party; danger from the latter being especially apprehended through Louis XIV. of France and the Popes abroad, and Charles II. and James II. at home, but particularly during the reign of the latter in 1685.

The Revolution in 1688, by which the Stuarts lost the crown, and William Prince of Orange ascended the throne, and which excluded every popish successor from the sovereignty, was, properly speaking, only the establishment of principles accordant with the universal desire of the nation. In the same spirit, the granting of general religious liberty soon followed, by the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689; which was a national declaration that the high Episcopal Church should continue in itself and in its position to the state, the Established Church, as it had been originally settled in 1560 and 1660; and that every other church should be free and independent in its doctrine and constitution, although not supported by the state. This legal enactment of toleration bore testimony to the more liberal and sound spirit of those days, as contrasted with the contrary spirit which had manifested itself in the legal establishment of the high Church in 1660.

A change had indeed come over the spirit of the nation.

* "Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos."—*Virgil.*

Instead of discord and wild fanaticism, soberness and calm reflection ensued. Two distinct principles, however, are apparent; the one, directly opposed to the former extravagant imaginations; leaning towards monarchical institutions in church and state; strongly attached to established forms and usages, and everything politically called legal; often insisting more upon outward forms than the practice of true piety and christian virtue, and always retaining a decided aversion to every other ecclesiastical system or church; and, when in power ever oppressive towards those who dissented from its dictates. Opposed to this was the other, the more liberal principle, allied to the republican spirit in politics, manifest in the Act of Toleration.

At the same time, there appeared among all parties a sudden transition from religious enthusiasm to a cold reasoning spirit; an external adherence to the existing dogmas of the Church, combined with an internal disrelish for vital godliness; the preaching of a philosophical and moral religion instead of the pure doctrines of Christianity. About the same period a desire gained ground among many for a system of religious and moral truths, independent of Christian revelation. This was termed natural religion. After the restoration of the monarchy the Free-thinkers arose, who attacked the dignity of Christ, together with the whole system of Christianity. Their attacks upon true religion, prompted some theologians of a philosophical turn of mind to write apologetic pamphlets in defence of Christianity, in which they attempted to prove, by its miraculous introduction to the world, the divine inspiration of the doctrines which were disbelieved by the Free-thinkers. The views of the latter, however, found more support among the people than those of the apologists.*

In this state of things the Papacy, which never sleeps, and

* The open attack on Christianity, was afterwards combined with mockery and derision by Bayle, (perhaps an engine of the Roman priesthood to bring discredit upon Protestantism), and Voltaire, perhaps under disgust at the puerilities and monstrosities of the Papacy, within whose pale he was both born and bred. Protestants should likewise never forget that the elder Socinus was born in Italy, where with his mother's milk he imbibed all those principles which are abhorrent to the Protestant mind; and that his whole life from 1547, indicates a preconcerted effort to undermine the evangelic faith.

which had a great supporter in King James II., himself a zealous devotee of that ruthless apostasy,—by the indefatigable labour, and under colour of the outwardly strict life of its missionaries, who then swarmed in England, made rapid and successful assaults upon the established Church. This induced some of her pious ministers, (for God never leaves himself without witnesses) to consult together, with the hope of checking such aggressions, and about the year 1686-7, or 8, two or three of them began to form "Religious Societies," as they were called. These mostly consisted of small numbers of young people, who between the regular church services assembled in the vestries, under certain regulations and the careful superintendence of their ministers, and with forms of prayer and admonitions to christian virtue, sought their own salvation according to the best of their knowledge. By these small bodies, which soon increased, the Church of England was in some measure freed from the slander of the Papists, who at all times maligned that Church as not consisting of honest and pious people. In London, where these societies were most numerous, they engaged in nothing without the sanction of the bishop, who regarded them with a favourable eye.

It will easily be imagined that under such defection from Christian verity as above related, the social and moral condition of the country became lamentably debased; and indeed so profligate was the state of society, that it was deemed necessary to make a united effort to endeavour to repress the blasphemy, profanation, drunkenness, gaming, and debauchery which everywhere prevailed. Hence arose the "Society for Reformation of Manners," which was formed about the year 1691, for the purpose of effecting a national reformation by enforcing the laws of the land upon all who defied them. This Society was much encouraged by King William, and still more so by Mary his queen, and was greatly aided in its exertions by the "Religious Societies." A few years later some excellent persons among the clergy and laity connected with the "Religious Societies," perceiving that the growth of immorality and vice was chiefly owing to gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian religion, united together and originated the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." By the combined efforts of these Societies, a great change was effected, in the course of a few years, upon the

outwardly moral condition of the country; but like all human institutions of the kind, they did not reach the core of the disease, and gradually degenerated into mere matters of form. The religious principle however, although nearly smothered by the worldly spirit which succeeded to the fervour of their first love, did not become entirely extinct in many upright and sincere members of the "Religious Societies;" but their efforts were formal, and devoid of that real heart's blessing which alone could enliven them. Hence, to use the language of Hutton himself, in a short paper he wrote on the subject of the "awakening in England," their "hearts became cold and dry, they sought salvation through their good works, in their attendance at church, in their honourable life, in the partaking of the sacrament, in their own care and labour; and remained slaves of the devil, of the world and of sin, and strove from day to day, by the performing of all the means proposed to them for salvation, just as though it depended upon self-denial, purification, &c. In short, they were tossed about like a ship in a storm by every wind of doctrine; for of the death of Jesus, of his merits, of his reconciliation, of the peace and reconciliation which he had earned on the cross, of these nothing was heard."

It must not, however, be forgotten that there remained a considerable amount of the religious element among the Dissenters, who, bearing up under the sufferings to which, with their outcast ministers, they had been exposed, sternly persevered in maintaining their principles; although at this period, having proved their importance as an influential portion of the nation, and having been flattered and fawned upon by the clergy, they had sunk into worldliness and the icy region of Arianism,—there was yet within many of them, as well as among the clergy and laity in the established Church, the leaven of an inward yearning for a spiritual life, amidst the surrounding ungodliness and profligacy which prevailed.

This much will suffice to indicate the state of society in England, at the time when the subject of the following memoir was born.

JAMES HUTTON was born in London on the 3rd of September 1715, of parents whose rank in life was genteel. The father, the Rev. John Hutton, a worthy and respected clergyman of the Church of England, was trained at Eton College, and proceeded from that institution, as one of its senior scholars, to King's College, Cambridge, in the summer of 1694, where he graduated in Arts as Bachelor in 1698, and as Master in 1702. Being unable from conscientious scruples to take the necessary oaths, he felt himself obliged to resign his church preferment, and engaging a house in College Street, Westminster, took several boys of that school to board with him. In 1730, he edited Dr. Stanhope's translation from the Greek of Bishop Andrewes' devotions.*

The mother Elizabeth, whose maiden name was Ayscough, was granddaughter of the Rev. James Ayscough, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and rector of Burton-Coggles, Lincolnshire, whose sister Hannah married Isaac Newton, of Woolthorpe in the same county, and was by him mother of the illustrious philosopher, Sir Isaac Newton,—as shewn by the pedigree given below.† From the arms on the seal

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* Nicholls' Anecdotes of Mr. Bowyer, p. 499, where he is called *James*.

† Robert Newton = James Ayscough = —Blythe, of Stroxton.

Isaac Newton, of Woolthorpe Linc. = Hannah.

Rev. James Ayscough, = *uncle to Sir Isaac.*

SIR ISAAC NEWTON, only child.

—— Ayscough of = —— *1st cousin to Sir Isaac.*

Elizabeth, *2nd cousin to Sir Isaac.* = Rev. John Hutton, of College Street, Westminster.

JAMES HUTTON, Esq., of Pimlico, *3rd cousin to Sir Isaac on the mother's side.*

Compiled from Sir David Brewster's Memoirs of Sir Isaac Newton, Edit. May 1855, two vols. 8vo., Edinburgh; and a paper, entitled, "New Anecdotes of Sir Isaac Newton, by J. H. (the above James Hutton,) a gentleman of his mother's family," inserted in the Annual Register for 1776, vol. xix. p. 24—27, under the heading "Characters."

affixed to the will of the senior Hutton, (argent on a fesse sable, three stags heads caboshed, or,) he appears to have descended from the Huttons of Penrith in Cumberland, and Goldsborough in Yorkshire; the head of which family, Thomas of Penrith, bore those arms in the 4th year of King Richard II., and his descendants in the year 1664, of Galle in Cumberland, were represented by John, son of William Hutton, then aged thirty-nine years, and Elizabeth daughter of Christopher Lancaster of Stockbridge, Westmoreland,* but how he was connected with the pedigree of that family does not appear.

The father of James Hutton, who, although he had conscientiously declined performing the official parts of his clerical function, was a devout and pious man; and brought up his son not only in a moral but religious course of life, and ensured to him a good education at the royal school of Westminster, with the great advantage of paternal guidance at home, in the society of the youths under his father's care.†

Competent with such an education to enter into an apprenticeship requiring at that time literary knowledge, he was bound apprentice to the eminent bookseller Mr. William Innys, of the west end of St. Paul's Churchyard, with whom, about the year 1735, Mr. Richard Manby, afterwards of great eminence on Ludgate Hill, entered into partnership. They are both frequently mentioned by Mr. Nicholls in his "Literary Anecdotes." ‡ With these he faithfully served until the expiration of his apprenticeship.

In his narrative of the awakening in England, Hutton relates concerning the Religious Societies,—with which he himself had been connected, his father holding one in his own house,—that they had so settled down into lifelessness, that the majority of their members "were altogether slumbering or dead souls, who cared for nothing but their comfort in this world, and as they had once joined this connection they were willing to continue in this respectable pastime on

* Heralds' Visitations in the College of Arms.

† In the year 1720 John Hutton, probably an elder brother of James, was admitted a scholar of St. Peter's college at the age of twelve, but died before he had completed his studies there. *Welch*—List of scholars of St. Peter's college, Westminster, &c. 1788, p. 104.

‡ In 1712, Mr. Wm. Innys was alone; in 1720, the title of the firm was Wm. and Jno. Innys; in 1730, Mr. Wm. Innys was again alone until 1735; from 1735 to 1739 he was joined with Mr. Manby, and in 1741 he was again alone.—*Nicholls, Literary Anecdotes.*

Sunday evenings, by which at small expense they could enjoy the pleasure, and fancy themselves better than the rest of the world who did not do the like."

"Thus it continued until towards the end of the year 1729, when several students at Oxford covenanted with each other to live piously, and seek the one thing needful. They often met, rose early, prayed much, consulted together upon the state of their souls, fasted much, admonished every one, and zealously struggled against sin; gave liberally to the poor, visited the sick and imprisoned, and endeavoured to employ all their hours and their whole life in the service of God and their neighbours; at the same time attending to their studies." For the purpose of regulating their time, they agreed to live according to a certain systematic method, upon which they laid great stress, and on which account they were by their enemies called "Methodists." The world had belied and calumniated them, as is commonly the case among young students in the Universities. Their whole doctrine consisted in the renovation of their nature by the Spirit of God, and in their strivings after the new birth, which was to proceed by abstinence from evil thoughts and actions, until by degrees the man had become renewed. This plan was followed by some very strictly, but most of them became weary. All this time however, the Saviour, the dear Lamb, the sinners' friend, the reconciler of the whole world by his blood, remained unproclaimed and unbelieved among them. They were certainly orthodox as far as was observable, in everything that savoured of Arianism and Socinianism, which were the orthodoxy of the day; but their hearts were not specially impressed with the death of Jesus and justification through his blood. These Methodists, whose origin was similar to that of the Pietists in Germany, whom they resembled in their object and method of proceeding, and in their principal points of doctrine, were held in estimation by some of the Religious Societies with whom they associated.

It happened in the providence of God, that while visiting some of his school-fellows at Oxford, Hutton accidentally met Charles Wesley, through whom he was introduced to his brother John, the leader of these methodists. At this time, full of youthful vigour, open, generous, and free, and of a remarkable sprightly turn of mind, Hutton does not appear to have been affected with the conduct of these pious brothers beyond respect and admiration of their self-denying de- ut-

ness; and, in the hope that at some future time their acquaintance might be beneficial to him in his trade. Understanding that they sometimes came to London to visit their methodist brethren, and lodged at the house of their brother Samuel, a minister and schoolmaster who lived next door to his father, Hutton invited them to his father's house the next time they came. This was when they were about to proceed to Georgia under the auspices of "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts," to preach to the Indians and settlers in that newly established colony. They were most hospitably received by the family; and during this visit John Wesley preached very solemnly and earnestly upon the words, "One thing is needful," namely, the renovation of fallen man, &c. By the discourse and the pious walk and demeanour of the brothers Wesley, an awakening was brought about of Hutton and his sister. At the house of the elder Hutton the awakened thenceforward associated every Sunday evening, where this venerable man read, prayed, and sung with them, and each went home rejoicing in that which they had enjoyed for the benefit of their souls. This was a sort of preparation for the general awakening that afterwards took place. Hutton was much impressed, and as he had lived very wildly in the world his awakening became the more earnest; and so great was his affection towards the Wesleys, who had thus been instrumental in arousing him to a sense of his condition as a sinner, that he felt a great desire to accompany them to Georgia. William Delamotte, the son of a merchant, was also impressed with the same desire to leave all behind; and among the little band of friends thus brought together, a truly apostolic spirit seemed to prevail. It was settled that they should proceed on the voyage; but Hutton, whose apprenticeship had not yet expired, and another of the party, were left behind. Hutton accompanied the Wesleys and Ingham* to the ship at Gravesend, on Tuesday, October 14, 1735, to give them a loving farewell; and as Mr. John Wesley relates in his journal, "Wednesday and Thursday we spent with one or two of our friends, partly on board and partly on shore, in exhorting one another 'to shake off every weight, and to run with patience the race set before us.'" They

S. W.

* Rev. Benj. Ingham, one of the original band of Methodists at Oxford; who, after his return from America, became a chief instrument in the revival of religion in Yorkshire.

had on board a number of German missionaries, with whom the Wesleys and Ingham at once made acquaintance, and the simple dress and demeanour of their venerable bishop, who was said to be a carpenter, and always appeared cheerful, greatly struck and pleased Hutton, who imagined himself living in apostolic times; for passages which he read in the New Testament of self-denial, &c., he treasured up; and now all that it related appeared possible, and he feared nothing that it enjoined.

At the expiration of Hutton's apprenticeship, he commenced business as a bookseller on his own account, in a shop called "the Bible and Sun," a little to the westward of Temple Bar, where he at once held religious meetings, at which Squire Thorold, a very worthy gentleman of fortune, who was not ashamed of the Gospel nor its followers, would sometimes expound, and pray for the work of the Lord. Hutton also engaged a room in Nettleton Court, Aldersgate Street, where he met a small society every week for mutual edification. He was at the same time a very active promoter, if not the sole author of an establishment for Christian fellowship, at a house in Islington, but was obliged to give it up for want of proper persons to conduct it.

From the time of their embarkation, Charles Wesley, who entertained a particular affection for Hutton, kept up with him an interesting correspondence by letter, and John Wesley transmitted to him his diary of the voyage to Georgia, all of which Hutton read to several pious people, whose acquaintance he had formed in his zeal for his own conversion. The reading of this correspondence and diary gave occasion for the establishment of a society, which although it had no connection with any of those already formed contained some of their members. By this society, whose meetings were held in Hutton's house, a connexion with many pious people was begun and continued. With these he formed a Poor-box Society; whose members met every Wednesday, each subscribing one penny a week, towards a charitable fund for all descriptions of poor people. The number of subscribers was between two and three hundred, members of different societies, which had existed from the time of King James II. From this society another arose very similar to it, only so arranged that each member attended in his own society on the Sunday. At the same time, Hutton became acquainted with several methodist students in Oxford, to

whom he had been commended by Charles Wesley. With these he corresponded, and this correspondence he also read to his friends. When these students came to London, he presented them to such of his acquaintance as were impressed with a pious zeal in the Lord's cause. Moreover, at the recommendation of others, they obtained leave to proclaim the word of God in the pulpits of London. This was diligently made known by Hutton and his colleagues, and the attendance of inquiring minds was thereby secured.

On Saturday, the 4th of December, 1736, Charles Wesley reached London from Georgia, and Hutton, hearing of his arrival, traced him to Mr. Vernon's, and conveyed him thence to the house of his father, Wesley's good old friend and host, in College Street, Westminster, in whose family he was received as a child of their own restored from the dead, for the ship in which he had returned from Georgia had been reported as lost.

Among the awakened ministers who visited the metropolis was George Whitefield, who, at the instigation of John Wesley, had written to his brother Charles, on the 22nd of December, offering himself to go to Georgia. Whitefield was young and modest, but an earnest preacher. He said little, however, of the Saviour, and of justification through him, but forcibly insisted on the necessity of being born again, transformation, &c. In this way he arrested the attention of many, particularly of the young, and led them to seek the salvation of their souls. They fasted, they wept, and they strove; but how salvation was to be effected they knew not.

The society which had been commenced and enlarged by Hutton and his friends, gained many souls through young Whitefield, and other students, whose preaching was remarkably impressive, and they continued after the plan of the methodists to visit the sick, to pray fervently and frequently, and practise their self-denying austerities.

It having become generally known, that Whitefield had determined to proceed as a missionary to Georgia, which was considered by many as a disinterested matter, he became very popular. Hence several gentlemen who had the charge of charity schools that were supported by voluntary contributions, induced him to plead their cause, and collections for the benefit of the schools were made at the end of each sermon. This he did in a manner so impressive, that large sums were

collected, especially in small coin, manifesting that it came from the pockets of the poor. A well meaning gentleman, impressed with the effect of Whitefield's preaching, published a paragraph in the newspapers, stating that the young minister who could have obtained a good benefice in England, but had declined every offer of preferment, would shortly proceed to Georgia; and that he had preached for a school on a certain day, adding the amount collected on the occasion in copper money. Hundreds of people now became desirous of hearing Whitefield, and the patrons of the schools having great influence, induced the clergy to allow him the use of their pulpits, to which otherwise they would have objected, on account of the concourse of people who followed him.

By his powerful sermons, many were moved and awakened. When they applied to him personally for advice, he, being about to leave England, recommended them to the society raised by Hutton and his friends, by which it was much increased, and so extensively made known, that even the wardens of the original societies entreated Whitefield to preach their quarterly sermons before them. By this means, the elder and new societies came into a more intimate connection, and with the preaching of Whitefield, caused a new life to spring up among the members. This, however, was but half a life, for as yet they knew nothing of Jesus the sinner's friend.

One of the old societies commenced an early morning service, and engaged a minister, who at six o'clock every Sunday, administered the holy communion; out of the money collected on such occasions he was paid, and the overplus was applied to the support of a school. This example was extensively followed, and many pious persons from all parts of London availed themselves of these early services. One aged and infirm clergyman, whose incumbency included the enjoyment of a stipend for an occasional sermon, willingly accepted the offer of a gratuitous sermon from the methodist ministers, one of whom occupied his pulpit every Tuesday, in Great St. Helen's Church, Bishopsgate Street. This minister being recommended by Whitefield, the members of the new society flocked to hear him. Soon afterwards, Whitefield sailed for Georgia, and at the same time, John Wesley returned to England, landing at Deal on the 1st of February, 1738. During his stay in

London, he preached in the above-named church, and his serious way of address was much admired, so that several thousands of awakened souls who had been gathered by Whitefield attended his services; remaining however within the pale of the Church of England.

We have now reached the period when the Moravian Brethren became known to our beloved country. As their influence was instrumental under God, in effecting a radical change in the mind of Hutton, and indeed eventually in the religious mind of the nation at large, it will be proper to relate the circumstances that led to their establishment in England, and as it is an important chapter in the history of the Church, the less need will there be to apologize for giving it somewhat in detail.

It is not foreign to the object of this sketch, to introduce the question: At what time did the *ancient* church of the Brethren become known in England? It may be replied; probably not at all at the time of her existence in Bohemia and Moravia. For although the congregation of foreign Protestants in London, whose superintendent, during the time of King Edward VI., was the Polish nobleman John à Lasco, somewhat resembled the church of the Brethren in the strictness of its discipline among its communicant members; yet, that it stood in any connection with that Church cannot be proved; neither was à Lasco acquainted with them until his return to his native country, after an exile of about nineteen years, which was shortly before his death, in 1560. Probably, the first Moravian brother who visited Great Britain was the Bohemian outcast John Amos Comenius, who, being invited to assist in improving the educational system, came to London in the year 1641. Though his stay was very short, owing to the unsettled state of the nation, yet he undoubtedly formed many personal acquaintances. His knowledge of the English churches, and sympathy with their unhappy struggles, and his information concerning the restoration of Charles II. may be clearly seen from his subsequent writings. The dedication of his "Ratio Disciplinæ," in the same year, 1660, proves the confidence with which, in an almost prophetic spirit, he entrusted the expiring Church of the Brethren to the care of the Anglo-Episcopal Church.

From this time, according to the combined testimony of the writings of Jablonski,* and the "Acta Fratrum in Anglia," a mutual acquaintance increased, and the English Episcopal Church began to render external aid to the remnant of the Unity of the Brethren, harassed by the emissaries of the Roman Flamen. Hartmann, senior of the brethren at Lissa, in Poland, addressed a letter to his younger brother Paul, then in priest's orders in Oxford, and rector of Shillingford in Berkshire, supplicating assistance, in 1683, and not in vain. Jablonski, who before the 12th of January 1700-1, had translated Dr. Woodward's Account of the rise and progress of Religious Societies in London, &c., which was dedicated to the Princess of Brandenburg, afterwards of Hesse Cassel,† had acquired a thorough knowledge of the English Episcopal Church, at the period when his negotiations concerning an union between Lutherans and Calvinists were proceeding at the Court of Berlin, in 1701, and following years. And after the failure of this attempt, he repeatedl from the year 1714, appealed to England for help, on behal the Polish branch of the Unity of the ancient Brethre which he himself was a bishop; nor was his appeal in v

On these occasions, the ancient episcopal Church o Brethren, through his mediation, became extensively k in England, finding favour with many, and opp from others. The Archbishop of Canterbury had d thorough examination of the disputed point co their episcopal succession, on which Jablonski in 1717 endeavoured to give him the information he and from a letter of Jablonski to Count Zinzendo it appears that "the archbishop expressed h satisfied." Further results from this corresp unknown. There was probably little inquiry n ing the Church of the ancient Brethren, eithe or in Germany—her renewal was to be effect became more prominent. The account of th before the English reader in the histories of published by Crantz and Holmes. Very s event, the Church of the Brethren became England, where she was afterwards publicl and thus the hope of the aged Comenius

* Court Chaplain to the King of
† Dr. Woodward's Account, p. 2

many other things which he had said and written, in hope against hope. Zinzendorf, in his "Jeremiah," 1739, thus wrote:—"This Jeremiah (Comenius) closed the gate of his Church with tears; surviving, in his opinion, his people. He was mistaken. The congregations of God will never be forsaken by Him; they are eternal."

When the colony of Moravian emigrants, descendants of the ancient Brethren, had, through the assistance of Count Zinzendorf, been settled in Upper Lusatia in 1722, and the congregation at Herrnhut was established; many messengers were dispatched from thence, with an historical account of the work of the Lord in this evangelical Church, for the information of the Count's friends. One of these messengers was sent to England in 1728, to the Countess Schaumberg Lippe, then in attendence upon the Queen consort of George II., and to the court chaplain Ziegenhagen, from Halle. It was hoped that by this medium a connection might be formed with the University of Oxford, and with the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which was known to be in correspondence with Professor Franké, at Halle.

This history of the Brethren, had been previously requested, probably by the Countess Lippe, and it was now determined that it should be translated into Latin. Letters of recommendation for that purpose were procured through the assistance of Dr. Buddeus. In the meanwhile, the deputation to England was appointed. It consisted of the three Moravian brethren, Wenzel Neisser, John Töltschig, and David Nitschmann, who having received a letter from Buddeus, proceeded on their journey on the 7th of June, by way of Jena, where some of the students translated the history and letters above referred to. Buddeus gave them a letter of introduction to Ziegenhagen, the court chaplain. The deputation, on its arrival in London, was received by the Countess Lippe with much joy; but Ziegenhagen was cold and reserved, and no opportunity was offered of an introduction, either to the Queen, or at Oxford. The Brethren returned on the 7th of September to Herrnhut, and on the next day, the report of the journey, and several letters which they had brought with them from London, were read to the congregation.

After a lapse of five or six years, the Brethren revisited England. The various deputations above referred to, of

the years 1727 and 1728, led to a two-fold activity at Herrnhut, in Christendom and among the heathen. From Herrnhut, the first missionaries to the heathen went forth in 1732, and in 1733, and several congregations sprung up in foreign countries. In the spring of the year 1735, a company of ten missionaries, under the conduct of Töltschig, reached London on their way to Georgia. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg had preceded them, and now awaited their arrival in that city. The object of their voyage was the establishment of a colony in Georgia. This was the first step towards the settlements of the Brethren in North America, and proved decidedly favourable for their introduction to England.

The Saxon Government, in 1733, had issued a decree, commanding the sect of the Schwenckfeldters to expatriate themselves.* This decree affected among others those of their num-

* Gaspar Schwenckfeldt was a Silesian nobleman, born in 1590 a
castle of Ossig, in the duchy of Lignitz. He was for some years c
lor to the Duke; but afterwards, turning his attention to the stud
Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, he joined the Pro
Subsequently he adopted peculiar opinions for himself, and bega
pagate them in Silesia, and in Strasburg, Augsburg, and other
cities. Everywhere he encountered the enmity of the zealot
sects. His morals were pure, his piety fervent, and his si
questionable. He believed that he received his doctrines fro
divine inspiration. He differed from Luther in three prin
1. With regard to the eucharist, he inverted the words "thi
and would have them understood "my body is this;" that
bread which is broken and consumed, a true and real food
and satisfies the soul. "My blood is this," such in its ef
which strengthens and refreshes the heart. 2. With r
cacy of the Divine Word, he denied that the external v
mitted to writing in the Scriptures, possesses the p
luminating and renewing the mind; and he ascribe
internal word, which, according to his notion, was Ch
would not allow Christ's human nature in its exalted
creature, or a created substance, which denominati
infinitely beneath its dignity. He passed his life i
Germany to propagate his doctrines; and, in spite
by his eloquence and zeal he obtained a great nur
died at Ulm in 1651. He had written a numbe
which have been frequently reprinted. The Churc
feldt suffered persecution from the Papal Churc
common with the Moravian, Waldensian, and
Persecution followed them while under the

ber who for eight years had resided on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, at Berthelsdorf, and the neighbouring townland of Goerlitz, amounting in all to about 20 families, or 180 souls. These people understanding, perhaps from Zinzendorf himself, that certain parties in England were desirous of obtaining industrious settlers for the colony of Georgia, recently separated from Carolina, appealed to the Count, through a deputation of four men, (one, the aged Hofmann of Berthelsdorf,) for his assistance in procuring land for them in that colony. The trustees for Georgia had previously addressed letters of inquiry to Baron de Pfiel, the Wirtemberg consul at Ratisbon (Regensburg), and under his advice, commissioned Senior Ulsperger, at Augsburg, to procure for Georgia the Protestant emigrants from Salzburg in Bavaria, who in 1731 had been banished by an archiepiscopal edict from their homes on account of their religion; and in the depth of winter, after only eight days' notice, were compelled to seek a place of refuge elsewhere. The cold-blooded cruelty of this measure struck all Protestant Europe with the utmost horror and indignation.

When Zinzendorf heard of the application that had been made for these exiles, he sent an anonymous letter to the trustees of the new colony, towards the end of the year. In it he says, "A German nobleman, being disposed to send several families of his own subjects to America, and hoping some day to go there himself, would request at present, religious liberty, &c., for about 30 families." The reply was favourable, and a portion of land was promised, but the application for a free passage was negatived for want of funds. While these negotiations were pending, the Schwenckfeldters set out on their journey; those from Berthelsdorf, on the 26th of May, under the leadership of George Wiegner, accompanied at their own desire by George Boemish from Herrnhut. Spangenberg, whose favourite idea was to become a missionary to the heathen, as we learn from a birthday poem which he composed for Count Zinzendorf,* was appointed to have the spiritual charge over them in Georgia. When the Schwenckfeldters, under promise of a

zendorf, and they determined to seek an asylum in America.—*Sherman Day, Historical collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, 8vo. Philadelphia, 1843, p. 488.

* German Hymn Book, 1385.

free passage, were persuaded in Holland to go to Pennsylvania, Spangenberg expressed his willingness to accompany them there also.

Meanwhile, Zinzendorf had formed the plan of sending Moravian colonists, chiefly as missionaries to the heathen tribes of the Cherokee and Creek Indians; an idea he had entertained from the first, and concerning which he wrote to the Georgian trustees immediately after the Schwenckfeldters had altered their plans. It having been arranged that ten Moravian brethren should proceed to London, by way of Holland, at the expense of the Count, or of the congregation, Spangenberg was instructed to precede them, in order to negotiate further with the proper authorities, and then, conducting them to Georgia, and seeing to their comfortable settlement there, he was to leave them and proceed to Pennsylvania. The conversion of the heathen was to be the principal object of this colony of the ten Moravian brethren, who left Herrnhut on the 21st of November 1734. Spangenberg arrived in London about the same time, and immediately sent an account of the state of things there to Count Zinzendorf. The court chaplain Ziegenhagen, who negotiated between the parties at Halle, and the English Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; and his friends among the trustees for Georgia, greatly objected to the plan of the Moravian colony, of whose approaching arrival Count Wernigerode had given timely notice. It was argued, that "the trustees wished for real exiles that were oppressed at home, such as the Protestants of Salzburg; that there was no religious persecution in Saxony; and as to the conversion of the heathen, such illiterate men would be unable to effect anything," and the like. General Oglethorpe, the Governor of Georgia, who had recently returned to London, making inquiries about the Moravian brethren, their persons and doctrine, was more favourable to their cause. Spangenberg, having a copy in Latin of the instrument of the year 1729, by which they were accredited, he laid it before the General; at the same time conversing with him in that language. Upon which the General immediately undertook to advocate their cause with the trustees;—which, soon after the arrival of David Nitschmann, on the 15th of January 1735, he did with good effect. Every thing being satisfactorily arranged, notwithstanding the

implacable opposition of Ziegenhagen, who anxiously endeavoured to prevent the Moravians from settling near the Salzburg emigrants at Ebenezer, in Georgia, Zinzendorf received a grant of 500 acres of land, and Spangenberg, an additional grant of 50 acres near the town of Savannah, with all the civil and religious immunities for which they had applied. Spangenberg, with the view of procuring ordination in the Episcopal Church of England, gladly availed himself of an introduction to the Bishop of London, to whom he was presented by Mr. Vernon, secretary to the fifty trustees for Georgia, and Governor Oglethorpe; and thus an opportunity was afforded of extending an acquaintance with the Brethren in England, which eventually was of great importance. Spangenberg had received a more definite call to America, through the hands of David Nitschmann, in a letter from Count Zinzendorf. Ziegenhagen, who had fostered the hope of influencing Spangenberg's return to Halle, took great umbrage at his not having been made acquainted from the first with this call, and thenceforward, in conjunction with the German party, became an avowed and active opponent of the Brethren.

Spangenberg left England with the colonists for Georgia, in February, and landed in North America in June 1735. In due time, he reported in Latin a circumstantial account of the voyage and their first arrangements to General Oglethorpe and Mr. Vernon. He described also their novel mode of life, as farmers. They felled timber, cleared the ground, sowed seed, and built a log hut, and afterwards a more substantial dwelling upon the plot of fifty acres that had been granted to himself near the town of Savannah, situated on the margin of the river of the same name. Their social and religious meetings for edification were gradually regulated and maintained as at Herrnhut, in the true Moravian form, with great order and seriousness. Blessed with good health, while others around him were visited with frequent sickness, Spangenberg cheerfully strove to preserve the bond of mutual harmony and love. He formed acquaintances among the people of the town, the Salzburg colonists at Ebenezer and the Creek Indians, under Tomotatschi (Tomo Chichi) their chief:—and thus matters stood at the time, when in February 1736, a second colony of twenty Moravians arrived, under the guidance of David Nitsch-

mann, the bishop. These had left Herrnhut in the early part of August, 1735, among whom were the wives of some of the former company, so that the colony might now be said to be complete. At the same time, agents were sent out on the part of the trustees, in order to superintend the civil and religious constitution of the settlers, who numbered about two thousand white people. This work was committed to General Oglethorpe, who had several assistants, both lay and clerical. Among the latter were the founders of the Society of Oxford students, called "Methodists," John and Charles Wesley, and their friend Benjamin Ingham, like those at Halle and Jena, very zealous Christian men. These Moravians and Englishmen crossed the Atlantic in the same ship, which gave rise to a close intimacy between the Methodists and the Brethren. Nitschmann learned English, and Wesley learned German, notwithstanding that his time was pretty much occupied in reading, writing, teaching the children and preaching to the crew. On occasion of a violent storm, which made his own countrymen quake with terror, Wesley was struck with the calm composure of the Moravian brethren, and their wives and children, who were not afraid to die; and thus he learned to know the difference between those who serve God, and those who serve him not. In regard to himself, he exercised self-denial, by abstaining from animal food, wine, &c., in which we recognize the Methodist. Spangenberg, at the first interview, perceived the grace of God in John Wesley, and mutual confidence and esteem were soon established. One and the same object, the conversion of the heathen, animated them both, and had impelled them to the same sphere of action. Spangenberg, although now reposing on the grace of the atonement, knew well from his own experience "the legal zeal" of Wesley.

The legitimate organization of the Moravian congregation in Georgia took place on February 28th, 1736, by the election of officers, and the settlement of band-meetings. Anton Seifart, was by the congregation unanimously elected their elder (bishop), who with humble resignation accepted the office. Bishop Nitschmann introduced him to the congregation, as Zinzendorf had, in 1735, introduced Leonhard Dober, by blessing him in prayer, and by imposition of hands. John Wesley, who was present, almost forgot the lapse of seventeen hundred years, and imagined before him Peter the

fisherman, and Paul the tent-maker, so much was the whole rite performed in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. Shortly after this, Spangenberg, whose office regarding the colony in Georgia was now at an end, was blessed in a similar manner by Bishop Nitschmann for his new sphere of activity as minister and spiritual adviser of the Schwenckfeldters and heathen Indians in Pennsylvania, for which colony he left Savannah on the 15th of May, 1736.

In this year, an offer was made to Count Zinzendorf to send a new colony to British North America, for the purpose of converting the Negroes in South Carolina; and Peter Böhler, a student of theology at Jena, who with Spangenberg and others had been in connection with the Brethren from the year 1728, was appointed for this mission. These circumstances induced the Count to visit London. At the same time he had a desire to inform himself respecting Episcopal Ordination in the Church of the ancient Brethren, before his own consecration as Bishop. The renewal of the Episcopal office in the Church of the Brethren had been a subject of repeated discussion between the Count and his colleagues, especially with a view to foreign congregations, so that properly ordained brethren might teach, and perform ecclesiastical functions in the colonies, although no pre-eminence or authority was thereby intended to be conferred upon them. For these purposes Zinzendorf, accompanied by Wenzel Neisser, sailed from Helveotsluys on the 14th, and after a very stormy passage, reached London on the 19th of January, 1737, and were followed in a few days after, by the Countess, and Anna and Bishop Nitschmann, who took up their quarters in a furnished house hired by the Count near the office of the trustees for Georgia.* General Oglethorpe, who had returned from the colony, on the 7th of January, was visited by the Count, which led to an intimate and reciprocally beneficial acquaintance. The Count's representation to the trustees of the colony, based upon reports made to him by Andrew (brother of Leonhard and Martin) Dober, who

* Here, on Sunday the 23rd, Charles Wesley met Bishop Nitschmann, and was introduced to the Countess: a woman of great seriousness and sweetness. He was present at their public service, and thought himself in a choir of angels.—*Charles Wesley's Journal*, vol. i. p. 66.

had just returned from North America, respecting the settlement of the Brethren on the river Savannah, and their efforts for the Creek Indians, was warmly supported by General Oglethorpe; and the former unfavourable impressions made on the minds of many in 1734, by the Orphan-house party at Halle, were almost entirely effaced. Several members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Negro Slaves in the British Colonies, even entertained the thought that the Brethren in Georgia would be the most suitable instruments for carrying on this work in South Carolina. In this opinion Zinzendorf himself was disposed to concur.

The question, however, arose in reference to this and all other missionary operations of the Brethren in the British American Colonies, whether the dominant church would acknowledge the ecclesiastical functions of the Brethren, apart from the episcopal ordination of the Church of England? As an inquiry of the primate would throw light upon this question, Oglethorpe was commissioned by the trustees, in conjunction with a clergyman named John Burton,* to wait upon Dr. Potter, who had recently succeeded Dr. Wake in the see of Canterbury. This afforded a suitable opportunity for Count Zinzendorf to lay his views on the episcopal ordination of the Brethren before the Archbishop, and he accordingly addressed a letter to him, which led to several interviews, and resulted in the Archbishop giving him a written declaration, dated February the 11th, 1737, expressive of his high regard for the person of Count Zinzendorf, and of his friendliness towards the Moravian Brethren; at the same time, assuring the deputation, "that both from their writings, and from personal intercourse with the superintendent of the Brethren, he had been led to the conviction, that the Church of the Brethren is truly an apostolical and episcopal church, whose doctrines contain nothing whatever militating against the thirty-nine articles of the Established Church of England." Hence, while the trustees of the colony might view this declaration

* Mr., afterwards D.D., who, in 1732, when the settlement of the colony in Georgia was in agitation, preached a sermon in its recommendation, which with an appendix concerning the state of the colony was afterwards published.—*Chalmers.*

as an approval of their undertaking, Zinzendorf used it as a motive of further negotiation with the Archbishop; to whom he observed, that though "Comenius and Jablonski bear sufficient testimony to the orthodoxy and uninterrupted episcopal succession of the Moravian Church,* yet with regard to our opponents, a question may arise, whether the preservation of the episcopal ordination of the ancient church and its discipline did imply a separation from the evangelical church of the day?" Dr. Potter termed such an objection, if raised, unreasonable. "Without the consent of the king as head of the Church, he was not at liberty to make a further acknowledgment of the orthodoxy of the Church of the Brethren, but from his very heart, and from conviction, he could advocate the cause of the Brethren, which he was prepared to do at the peril of injuring his own." The Archbishop expressed the same sentiments to the trustees of the Georgian colony, and used similar language in the presence of Nitschmann the bishop. Thus the chief object of the Count's journey to London was fully obtained. The testimony of the Archbishop was highly important in furthering the labours of the Brethren in England and her colonies, and eventually became of great service in the promotion of the missionary cause abroad, and that of the congregations at home.

During the Count's sojourn in London, with his Countess, Bishop David Nitschmann and the eldress Anna Nitschmann, he preached publicly, and conversed frequently with several souls; and before he left, settled a small society, consisting of Germans, who united together in the following points.

a.—We will neither believe nor undertake anything but what is plainly told us in the Scripture, but we will believe and teach what we find there, whether it agrees with our reason or no.

b.—We will speak and converse child-likely and simply with one another, and to that end come once or oftener in the week together, at which times we will do nothing but pray, sing, and read the Scriptures and edify ourselves simply by that, without bringing up the least matter out of which dispute or strife may arise.

c.—We will speak the thoughts of our hearts quite up-

* Historia Consensus Sendomiriensis, &c.

rightly to one another, and will not seek to hide our failings and transgressions, that no one think more or better of another than he is.

d.—We will, according to the gift which souls find among one another, attend one to the teaching, another to the admonishing, a third to the inspection or overseeing, the fourth to the serving in general, &c., and prepare ourselves in quietness to further the cause of the Saviour among others.

e.—We will meddle in no religion or church matters, but only in simplicity look to these three things:—

1. To be saved by the blood of Christ.
2. To become holy, or be sanctified by the blood of Christ.
3. To love one another heartily.

The ten persons who signed this agreement were: 1. And. Ostrom. 2. Hintz. 3. Ulrich. 4. Lorenz. 5. Michel Göz. 6. Müller. 7. Stein. 8. Gutmann. 9. Grunzky. 10. Shorer, minor.

Zinzendorf was consecrated a bishop of the Church of the Brethren on the 20th of May, 1737. On the 15th of December following, he for the first time performed his functions by ordaining Peter Böhler for the work of the ministry in the mission to South Carolina. This was the occasion of Böhler's visit to London, in the year 1738, whither he was soon followed by other brethren. It appears from a letter of congratulation which was written to him by Dr. Potter, archbishop of Canterbury, that the Count had communicated to him the fact of his consecration. This letter is dated about the middle of August, and the following is a close translation from the original Latin, as given in the diary and correspondence of Dr. Doddridge, vol. iii. p. 264.

"John [Potter, Archbishop] of Canterbury, sends cordial greeting to that very reverend man Nicholas Lewis, lord bishop of the Moravian Church.

"Sincerely and most heartily do I congratulate the holy and truly illustrious Moravian *choir*, with whatever darkness it may now perhaps be enveloped, to which the blessed God favouring, and the celestial choir applauding, you have been raised.

"I most ardently pray that this honour conferred upon you, not without your own merit, may be salutary to the Church, and never a source of repentance to you or yours.

"For, I should be altogether unworthy of the high station in which divine Providence has placed me, however unworthy, did I not always shew myself ready to the best of my power, to give aid to the whole people of God.

"Moreover, I love and embrace, in preference to others, you who unterrified by dangers, unseduced by any πειρασμοῖς, *temptations*, of Satan, maintaining along with the pure and primæval faith likewise the primæval discipline, and that constantly,—are united to us by a stricter bond.

"I pray that you on your part aid me with your prayers, and in my name, impart salutation to your fellow bishops, and to the whole christian flock over whom God has willed you to preside. Farewell.

"Given at Westminster, on the ides of August, 1737."

As Hutton was identified with the Moravian Brethren from the first, his life became so blended with them, that their history in England for a considerable period became his own. We therefore feel justified in quoting from his own German narrative, the following particulars.

No sooner had John Wesley returned from America, than three Moravian brethren, Peter Böhler, Frederick Wenzel Neisser, and Schulius, on their way to Carolina and Georgia arrived in London; together with the aged brother Richter from Stralsund, who had heen deputed to visit the few Germans, who in 1737 were united in London by Count Zinzendorf. Böhler and his brethren preached to them, proving the power of the Gospel, and through their testimony several of them were savingly affected, and continuing steadfast, became themselves blessed witnesses for the truth. "Through Wesley (says Hutton), we soon made acquaintance with these brethren, and urged upon them to spend an hour for edification in our Society." Peter Böhler soon acquired some knowledge of the English language, and that which he could not deliver in English, was translated by a tailor named Viney, when present in *his* society; and Hutton, who understood Latin, did the same in *his* society. The commencement was very simple. They put questions to him, and Böhler answered the whole from the Holy Scriptures. To their astonishment, they saw for the first time, that he who believeth in Jesus hath everlasting life. "This truth came to us so acceptably, that we obtained a

sight of the only way of salvation. This Gospel was followed by an unspeakable grace and blessing after every discourse which Böhler, or Neisser, who now also began to speak a little English, delivered." "It was with indescribable astonishment and joy, that we embraced the doctrine of the Saviour, of His merits and sufferings, of justification through faith in Him, and of freedom, by it, from the dominion and guilt of sin."

"This was something so very new to us all, so universal, so penetrating,—for most of us had earnestly striven against sin without benefit or effect, and the preaching from pulpits in the churches was so constructed as though Christ and His merits, His walk upon earth, His becoming man, and the eternal redemption which through His bitter sufferings and death He had earned for us, were not the most essential matters—these alas! had been disregarded, and Pelagianism was the spirit of the pulpit,—a dry morality universally prevailed, and we who were the awakened, had been just as far from Christ as were the generality of the preachers. For we tried to help ourselves; we dreamt not, we heard not, and knew not that our eternal welfare lay solely in Christ. Here therefore the evangelic period commenced in England."

Peter Böhler used much plainness of speech, but with powerful effect. On one occasion, a woman, listening to his discourse in a room in Blackfriars, as she relates in her autobiography: "When in broken English he cried out, the whores and the thieves go into heaven before you self-righteous people," she gnashed on him with her teeth. The saying, however, made a deep impression upon her; at another time going into Hutton's shop, she met Böhler there, who seeing her take down one book after another, exclaimed: "Look at the book in your heart." This admonition powerfully affected her, and led eventually to her happy conversion.*

The ship in which the Moravian brethren were to sail not being quite ready, Neisser, by desire of the awakened students, visited Oxford, and preaching the word of the Cross to them; some received it savingly. John Wesley, Charles Wesley, Gambold, Hutchins, and Kinchin continued stead-

* Autobiography of Esther Sutton West.

fast. John Wesley preached the gospel every where as soon as he received it, and numbers of his hearers also embraced it; but others were enraged at him.

At this time, many members of the old societies, to whose deliberate self-righteous minds this Gospel was a stumbling block, began to feel puzzled. It seemed to them a new doctrine, and created a great commotion. The awakened were persecuted by the Pelagians; they did not however flinch in the least, but affirmed the truth and its effects upon themselves before all. Yet they were not sufficiently circumspect, and in endeavouring to persuade others of the truth of what they themselves believed, disputed with the greatest zeal against everybody. This produced no good to their own hearts, but created great hatred in the minds of their opponents. They also, sad to say, became somewhat bitter; for before they were thoroughly grounded in the truths they had received, the Moravian brethren had left them on the 4th of May, 1738, Böhler and Schulius to proceed on their voyage, and Neisser to return to Germany.

During the stay of Peter Böhler in England, he made certain regulations among those who desired to walk in conformity to the mind of Jesus; and who at first consisted of about six or eight persons in whom he had confidence. This community increased from time to time, out of Hutton's new society, as well as from other lately awakened souls. These, when desirous of communing among themselves, met at Hutton's house, where the first bands were kept, under regulations that were afterwards enlarged and printed for the society. When Hutton's house became too small, in consequence of the increasing numbers who joined it, the Society removed to the chapel at No. 32, Fetter Lane. The orders agreed upon, were as follows:—

"ORDERS of a RELIGIOUS SOCIETY meeting in *Fetter-lane*.

"*In Obedience to the Command of God by St.* James, *and by the Advice of* Peter Boehler, *May* 1, 1738, *it was agreed*,

1. THAT they will meet together once in a Week to confess their Faults one to another, and to pray for one another that they may be healed.

2. That any others, of whose Sincerity they are well as-

sured, may, if they desire it, meet with them for that Purpose. And, *May* 29, it was agreed,

3. That the Persons desirous to meet together for that Purpose, be divided into several Bands, or little Societies.

4. That none of these consist of fewer than five, or more than ten Persons.

5. That some Person in each Band be desired to interrogate the rest in order, who may be called the Leader of that Band. And on *Monday*, *September* 26, it was agreed,

6. That each Band meet twice in a Week, once on *Monday* Evenings, the second Time when it is most convenient for each Band.

7. That every Person come punctually at the Hour appointed, without some extraordinary Reason.

8. That those that are present begin exactly at the Hours.

9. That every Meeting be begun and ended with Singing and Prayer.

10. That every one in order speak as freely, plainly, and concisely as he can, the real State of his Heart, with his several Temptations and Deliverances, since the last Time of meeting.

11. That all Bands have a Conference at eight every *Wednesday* Evening, begun and ended with Singing and Prayer.

12. That at nine of the Clock the Names of the Members be called over, and the Absenters set down.

13. That Notice of any extraordinary Meeting be given on the *Wednesday* Night preceding such Meeting.

14. That exactly at ten, if the Business of the Night be not finished, a short concluding Prayer be used, that those may go who are in haste, but that all depart the Room by half an Hour after ten.

15. That whosoever speaks in this Conference stand up, and that none else speak till he is set down.

16. That nothing which is mentioned in this Conference, be by any Means mentioned out of it.

17. That every Member of this Society, who is a Member of any other, prefer the meeting with this, and with his particular Band, before the meeting with any other Society or Company whatsoever.

18. That if any Person absent himself without some extraordinary Reason, either from his Band, or from any Meeting of the whole Society, he be first privately admonished; and if he be absent again, reproved before the whole Society.

19. That any Person who desires, or designs to take any Journey, shall first, if it be possible, have the Approbation of the Bands.

20. That all our Members who are in Clubs, be desired to withdraw their Names, as being Meetings nowise conducing to the Glory of God.

21. That any who desire to be admitted into this Society, be asked, What are your Reasons for desiring this? Will you be entirely open, using no Kind of Reserve, least of all, in the Case of Love or Courtship? Will you strive against the Desire of ruling, of being first in your Company, or having your own Way? Will you submit to be placed in what Band the Leaders shall choose for you? Have you any Objections to any of our Orders? The Orders may then be read to them.

22. That those who answer these Questions in the Affirmative, be proposed every fourth *Wednesday*.

23. That every one then present speak clearly and fully whatever Objection he has to any Person proposed to be a Member.

24. That those against whom any reasonable Objection appears, be acquainted with that Objection, and the admitting them upon Trial postponed till that Objection is removed.

25. That those against whom no reasonable Objection appears or remains, be, in order for their Trial, formed into distinct Bands, and some Person agreed on to assist them.

26. That if no new Objection then appear, they be, after two Months Trial, admitted into the Society.

27. That every fourth *Saturday* be observed as a Day of general Intercession, which may continue from twelve to two, from three to five, and from six to eight.

28. That on *Sunday* Se'en-night following be a general Love-feast, from seven till ten in the Evening.

29. That in order to a continual Intercession, every Member of this Society choose some Hour, either of the Day or Night, to spend in Prayer chiefly for his Brethren.

30. That in order to a continual Fast, three of the Members of this Society Fast every Day (as their Health permits), *Sundays* and Holidays excepted, and spend as much as they can of that Day, in Retirement from Business, and Prayer.

31. That each Person give Notice to the Leader of his Band how much he is willing to subscribe towards the gene-

ral Charge of the Bands, and that each Person's Money be paid into the Leader of his Band once a Month at farthest.

32. That no particular Person be allowed to act in any Thing contrary to any Order of this Society, but that every one, without Distinction, submit to the Determination of his Brethren; and that if any Person or Persons do not, after being thrice admonished, conform to the Society, they be not esteemed any longer as Members.

33. That any Person whom the whole Society shall approve, may be accounted a correspondent Member, and as such, may be admitted at our general Meetings, provided he correspond with the Society once in a Month at least."

Standing alone, with little experience, but great zeal for the cause which they had exposed, Hutton and his associates were furiously assailed on all sides by the clergy, who stood forth as one man against them; "so falsely, so twistingly, so pelagianical, and more than papistically servile, &c., that a stone might have felt compassion." Yet they fired up against them, and treated them with bitter contumely and keen contempt. Under these circumstances, Hutton deeply felt the loss of Peter Böhler, and the want of a spiritual guide, who should take the permanent oversight of the society; he therefore availed himself of Neisser's return to Germany, and addressed the following letter in Latin to Count Zinzendorf, which was countersigned by thirteen of his English brethren, and dated the 2nd of May, 1738:—

"Most Honoured Sir,

"As through the abundant love of God, in Christ Jesus, many brethren have received grace in their hearts, and a lively faith by the preaching of our most dearly beloved brother in Christ, (and to me precious above my life), Peter Böhler, a son of your Church, for whom I daily give God thanks. I for myself, and many brethren for themselves, sensible of that great benefit which might be poured on the souls of men by the true preaching of faith in the blood of Christ, of which we here so seldom (*raro*) are told, do beseech the Church of Herrnhut by your mediation, that this brother Peter Böhler be continued, at his return from Carolina, a preacher of faith in England. There is a

large number of souls awakened, some I hope truly converted. We expect more every day. And to this we have set our hands, witnessing to the truth of this, and beseeching for the love of Christ, if it be possible, that our request be granted.

JAMES HUTTON.	THOMAS PROCTOR.	BARN^{d}. HARTLEY.
MATTHEW CLARKE.	JOHN BROWNE.	RICHARD TOMPSON.
JOHN WEST.	WILLIAM FISH.	WILLIAM EXALL.
JOHN EDMONDS.	JOHN SHAW.	SHEPHERD WOLFE.
JOHN BRAY.		WILLIAM OXLEE."

The change which had take place in the minds of those who listened to the brethren Böhler and Töltschig, could neither be understood nor appreciated by those who had not been the recipients of like precious faith; hence, the parents of Hutton were alarmed at what to them appeared the wildfire of sheer enthusiasm in the conduct of John Wesley; and the following correspondence between Hutton's mother and Mr. Samuel Wesley, the elder brother of John and Charles, which exhibits a characteristic specimen of the state of religion, and of the utter ignorance of true evangelical faith that then every where prevailed, will also present a historical record of the change effected in the minds of Hutton and his friends.*

From Mrs. E. Hutton, to Mr. Samuel Wesley.

"June 6, 1738.

"DEAR SIR,—You will be surprised to see a letter from me, but Mr. Hutton and I are really under a very great concern, and know not what to apply to, if you cannot help us. After you left London, and your brothers had lost the conveniency of your house, believing them good and pious Christians, we invited them to make the same use of ours, and thought such an offer would not be unacceptable to God, or to them; which they received with signs of friendship, and took up with such accommodations as our house could afford, from time to time, as they had occasion. Mr. Charles at his arrival in England, was received and treated with such tenderness and love, as he could have been in

* See Dr. Priestley's Original Letters, by the Rev. John Wesley, and his friends, p. 67-79.

your house, Mr. John the same; and as occasion has offered at different times, ten or twelve of their friends. But your brother John seems to be turned a wild enthusiast, or fanatic, and, to our very great affliction, is drawing our two children into these wild notions, by their great opinion of Mr. John's sanctity and judgment. It would be a great charity to many other honest well-meaning simple souls, as well as to my children, if you could either confine, or convert, Mr. John when he is with you. For after his behaviour on Sunday the 28th May, when you hear it, you will think him not a quite right man.

"Without ever acquainting Mr. Hutton with any of his notions or designs, when Mr. Hutton had ended a sermon of Bishop Blackall's, which he had been reading in his study to a great number of people; Mr. John got up, and told the people, that five days before he was not a Christian, and this he was as well assured of as that five days before he was not in that room, and the way for them all to be christians was to believe, and own, that they were not now christians. Mr. Hutton was much surprised at this unexpected injudicious speech, but only said, "Have a care Mr. Wesley, how you despise the benefits received by the two sacraments." I not being in the study when this speech was made, had heard nothing of it when he came into the parlour to supper, where were my two children, two or three other of his deluded followers, two or three ladies who board with me, my niece, and two or three gentlemen of Mr. John's acquaintance, though not got into his new notions.

"He made the same wild speech again, to which I made answer, if you was not a christian ever since I knew you, you was a great hypocrite, for you made us all believe you was one. He said, when we had renounced every thing but faith, and then got into Christ, then, and not till then, had we any reason to believe we were christians; and when we had so got Christ, we might keep him, and so be kept from sin. Mr. Hutton said, "if faith only was necessary to save us, why did our Lord give us that divine sermon?" Mr. John said, that was *the letter that killeth.* "Hold," says Mr. Hutton, "you seem not to know what you say, are our Lord's words the letter that killeth?" Mr. John said, "if we had no faith." Mr. Hutton replied, "I did not ask you how we should receive it? But why our Lord gave it;

as also the account of the judgment in the twenty-fifth of St. Matthew, if works are not what he expects, but faith only?"

"Now it is a most melancholy thing to have not only our two children, but many others, to disregard all teaching, but by such a spirit as comes to some in dreams, to others in such visions as will surprise you to hear of. If there cannot be some stop put to this, and he can be taught true humility, the mischief he will do wherever he goes among the ignorant, but well meaning christians, will be very great.

"Mr. Charles went from my son's, where he lay ill for some time, and would not come to our house, where I offered him the choice of two of my best rooms, but he would accept of neither, but chose to go to a poor brazier's in Little Britain, that that brazier might help him forward in his conversion, which was completed on May 22d, as his brother John was praying. Mr. John was converted, or I know not what, or how, but made a christian, on May 25th. A woman had besides a previous dream: a ball of fire fell upon her and burst, and fired her soul. Another young man when he was in St. Dunstan's Church, just as he was going to receive the sacrament, had God the Father come to him, but did not stay with him: but God the Son did stay, who came with him holding his cross in his hands.

"I cannot understand the use of these relations; but if you doubt the truth, or your brother denies them, I can produce undeniable proofs of the relation of such facts, from the persons who related the facts, that they had received such appearances. Mr. John has abridged the life of one Halyburton, a presbyterian teacher in Scotland. My son had designed to print it, to show the experiences of that holy man, of in-dwelling, &c. Mr. Hutton and I have forbid our son being concerned in handing such books into the world; but if your brother John, or Charles, think it will tend to promote God's glory, they will soon convince my son God's glory is to be preferred to his parents' commands: then you will see what I never expected, my son promoting rank fanaticism. If you can, dear sir, put a stop to such madness, which will be a work worthy of you, a singular charity, and very much oblige,

Your sincere and affectionate servant,

E. HUTTON.

"To the Rev. Mr. Wesley, at Tiverton, Devon."

From S. Wesley to Mrs. Hutton.

"Tiverton, Devon, June 17, 1738.

"DEAR MADAM,

"I am sufficiently sensible of yours and Mr. Hutton's kindness to my brothers, and shall always acknowledge it; and cannot blame you, either for your concern, or for writing to me about it. Falling into enthusiasm, is being lost with a witness, and if you are troubled for two of your children, you may be sure I am so, for two whom I may in some sense call *mine;* who if once turned that way will do a world of mischief, much more than even otherwise they would have done good; since men are much easier to be led into evil, than from it.

"What Jack means by his not being a christian till last month, I understand not. Had he never been in covenant with God? Then, as Mr. Hutton observed, baptism was nothing. Had he totally apostatized from it? I dare say not: and yet he must either be unbaptized, or an apostate, to make his words true. Perhaps it might come into his crown that he was in a state of mortal sin unrepented of, and had long lived in such a course. This I do not believe; however he must answer for himself. But where is the sense of requiring every body else to confess that of themselves, in order to commence christians? Must they confess it whether it be so or no? Besides a sinful course is not an abolition of the covenant; for that very reason, because it is a breach of it. If it *were* not, it would not be *broken*.

"Renouncing every thing but faith, may be every evil; as the world, the flesh, and the Devil: this is a very orthodox sense, but no great discovery. It may mean rejecting all merit of our own good works. What Protestant does not do so? Even Bellarmin on his death bed, is said to have renounced all merits but those of Christ. If this renouncing regards good works in any other sense, as being unnecessary, or the like, it is wretchedly wicked; and to call our Saviour's words, *the letter that killeth*, is no less than blasphemy against the Son of man. It is mere quakerism, making the outward Christ an enemy to the Christ within.

"When the ball of fire fired the woman's soul (an odd sort of fire that) what reference had it to my two brothers? Was the youth that had the Father come to him, told any thing about them? Did he see any thing, or only hear a voice? What

were the words, if any? I suppose he will take shelter in their being unspeakable. In short, this looks like downright madness. I do not hold it at all unlikely, that perpetual intenseness of thought, and want of sleep, may have disordered my brother. I have been told that the Quaker's introversion of thought, has ended in madness. It is a studious stopping of every thought as fast as it arises, in order to receive the spirit. I wish the canting fellows had never had any followers among us, who talk of in-dwellings, experiences, getting into Christ, &c. &c. as I remember assurances used to make a great noise, which were carried to such a height, that (as far as nonsense can be understood) they rose to fruition; in utter defiance of christian hope, since the question is unanswerable, What a man hath, why does he yet hope for? But I will believe none without a miracle, who shall pretend to be wrapped up into the third heaven.

"I hope your son does not think it as plainly revealed, that he shall print an enthusiastic book, as it is, that he shall obey his father and his mother. Suppose it were never so excellent, can that supersede your authority? God deliver us from visions that shall make the law of God vain. I pleased myself with the expectation of seeing Jack, but now that is over, and I am afraid of it. I know not where to direct to him, or where he is. Charles I will write to as soon as I can, and shall be glad to hear from you in the mean time. I heartily pray God to stop the progress of this lunacy. We join in service.

I am, Dear Madam,
Your sincere and
Affectionate friend and servant,
SAMUEL WESLEY.

"To Mrs. Hutton,
College Street, Westminster."

From Mrs. Hutton to Mr. S. Wesley.

"DEAR SIR,

"I return you thanks for so obligingly answering my letter, for which I ought to beg your pardon, since I am sensible what I related must afflict you, though it might not be in your power to lessen my affliction. For how can I expect more regard will be had to a brother than is had to parents? Though in reality, your brothers are much more obligated

to you than many children are to their parents; your doing for them as a most kind and judicious parent, when you had not the same obligation. I was in hopes mine to you would have met your brother John at Tiverton, where he said he was going. If so, he could have explained to you the meaning of the two visions I sent you word of.

"Every one of his converts are directed to get an assurance of their sins being all pardoned, and they sure of their salvation, which brings all joy and peace. And this is given them in an instant, so that every person so converted, is able to describe the manner and time when they get it, as they call it. Your brother John writ his reflections on Mr. Hervey's paper, in these words, "Remission of sins, and peace with God. The life of God, or love in our souls. The evidence of our own weakness, and the power of Christ." My son felt it on the 25th of April, at the Blessed Sacrament, as the minister said, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.* Your brother Charles felt it at Mr. Bray's, as your brother John was praying for it, for him on the 22d of May. Your brother John felt it on the 25th of May, just as he awaked.

"These things they make no secrets; for good Mr. Baldwin told me, he heard your brother Charles give a relation of a young man at Oxford, who had lived, as he himself thought, a very good and pious life, but he was first convinced it was nothing, before he could get this faith; upon which he threw himself upon his face upon his chamber floor, and lay so (I suppose praying) an hour or two, and then rose up with great joy and peace of mind. This affected Mr. Baldwin so much, that the next opportunity he had to talk with my son, he put into his hands a sermon of Bishop Bull's, upon the subject of the assistance we may expect from the Holy Spirit. But all authors and writings, but the Bible, are rejected, and every man, if he will practise what he knows, shall have all the light necessary for himself, taught him from God.

"They are, I think, aiming at something more; for my son told me, that a woman, who is a Dissenter, had three years and more, as she fancied, been under the seal of reprobation, and upon her coming to Mr. Bray's, where your brother Charles, Mr. Bray, and my son were praying for her, though she went home in the same melancholy, yet in an hour after

she sent them word she was delivered from the power of Satan, and desired them to return public thanks for the same in her behalf. I heard a poor simple barber, whose name is Wolf, relate such a dream that a blacksmith had, as a sign of his being just getting into Christ, *and of his own power*, as put me beyond patience. This poor barber, since his conversion,* which I think could affect none but fools and madmen. My poor son lay ill of a fever at the same time, with such a number of these fancied saints about him, that I expected nothing but his weak brain would be quite turned. I think it is not far from it, that he will not give any, the most pious or judicious author his father recommends, a reading.

"Now your brother John is gone, who is my son's pope, it may please God, if you will give yourself the trouble to try, he may hear some reason from you. If you could bring your brother Charles back, it would be a great step towards the reconversion of my poor son. Your two brothers are men of great parts and learning; my son is good humoured and very undesigning, and sincerely honest, but of weak judgment, so fitted for any delusion. It would be the greatest charity you ever did, and your charity of all kinds is very extensive. If you can undeceive your brother Charles and my son, it would put a stop to this wild-fire. I suppose you received a letter from your brother John, that he came to London the 12th at night, set forward the 13th, without seeing your brother Charles, to make a visit to Count Zinzendorf. I know he looks upon his fancies as directions from the Holy Spirit. What carried him to Georgia I know not, but I can prove he brought that notion with him to Deal, when he landed from Georgia, and had Mr. Whitefield believed it, he had not proceeded on his voyage, John had brought him back by the direction of the spirit. We do nothing but pray for our children, and all others under this strange delusion; since arguments from us, which to others seem reasonable, have no effect upon them. I doubt not of your prayers upon the same occasion, and all other means your good judgment shall enable you to use. I have been thus long to give you all the light I can into this affair, as

* Here the MS. which is the hand-writing of Mr. Samuel Wesley, is imperfect.

a help towards your finding out a cure; being with the greatest value and respect for your real, not imaginary worth,

Your most sincere humble servant,
ELIZABETH HUTTON.

June 20, 1738.
"To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Wesley,
at Tiverton, Devon."

A mother's love will sufficiently apologize for this extraordinary correspondence.

On the 13th of June, John Wesley and Benjamin Ingham went to Germany, in company with Töltschig, and reached Marienborn on the 4th of July, where Ingham was admitted to partake of the holy communion. But when the congregation saw Wesley to be *homo perturbatus* and that his head had gained an ascendancy over his heart, and being desirous not to interfere with his plan of effecting good as a clergyman of the English Church, when he should become more settled,—for he always claimed to be a zealous English Churchman,—they deemed it not prudent to admit him to that sacred service.

It was also an unhappy propensity in Wesley to take up, and mix with some additions of his own, doctrines and opinions according to preconceived impressions. Perhaps even at this time he had a desire to be the head of a party, for he had already formed, so to speak, imaginary plans of attack and defence in the Christian warfare similar to the campaign and discipline of regular German troops. The refusal of the Brethren to admit him to the communion with Ingham gave Wesley offence, which unhappily he concealed and brooded over, and under this beclouded medium he conversed with many, though at the time but imperfectly acquainted with the German language, and committed to writing all he could remember. The mind of Ingham had taken an opposite direction in reference to the Established Church, and in the hope, afterwards realized, that he would become more reconciled, the Brethren admitted him once to the Lord's table, impressed with the feeling that his heart was better than his head.

From Marienborn Wesley proceeded to Halle, where professor Franké, junior, had in his "*Christian Love*" painted Count Zinzendorf in the blackest colours, and Wesley having unhap-

pily prepared himself to receive the slander, was so misled by it, that when he returned to England he made it a pretext for an attempt to wean Hutton and his associates from the Brethren; but they, believing him to be in error, continued stedfast in their love to their esteemed German brethren who had first conveyed to them the sweet light of the Gospel. They were the more indisposed to receive Wesley's insinuations, when they remembered the very favourable opinion he entertained of the Brethren before he went to Germany. Wesley, therefore, perceiving this, seldom spoke against them except to those friends in whom he could confide. Still, what he did insinuate were serious attacks and imputations; for example: that the Brethren gave way to the world; that they dreaded persecution, and would sooner deny their faith than suffer; and that they did not, like the courageous Hallenses, sufficiently admonish their own friends, much less strangers on account of their sins, in the streets and markets, and on board ships, &c., and that the Brethren were neither uniform in practice nor in doctrine. This whole procedure was quite enigmatical to Hutton and his associates until explained by Ingham on his return from Germany. Yet they still maintained Christian fellowship with Wesley, who presided over them when in town. The believers in London at this time were closely united together, rejoicing in the amazing love of God in Christ; and the great opposition of the old Societies, having caused a strict investigation, induced many to abandon their prejudices, and become friendly towards them. During Wesley's absence in Oxford and other parts of England, where he preached the Gospel with great success, Hutton presided at all their meetings.

In the year 1739, open air preaching commenced in England. For the clergy had closed all their churches against the Methodists, and the Bishop of London (Dr. Edmund Gibson) had inhibited any Methodist preacher from becoming an assistant (adjunct) at Islington Church. Both bishop and clergy remained stedfast in their determination to eradicate Methodism with its advocates from their pulpits. "If," says Hutton, "but a single man among the clergy of moderate theological views at that time had possessed the power of action or the hope of a happy result, and the Methodists on their part had endeavoured to obtain ears and use them

properly, many of the excesses which were committed might have been avoided. But now it turned to downright raving. The clergy, with a negligence and unconcern not equalled at any former period, appeared to be careless whether the Church of England should or should not sacrifice a few thousands of its best (perhaps only true) members; and the Methodists, with a misguided zeal and unexampled indiscretion, plunged into all manner of extravagances."

The congregations which flocked to the open air preaching were composed of every description of persons from all parts of the town, who without the slightest attempt at order assembled, crying Hurrah! with one breath, and with the next bellowing and bursting into tears on account of their sins; some poking each others ribs, laughing, and throwing stones and dirt, and almost pressing one another to death; others joyously shouting Hallelujah, &c. "In fact," says Hutton, "it was a jumble of extremes of good and evil—and so distracted alike were both preachers and hearers, that it was enough to make one cry to God for his interference! After a while matters proceeded less disorderly—a tolerable silence prevailed, and many present who had come prepared to hurl stones at the preacher, received something in their hearts for time and eternity. Here thieves, prostitutes, fools, people of every class, several men of distinction, a few of the learned, merchants, and numbers of poor people who had never entered a place of worship, assembled in these crowds and became godly."

"That the authorities did not interfere with these meetings was partly owing to the national bent of mind being favourable to liberty, and partly because of some well known examples of good having been effected; and even the King was quite aware, that in their shield the preachers carried nothing dangerous to the government. A large number of persons was truly awakened to their spiritual condition."

Having an earnest desire to visit the congregations in Germany, Hutton committed the care of his business to the hands of a person in whom he could confide, and on the 15th of April, 1739, he set out; after bidding adieu to the ways and follies and customs of the world. He was ridiculed and reproached by those who thought him rash in his proceedings; but he bore it all with steadiness, firm in his

resolution to follow his God and Saviour wherever He should be pleased to lead him. When at Herrnhut, he wrote several letters expressive of the blessings he there enjoyed, and after entering into particulars concerning the place and its inhabitants, he says—"Here am I, in the happiest place I ever was in all my life."

This visit of Hutton, during which he became acquainted with the German language, was blessed as the means of confirming him in the truths of the Gospel, and of producing a better understanding between the awakened in England and the congregation at Herrnhut. He brought back with him the venerable John Töltschig, who was commissioned to visit the Societies already formed in England, where his abilities in conducting band-meetings and wisdom in conference were much needed.

When on the eve of returning from Germany, Hutton wrote the following letter (in Latin) to Count Zinzendorf, who was then in Switzerland. It is dated, Marienborn, Sept. 30th, 1739.

"Honoured Sir,

"I cannot but retain in my heart the memory of your benevolence towards me. I desire with all humility to thank you. Wherever I go I shall be a witness that the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren are true brethren; and, since they likewise are an affectionate and true church, have the best of religions. The ceremonies which they have, and they are few, are simple, such as obtained in the primitive age, and all in accordance with the sacred Scriptures. I fall at your feet, and when I fall at your feet I fall at the feet of all the brethren and embrace them, and most ardently solicit your prayers and your benediction. Have you not a blessing for me? I know that you have, and that I likewise shall receive your benediction.

"Whenever you wish to send admonitions to the Anglican brethren I promise to obey them, believing that obedience is blessedness, and being fully convinced that all, unless inclined to disobedience, may live a happy, nay, an exceedingly happy life among the Brethren.

"That the kingdom of Christ may through the labours of the Brethren always more and more increase and flourish,

and that you, who likewise are a true believer, may live for a long space of time upon the earth is the earnest prayer of

Your most devoted servant,
JAMES HUTTON."

Arriving in London on the 24th of October, 1739, (the day also on which Spangenberg returned from Pennsylvania) Hutton on the 27th wrote (in Latin) to Count Zinzendorf:

"Most reverend and most dear Count,

"Here I have found my father and mother, who received me gladly with open arms, rejoicing greatly, yet not so much because of my return as because of my journey. They love me with the tenderest affection, and most sincerely do I honour them: to obey them is my delight. They love and cherish our and your Töltschig, and do not permit either him or Spangenberg to live in any other house than their own.* Spangenberg arrived in London on the same day that I did, namely, the 24th of October, and on the next day was present at the English love-feast, when he spoke so well respecting the *phlegmatica complexio*, ardent temperament and warmth of affection infused into the soul by grace, and respecting the quiet repose to be found in the blood of Christ, that many of the brethren were penetrated to the heart. Greatly do I desire that it might please your Church to permit Spangenberg to remain for some time with us. He is so completely master of the English language, that were it necessary he can preach with distinctness for hours: and he seems to be so calm and gentle. But in this affair, as in all others, I would not write even a line contrary to Christ; to Him and to you I submit the matter. At present, however, Spangenberg is suffering so much from a bilious attack that he is confined to bed. He has said that he will very soon go to Germany, and knows not that I have thus written to my Count—Molther and all are well—the ship is not yet ready. Flagan, in the course of fourteen days, will go to Carolina.

"I most humbly salute you and the excellent Countess

* A proof that however they once disapproved of the conduct of their son, their parental affection had not abated, and that they were not inimical to the Brethren with whom he was now united.

and all the brethren Böhme, Bockhausen, Grasman, Nitschmanns, male and female, your dear son and all your children, and the whole Church. I venerate the Church, and pray for its security and prosperity. Languth, also, is dear to me. I kiss you as I was wont to do in Germany, and remain,

Your most devoted in Christ,
JAMES HUTTON."

The Count replied to this as follows :—

"You afforded me great joy, beloved Hutton, by your communication respecting your parents, and the willing promptitude of your own mind to obey them. I praise my and your Jesus, and from my soul with all earnestness pray that his grace may be present with you, continually to enable you to sustain a course worthy of the Gospel.

"I have written the more frequently, because I desire to live in an intimate acquaintance with English affairs. Most acceptable to me was your information respecting Spangenberg. Freely will I relinquish him to England if God shall so will and he himself be so disposed, but for the present it is necessary that he be resigned to go to Germany.

"I desire yourself rather than your kisses (the German way is of all things most offensive to me.)

"Your brother I am, and not your *father*, and I will neither admit nor tolerate any other degree of spiritual affinity than that which Christ chose for himself. And if this my desire be made known to the English brethren and approved of by them, it will be most acceptable to me.

"Salute with most sincere and cordial affection *your* and my *father and mother and sister*, and brothers Töltschig, Piesch, and the rest. Farewell, yours,

ZINZENDORF."

The next of Hutton's letters is dated the 14th of March, 1739-40, in which he addresses the Count in English :—

"Most beloved bishop and brother,

"I could not avoid writing to you; I cannot think of you without a tender sensation, while I know your hearty love for our Saviour and the brethren, and the great patience you had with me; but will say no more of these things at

present. My heart is poor, and I feel continually that the blood of Christ will be a great gift when I can obtain it to overstream my heart. I live in hopes of that which alone can satisfy my soul—but I am not impatient, for I am already encouraged to go to Christ when I find the least beginning of anything wrong, though in thought only; and he shews me my helplessness and delivers me. I do not deserve this great blessing—I can deserve nothing but punishment, but I do not expect it, because he has died. I find some love for the churches in Germany, but I dare not depend that it will last, having had experience of hatred against you when I thought that I had loved you so much. I will arise and go to my Saviour, who has not refused to be called my friend and the friend of such sinners as I am:

> 'His blood and righteousness
> Shall be my robe and glorious dress.'

I beseech you most heartily to think upon England, and not to leave us without labourers. I will give you such an account of matters as I can:

"1. At London, Molther preaches four times a week in English to great numbers, and from morning 'till night he is engaged in conversing with the souls and labouring to bring them into better order; they get a great confidence towards him and began to be in great sorrow, many of them, when they expected him to be going away. I humbly beg you would leave him with us, sometime longer at the least. He continues very simple and improves exceedingly in the English language, so that he speaks, I think, very nearly as well as Spangenberg. The souls are exceedingly thirsty, and hang on his words—he has had many blessings. The false foundation many had made has been discovered, and now speedily will be laid in many souls the one only foundation, Christ Jesus. We had, last Monday, a love-feast with the German brethren, and some select [English] brethren and sisters, and it was accompanied with great blessing—every soul received something.

"2. J. Wesley being resolved to *do* all things himself, and having told many souls that they were justified, who have since discovered themselves to be otherwise; and having mixed the works of the law with the Gospel as *means* of grace, is at enmity against the Brethren. Envy is not extinct in

him; his heroes falling every day almost, into poor sinners frightens him, but at London the spirit of the Brethren prevails against him. In a conference lately, where he was speaking that souls ought to go to church as often as they could, I besought him only to be easy and not disturb himself, and I would go to church as often as he would meet me there; but he would not insist on it. He seeks occasion against the Brethren, but I hope he will find none in us. I desired him simply to keep to his office in the body of Christ, *i.e.* namely, to awaken souls in preaching, but not to pretend to lead them to Christ. But he will have the glory of doing all things. I fear by and by he will be an open enemy of Christ and his Church. Charles Wesley is coming to London, and determined to oppose all such as shall not use the means of grace (after his sense of them); I am determined to be still—I will let our Saviour govern this whirlwind.

"Charles [Wesley] had determined to go to Germany, but now he will not, since he has seen Nowers.* John Wesley has carried Nowers wherever he could, speaking against the Brethren. I told Nowers he should smart for speaking against us—I mean the Herrndyk brethren, who are part of my herd. J. W. and C. W., both of them are dangerous snares to many young women; several are in love with them. I wish they were once married to some good sisters, but I would not give them one of my sisters if I had many.

"3. In Yorkshire matters go on otherwise; Ingham and W. Delamotte are united to the Brethren, some 1000 souls are awakened (in a manner, rather stirred up.) In Yorkshire they are a very simple people, and the people and the labourers too desire to have Töltschig with them. I have letters often from Yorkshire, and they all mention, when will Toeltschig come again? Some months will be necessary to bring them into order, and Toeltschig will not hurry as we Englishmen do.

"4. At Oxford I have seen some good souls: at first they could not be reconciled with lay-teaching, stillness, &c. but now some will come to Christ—about six are in a fine way—fifty, or thereabouts, come to hear Viney three times a week, and he gets their hearts more and more; he is poor in

* A brother who had withdrawn from the congregation at Herrnhaag.

spirit, *et cunctando restituit rem* (and gradually returns to first principles.) Last week he came to London about his business—we had a blessed Lord's supper together—he says he never in his life more thirsted for it than now, or had greater blessings. His wife is a dear sister; when one sees the Englishwomen near her, her broken eyes and whole mien manifest at once that she is worthy to be eldest among these women at Oxford and to walk as their pattern. She labours without knowing that she labours. She told me when I was lately at Oxford she did not know what to tell souls—she was not fit to labour. I was glad to find an Englishwoman who (from a sense of her incompetency) would not be a labourer; but I found her labour and even her looks had been very beneficial to some souls, and her behaviour is a constant sermon.

"5. At Bristol the souls are wholly under C. Wesley, who leads them into many things which souls will find a difficulty to come out of; for, at this time I believe it will not be possible to help them—first, their leader must feel his heart, or the souls must find him out. The Lord make something of the great awakening He has begun there! especially among the coal-diggers who are a poor and simple people.

"6. In Wales some thousands are stirred up. They are an exceedingly simple and honest people, but they are taught the Calvinistical scheme. However, the young man Howell Harry,* who has been the great instrument in this work, is exceeding teachable and humble, and loves the Brethren.

"My father and mother are in the same state, or rather in a worse—my sister, much worse than ever. But, when grace can be received, they will be blessed instruments and bring great glory to Him whose heart's blood I desire to be washed in.

"I am your poor yet loving brother, and the congregation's child,

"JAMES HUTTON."

The following, from Hutton, belongs to this period:—

"My dearly reverend Br. Zinzendorf,

"You know very well what I am—I thought when I was at Marienborn that I loved you—but I thank my Sa-

* Howell Harris, Esq. the first itinerant preacher in Wales.

viour that he let me see I was a hypocrite. I am glad that Jesus Christ died for sinners; and I thank him as heartily as I can for it. My *reasoning* I find my greatest trouble, and I cannot but be ashamed that I am not more a little child. Indeed it is a great sin to turn away the least operation of grace in the heart, because it is a rejecting Christ; and a great folly, because we so much want Him; and of this service my *reason* is to me. Will you remember me before the Lamb, and bear me on your heart to our Saviour? Shall I tell you that my heart earnestly longs after a more close union with the Brethren, but if they are so severe to the old man, that can never happen till I am more united to Christ.

"My dear brethren whom I have in London deal very tenderly with me, and I enjoy great blessings in their fellowship. Molther and Töltschig and Verding, are very much with me. I hope I shall not love them so much as to be unresigned when they are taken from me. I thank our Saviour and his church for sending them to us. Some English brethren and sisters also are come to a more feeling sense of their hearts, so that they are compelled to be more phlegmatic (*ardent*). I believe the brethren came at a time the most proper of all. Whitefield was gone, but indeed some others were left who hurried as much as ever he or I did. Manifestations, visions and fits, are much abated, and I can sometimes observe 'poor sinner' mentioned, and souls complaining of their hearts; by and by they may come to something if there were but labourers. My days of labouring seem to be over, but I can promise you if you will send labourers I will find them work—if nowhere else, yet perhaps with myself. Pray the Lord of the harvest to think upon England; London, Yorkshire, Bristol, call very loud for labourers. I know from my own observation many at London love my German brethren, and seem desirous of being brought into order. I wish brother Nitschmann, Molther's wife, and Anna [Nitschmann] may understand English enough to labour amongst our women. I can tell them they shall have labour and trouble enough; that is surely encouragement for them to be diligent to learn English. Could Spangenberg and Reyneké, one hour in a day, teach some brethren English, they perhaps would do great service. Not only England, but our plantations also are miserably destitute of the Gospel. I have one thing more to mention:—some of the English

are more willing to hear one that is an ordained minister; Molther has in one or two instances been better received when I have said, 'this person is an episcopally ordained minister.' Poor people cannot easily get over their prejudices without the unction. Can I expect and hope for a favourable answer to my earnest wishes? Wenzel Neisser, I believe, understands some English, and it will be perhaps necessary to have at London always one ordained person. I greet in the best manner I can the Countess and the Count, and beg leave to kiss your hands, being your poor brother,

"JAMES HUTTON."

Count Zinzendorf's reply, 28th April, 1740.

"You were not, most dear Hutton, a hypocrite in the usual sense of that word, but you were in the most praiseworthy sense, by which hypocrite and one that goes forth to public view are used as synonymous terms. Now you live, Hallelujah!

"We are meditating on the subject of sending labourers to your vineyard. Send to me the Berlin sermons translated into English. We shall see what time and practical application will avail our sisters towards the acquisition of the English language.

"I have written to Molther what appeared to me most suitable respecting your affairs. Now, farewell, for the time presses that I should strictly execute your counsels.

"Yours, ZINZENDORF."

Count Zinzendorf was also at this time acquainted with the Rev. Dr. Doddridge, as appears from a letter, dated Marienborn, Dec. 1, 1739; of which the following is a translation:*

"To Philip Doddridge, that very reverend man, much beloved in the bowels of the excellent Redeemer, pastor of [the people of] Northampton, and vigilant theologian, Nicholas Lewis the Moravian, sends health. From the castle of Maria Fontana (Marienborn), on the nones (1st) of December, 1739.

"John† Hutton was still with us when your letter came into my hands. I at the time, from a collection of various unpleasant humours, and a certain prostration of strength, was beginning to sink. To-day restored to life, not so much from

* See Humphrey's "Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D." vol. iii. p. 265—268.

† It should be "James."

my own wish, which tends to Christ, but from the will of my beloved Ruler, whom it is sweet to obey; from the banquet of Christ, I return to transact other matters which, during illness, I had much neglected. It was sufficient for me during the paroxysm, as they call it, that the public discourses for the church, the sacred synaxis,* and some inferior matters appertaining to the church were never neglected. The disease retired while these labours were being performed, returning more violent after them.

"Now I seem sufficiently recovered to undertake a journey to the Swiss, by whom I have recently been invited.—Berne, Basle, Stetin, Mulhausen, Schaffhausen, have heard the Gospel; nay, even Geneva, hitherto so devoted to philosophy, that it scarcely submitted to tolerate the ignominy of the Cross. The Esthonian churches and the Livonian church flourish. The barbarous inhabitants of which province pant for Christ. Greenland resounds with the Gospel. I however, disapprove of the conduct of the brethren who philosophize rather than *evangelize*. Even of the Caffrarians, thirty have already given their names to the Cross and are baptized; a thousand Moors also in the island of St. Thomas. The people of Savannah, Carolinas, Pennsylvania, Berbice, and Surinam expect fruit. They are preparing to visit from ten to fifteen heathen tribes dwelling in Virginia, speaking different languages. The Ceylonese have not yet written back. Lapland is now visited. In Russia, the Gospel is preached. Wallachia is succoured. Constantinople is visited. The Gospel is declared to a hundred Carthagenian (African) captives. From Guinea there is nothing new. A brother Moor (negro), who lives there, is endeavouring to erect schools for his fellow countrymen. The apostles of the Samoiedes (Tartar tribes) have returned from captivity, and are solicitious for re-establishing the preaching of the Gospel there. Shortly we shall visit the East Indies, and the savage tribes of New York, and the magi in Persia. Through the whole of Germany the churches are preparing for Christ, in Lusatia, Saxony, Brandenburg, Alsace, Swabia, Franconia, Wurtemberg, several imperial cities, Halsatia, the Palatinate, the Netherlands, and several states along the Rhine. Pray for us.

* Synaxis; *sacred assembly*, one of the various names of the Lord's supper, and principally used in the Greek church.

"I know not what to say to you, I discover in you an affection towards me that I scarcely ever did in another. You are worthy of a more excellent object of affection. I blame no church. You are venerable to me; but perhaps you had better place elsewhere the hope, love, and affection which you have placed in me. I expect greatly, nay pant for your letter, that will follow this my answer.

"Farewell, in the love of the Holy Christ common to us, the crucified, the most beneficent, the Only One, the wounded and bruised, that He might be a propitiation for liberating us from the everlasting pit, being as you believe most dear to me."

In the notes to this letter, more gross calumny and injustice were never inflicted upon the memory of any man than is perpetrated on that of the Count, wherein he is declared to be an "arch deceiver." Oh! how enrapturing will it be to the spirit of that good man when in a future world he shall have the opportunity of communicating his forgiveness for Christ's sake, of this uncalled-for exhibition of uncharitableness. When will the period arrive in which men imbued with the love of Christ shall thereby be induced to look at both sides of a question before they pronounce the sentence of condemnation upon the accused, and fear to judge, lest they be judged?

Upon his return from Germany to London, Hutton found Molther on his way to Pennsylvania, his appointed missionary field. He was a native of Alsace, and from 1735 had studied at Jena. In his autograph memoir, he says, "In 1737, I became the tutor of the young Count Christian Renatus de Zinzendorf, in music and the French language. I sought and obtained permission to lodge in his house in June. My soul felt heavenly delights in communion with the brethren. John Nitschmann the elder, whom we loved as our father, cared for our souls with great love and faithfulness. Our whole object was to become as little children. There were spirit, life, love, and union among us. Many an evening we would sit together till midnight, speaking of the state of our hearts, and singing unto Him who had brought us from the enthralments of the learned world to the community of the Brethren. Having spent four months with the pilgrim congregation at Berlin, we brought such a spirit and life with us to Jena, that our old associates of magister Blumhard's society were greatly rejoiced, while our former leaders became

somewhat uneasy. But the bold testimony of the blood of the Lamb and His merits broke through every barrier; approving itself, as the power of God unto salvation, to many students and inhabitants of the town."

In 1739, Molther, accompanied by John Languth, went to Wetteravia, where, on the 2nd of June, he received a call to Pennsylvania. Many circumstances combined to induce him to remain in London. He relates of his stay there: "On the 18th of October, 1739, I arrived in London, where I soon learned that no vessel would sail for Pennsylvania before the middle of January, 1740. I found, however, many an opportunity of employing my time in a useful manner. With our English brethren and sisters, who were eager to hear something for their edification, I conversed at first in Latin with the help of an interpreter, until I was able after a short time to make myself understood by them in their own language.

"At that time, brother Peter Böhler having left England in June, the Society in Fetter Lane had been under the care of John and Charles Wesley. The good people, not knowing rightly what they wanted, had adopted many most extraordinary usages. The very first time I entered their meeting, I was alarmed and almost terror-stricken at hearing their sighing and groaning, their whining and howling, which strange proceeding they called the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. In the midst of it all, it was quite apparent, from conversation with individuals, that most of them, from the very depth of their hearts, were yearning for the salvation of their souls.

"When I had been in London about four weeks, at the repeated solicitations of the members, I was prevailed upon to conduct some of their Society meetings, which, although very imperfectly acquainted with the English language, I undertook in the name of Jesus—the indescribable hunger of my auditory after the simple Gospel giving me confidence to overcome my sense of incompetency. My stammering testimony of the free grace in the blood of Jesus was so eagerly received as to create a greater hunger after the bread of life, although I often addressed them for hours. Each one told his acquaintances of these meetings, so that in a short time not only our place of meeting but the adjoining courtyard was entirely crowded with hearers, and thenceforward I had so much to do that the days and hours appeared too

short to me. During the daytime I visited from house to house, and the evenings were employed at the public and band meetings, upon which, by granting His grace, our Saviour laid His rich blessing."

"In 1740, John Wesley attacked the Society, with the view of confounding it. But as most of the members loved the doctrine of our Saviour and the atonement in his blood, his efforts remained fruitless; and perceiving his object to be foiled, he separated from the Society, exclaiming, 'Whoever belongs to the Lord, come with me!' A few followed him, the others remained with the Brethren. Some of them brought me an account of the procedure, whom I advised to remain quiet and commit the whole affair in prayer to the Lord."

Hutton gives the following account of this disruption of the Fetter Lane Society, which took place on the 20th of July, 1740: "John Wesley, displeased at not being thought so much of as formerly, and offended, as he said, with the easy way of salvation as taught by the Brethren, publicly spoke against our doctrine in his sermons, and his friends did the same. In June 1740, he formed his 'Foundry Society,' in opposition to the one which met at Fetter Lane, and which had become a Moravian Society.* Many of our usual hearers consequently left us, especially the females. We asked his forgiveness if in any thing we had aggrieved him, but he continued full of wrath, accusing the Brethren, that in following Luther without discrimination, they, by dwelling exclusively on the doctrine of faith, neglected the law and zeal for sanctification. In short, he became our declared opponent, and the two societies of the Brethren and the Methodists thenceforward were separated and became independent upon each other."

Whitefield about that time (1740) returned for a short while from North America, where for the most part he had been among the rigidly reformed party in New York, and was fully charged with the doctrines of Calvin on predes-

* It appears there had been preaching there before that time, for Mr. C. Wesley says in his Journal, 31st May, 1740: "I heard that the 'Foundry' was lately presented at Hicks's Hall for a seditious assembly. Sir John Gunson interposed, and objected that no persons were named in the presentment. Upon this they presented Charles Wesley, clerk; James Hutton, bookseller; Timothy Lewis, printer; and Howell Harris, alias the Welsh Apostle; but our friend Sir John quenched the whole."

Jackson's Life of Charles Wesley, vol. i. p. 219.

tination. John Wesley had preached a very animated sermon on universal redemption, against which Whitefield purposed printing a Calvinistic reply. Hutton, who had printed his Journal, was requested to print this work; but he declined it altogether, not desiring to be instrumental in publishing what he himself did not believe. "Whitefield at this took offence against the Brethren as well as against Wesley, and thus the Methodists not only quarrelled with the Brethren but wrangled among themselves. By which means, under the wise providence of God, three different parties were formed in England. The one was to consist of his witnesses; the second, delivered from the formalism of the high church, was to preach the doctrine of free grace; whilst the third was to be gathered from among churchmen and dissenters. The one he consigned to the Brethren, the second to John Wesley, the third to Whitefield, and among all three he possesses a blessed heritage of his own."

Hutton, in the above remarks, refers to the high episcopal church as it then existed, turning away from the true faith and advocating a natural one-sided doctrine of cold morality; and he evidently saw the threefold remedy granted by God himself against this evil, as set forth in the above three Christian parties, opposed to each other and at variance among themselves, in order that the respective truths which they taught might eventually be more clearly elucidated to all around.

The Moravians, the name now generally applied to the Brethren, in opposition to the striving after holiness without faith, insisted upon the "poor sinnership;" the Methodists of Wesley's party urged the doctrine of free grace and the striving after sinless perfection; the Whitefieldites enforced godliness in humility, adding that strong dogmatical assertion which in attempting to destroy every vestige of human self-complacency, goes beyond the holy Scriptures, and the teaching of St. Paul (Rom. ix. x. xi. 33—36); and assumes with Calvin an election of grace and predestination unto damnation. The two sections of Methodists differed not only in matters of doctrine, but, according to the views of the Anglican or Presbyterian parties among them, in the ritual and constitution of the church. They were, however, both alike inimically disposed towards the Brethren, and generally speaking, so they continued to be.

In the same year, 1740, Hutton went to Germany, where it was considered necessary that he should marry, in order that there might be a sister in London who should attend to the work of the Lord among the females, of whom some were a remnant of those who were first awakened, and others were new comers. A union was therefore proposed between him and the single sister Louise Brandt, a native of French Switzerland, who in the year 1739, had joined the congregation of the Brethren. After taking some time to consider, she consented to the proposal, and the marriage took place at Marienborn on the 3rd of July, 1740, Count Zinzendorf performing the ceremony. On Hutton's return with his wife to England, he brought with him Bishop David Nitschmann, Anna Nitschmann and her father; and sister Molther, who were about to proceed to Pennsylvania. Their temporary sojourn in London was greatly blessed both to the German and English brethren.

The wife of Hutton, on her first coming to England, was somewhat apprehensive of the welcome she should receive from her husband's parents, she being an unknown foreigner, and without fortune; but "God," says he, "gave her favour in the eyes of my parents from the first day they saw her to the last hour of their lives." This excellent woman proved a real blessing to him, who shared with her the joys and sorrows of devoted service in the Lord's cause. A letter which she wrote to Count Zinzendorf soon after her marriage, is happily preserved; and as it exhibits much of her character, and some traits in that of her husband, and gives some account of her reception in England, it will be read with interest: affectionately addressing the Count, she says: "Since my husband has written so in detail of his own affairs, as well as respecting our place of abode, I will at present only inform you how I am myself proceeding in London, for at present I can say nothing with regard to the souls here. On my first coming, it was rather lonesome to me, as I could not see daily the brethren and sisters who had accompanied us to England, and the more so, as I am not sufficiently simple or childlike and able to value the love which was shewn to me; yet I thought and still think I shall ere long overcome my difficulty. I am very happy with my husband, who does not allow me to be low-spirited. I love him much, and he often puts me to shame for my want of faith. He is sincere, open-hearted, and child-like,

and loves the Saviour and the brethren. I can only say he is a constant admonition to me, and the consideration with which he treats me shames and humbles me much. I often think that if he knew me better, he would alter his mind. The warmth of his temper sometimes makes me apprehensive on his account, yet his grace and honesty of heart soon causes humility, and he cleaves more to grace. Nevertheless, I must carefully guard my own heart. In other respects, I am happy. The Saviour is near to me, and I love Him, though not sufficiently, and I know that He loves me. A week ago my husband, myself, and our (*i.e.* Hutton's) parents went to communion. What were my feelings on the occasion? Neither at liberty to decline nor sufficiently simple to partake with my whole heart, I felt timid until we arrived at the church, when the Saviour spoke peace to my heart, which was so enlarged, that I felt constrained to pray for every one I saw. The liturgy, which is not always impressive, was now so pleasing to me and so full of spirit, and more than all, the comfort that I could really unite with my husband in the communion, made the occasion a heavenly one to me.

"I learn English, but my progress is slow, for I cannot yet converse, but I can pretty well understand what I hear, and almost all I read. My husband is a little impatient (*volage*), and cannot without great sacrifice sit still for the quarter of an hour, or I should learn better. I think I must first teach him to sit quiet, and then I shall soon learn to speak English. It seems difficult for me to familiarize myself with another nation. At times I am so wearied with civilities to which I am unused, and which I am obliged to return, that I dislike visiting; otherwise, as there are some very hearty sisters here, I am very comfortable. It would be a beautiful plan (sphere) for a thorough labouress, but for myself I know not how to proceed. I am more fit to attend in their bands, than they in mine. May the Saviour help me! I am nothing in myself, and trust Him all I can. I think I might improve more in the English had I more faith and confidence.

"Our dear German brethren and sisters have left. On the day of their departure I seemed as if deserted by every one, so lonely was I without them. Br. Molther, who intends leaving here at the end of this week, will inform you of everything.

"I am surprised at not reciving letters from Marienborn;

has the congregation forgotten me? I humbly ask you to send me a few lines; you cannot imagine how I seem to live in a wilderness, so little do we hear of the congregation.

"Sister Gussenbauer is very dear to me; she labours very diligently. Though I do not understand much yet, I attend her band in order to become acquainted with the souls. I should be very glad to speak a little English, for I have so many visits from the sisters that I am seldom alone, and am obliged to sit like a statue, which grieves me on their account, who have great hunger for the Gospel. May my Saviour help me soon to be able to tell them, 'The Saviour receives sinners.' I speak what I feel.

"A thousand loves to the dear Countess Benigna, and may she not forget the poor "BRANDTIN."

Hutton appears to have been early acquainted with the justly revered Dr. Doddridge, perhaps in connection with his trade when with Messrs. Innes and Manby. A beautiful instance of the intimacy subsisting between the Doctor and him, is recorded in a letter from the former to his wife, dated 26th of August, 1740.* The holy man was in deep affliction under the apprehension of being bereaved of a beloved daughter who had been attacked with severe illness. Supported by the promises of the Word of God, he says: "I was enabled to pray with that penetrating sense of God's almighty power, and with that confidence in his love, which I think I never had before in an equal degree; and I thought I then felt myself much more desirous that the child might be spared, if it were but a little while, from this illness, as in answer to prayer, than on account of her recovery simply, and in itself, or of my own enjoyment of her. While I was thus employed, with an ardour of soul, which had it long continued would have weakened and exhausted my spirits extremely, I was told that a gentleman wanted me: this grieved me exceedingly, till I found it was Mr. Hutton, now of the Moravian Church, whose Christian exhortations and consolations were very reviving to me. He said, among other things, 'God's will concerning you is,

* Inserted in Humphrey's "Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D."

that you should be happy at all times, and in all circumstances; and particularly now, in this circumstance; happy in your child's life, happy in its health, happy in its sickness, happy in its death, happy in its resurrection!' He promised to go and pray for it, and said he had known great effects attending such a method.

"So it was, that from that hour the child began to mend, as I wrote word to you by him that evening. I cannot pretend to say that I am assured she will recover; but I am fully persuaded if she does not, God will make her death a blessing to us; and I think she will be spared."*

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* Dr, Doddridge was an early associate of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, of which he was chosen a Corresponding Member in 1741. The letter to the Doctor, from Mr. Ingham, dated August the 6th of that year, and the Doctor's reply, deserve a place here.

To Dr. Doddridge, Northampton.

"DEAR SIR,—I have here sent you the letters I promised you. I am also to inform you that you are chosen to be a corresponding Member of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. Before you expressed your desire to me I had already proposed you to the Committee, who all approved of you; and after the meeting was over, when I mentioned you to the Society, they all unanimously chose you without balloting; so that when you are in London you will not only have the liberty to hear the letters and accounts read, but also to meet with the Members about business—and further, to be in the Committee. The brethren will be glad to hear from you as often as you please, and they from time to time will send you some accounts of the transactions of the Society. I gave what you entrusted me with to the box. Mr. Moody gave a guinea. Br. Spangenberg and all the brethren salute you.

"Your affectionate friend and brother in Christ,

"BENJAMIN INGHAM.

"London, August 6, 1741."

The Doctor's answer.

"Northampton, Aug. 8, 1741.

"REV. AND DEAR BROTHER,

"I am thankful to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel for their readiness to admit so unworthy a Member, and hope as the Lord shall enable me to approve myself cordially affectionate, though incapable of giving much assistance.

"I did this day, in our Church-meeting, publicly report some important facts received from Brother Hutton and others, as to the success of our dear Moravian Brethren and their associates. We rejoiced in the Lord at the joyful tidings, and joined in recommending them to the grace of God. I hope Providence will enable me to be a little serviceable to this good design.

On Monday the 7th of September, Count Zinzendorf, the Baron de Watteville, Br. Spangenberg and his wife, and Mr. Ingham, went to St. Alban's to meet Dr. Doddridge. An account of this meeting is given by the doctor, in a letter to Dr. Nathaniel Wood, of the 10th of the same month. He says, "I had the honour of an interview with him (the Count) last week. He has sent out from his own family three hundred preachers of the Gospel, who are gone into most parts of the world, and is now become guardian of the Protestant churches in the south of France, of which there are six that assemble privately for worship. The Count tells me that, during his absence, he has recommended them to the patronage of the King of Prussia." In a paper under the date of this interview, entitled "Some brief Memoirs of my interview with Count Zinzendorf," Dr. Doddridge writes:—"In the company of good Mr. Dixon, whom the providence of God brought to Northampton the preceding day, I went from Northampton to St. Alban's on the day mentioned above, when I had the pleasure of meeting that celebrated and faithful servant of Christ, Count Zinzendorf, and with him the pious and honourable Baron Wattevil, as also Mr. Spanindorf (Spangenberg), once professor of the University of Halle, and a most extraordinary person upon many accounts, with whom I had very pleasant conversation this evening and the next morning. I learnt a great deal of the progress of religion abroad, and was particularly

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I shall gladly continue to correspond with the Society, and gladly hope to have some good news from these parts ere long. In the meantime I humbly commend myself to your prayers and theirs.

"The conversation at Mr. Moody's, on Monday morning, has left a deep impression on my heart. Salute my dear brethren Messrs. Spangenberg and Kinchin, with Mr. Hutton, &c. I shall hope to hear when that blessed herald of our Redeemer, Count Zinzendorf, arrives. We long to see you; God brought me in peace home, and I found all well here. My wife and other friends salute you in the Lord.

"I am, dear Sir, your unworthy but affectionate friend in our gracious Lord, "PHILIP DODDRIDGE.

"P.S.—I have looked over several of the letters with great pleasure, and heartily thank you for sending them. Glory be to Him who causes his Gospel to triumph, and magnifies the riches of his grace in getting himself the victory by soldiers, who out of weakness are made strong. If Christ raise to himself a seed among the Negroes and Hottentots, I will honour them beyond all the politest nations upon earth that obey not his glorious Gospel."

informed by the Count, that no less than eighty French Protestant churches have put themselves under their protection. I have also heard much of the progress of the Gospel in Greenland, and St. Thomas Island, and New York, and various other places; in some of which the Missionaries of it have been in very great extremities, and yet have persevered with invincible resolution for God. I have several letters before me which give an account of these things, and therefore I shall only add, that the Count himself is a gentleman of a most graceful person, a sweet majestic aspect, perfectly well bred, and exceedingly agreeable in his manner and converse. He has an exceeding great regard for Christ, and thinks our business is much more with him than with the Father; that he is our God, and that his Father has given Him this world as His property. He thinks the excellency of the Bible is, that it is the lowest and meanest of all books, as to the manner of its composition, and that God will generally make use of the lowest and meanest instruments to propagate the Gospel, that it may evidently appear to be his own work. The account that he gives of the banishment of Christ from the Christian world abroad shews that other countries are growing much like our own in that respect, and if just, is indeed lamentable. He treated me with all imaginable respect, and when we parted it was with these words: *Sit hoc symbolum mysterium, ama Christum.* Baron Wattevil seems a very benevolent man. He was ruined by the stocks; and may God make the shipwreck of his immense fortune a means of saving his soul! Both he and the good professor Spanindorf (Spangenberg) are exceedingly zealous for God, and I had great pleasure in their company, and think that I have ever since felt my heart better. I have especially been growing in simplicity of spirit and deeper humility before God than I ever felt before. Those are the men, that in the midst of many infirmities will build up the church of God, and carry his name to the Gentiles; and I am full of thought what I may do to be a labourer together with them, though providence does not call me to leave my present settlement to join them in their travels."— *Sept.* 7, 1741.*

* Humphrey's Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D., vol. iv. p. 56; vol. v. p. 428.

On the 7th of December, a letter dated the 18th of November, from Dr. Doddridge to the Count, was read in the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel:—

"I ought to have acknowledged your goodness in sending me the first packet by Mr. Holmes, long before I received the second by Mr. Langley; but I hope you will now accept my most cordial and affectionate thanks for both together. The perusal of them hath given great joy to me and to several Christian friends to whom they have been communicated, and have excited earnest prayers for our dear brethren so zealously employed in the work of the Lord.

"I think it a great blessing to be at all related to the Society, and beseech you to present to the members of it my most affectionate respects. To see any of the brethren in their travels this way will give me a sensible pleasure.

"I have read over a great part of the Hymn book with much pleasure.

"I am now projecting a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, which is a scheme and interest that lie very near my heart. All I can propose is to get a few serious Christians to meet at certain times to pray for the success of those who are gone to carry it abroad; and to spend some time in discoursing on the chief promises which encourage our faith in that blessed event.

"I hope God will incline us at such times to contribute something towards succouring the dear Missionaries, which, if it happen, you will be sure to hear of us. I shall also continue to communicate to this Society, when formed, the letters and papers I receive from you, and I hope God will quicken us by this means to unite ourselves more in spirit with you, and those who are listed in the army of our glorified though once crucified Leader, whom, having not seen, we love. Oh! may our hearts be more and more filled with overflowing love to Him, and ardent zeal for his service. I would every hour remember the *symbolum* of our dear *ama Christum*. May you, dear Sir, your dear and pious consort, and all my brethren and sisters of your society be filled with grace and with joy, and be surrounded with every desirable blessing for time and eternity.

"Adored be the God of all grace in Jesus his Son, we have great matter of praise here—several religious societies formed—many attentive to hear the Gospel—

several, I hope, savingly wrought upon—several promising youths rising to the ministry, and several excellent Christians favoured on sick or dying beds with such grace and joy in the Lord, that many years have not equalled, within my observation, what I have seen of this kind within a few months. For all this, join your praises with me, and favour me with a continued share in your prayers. I make the same request to the Society, &c. &c.,

"PH. DODDRIDGE.

"Northampton, Nov. 18, 1741."

On the 17th of Sept. 1740, Hutton wrote to the Count:

"My dearest gracious Count,

"I shall greatly rejoice to hear from you, I much need counsel, help, and letters from you. I rejoice in the Lord amidst faith, confidence and humility; I overcome all things—success is mine, which fills me with confusion of face. This I will say; all these things make me feel more and more that I am a sinner, and with all this that the sacrifice of the cross is inexpressibly dear to me; but the sorrow (*schmertz*) is greater than ever, for though I see that in him I have all things, yet I am so deficient. Henceforth I will have more faith. I trust he will hold me up. As I am I give myself up to him: 'Lord, here am I, thine own poor sinner.' I have often said so, and have always found him to be my helper. My dear brother, I desire for the future never to forget Him, pray for me that I never do."

Ingham writes from Yorkshire that he also has discovered something new in his heart, and is now assured he shall not die eternally; he had never before experienced the like. He also writes that many souls in Yorkshire have of late found grace, and he desires that Töltschig may come to him.

In reference to this application from Ingham, the following letter was sent by Hutton to Count Zinzendorf:

"My dear Brother,

"We in London cannot spare Töltschig until Spangenberg comes to us; we here all think he will be useful to Ingham and the souls there. They must seize the opportunity presented. The souls in Yorkshire are more simple-hearted than those in London, where they are more knowing; and

they do not, like those in town, quibble at every word. Töltschig is known in Yorkshire, where the souls love him, and he can speak to them with confidence. We want a thorough brother, fundamentally correct, and of large experience for the souls in London, able to attend to our bands and conferences, and to address our meetings. Töltschig is very well in bands and conferences, but he cannot preach; and Viney is not well adapted for it. For myself I think him able enough. I like him much in bands and conferences, but many souls are not edified by his sermons; to many his person, delivery, and bearing are not acceptable. We held a conference last Sunday, at which Gussenbauer, Viney, Ockershausen, myself, and my wife were present, when I was desired to write to the congregation with you, that brother Spangenberg might be allowed to come to us as soon as possible. My brother, I entreat you all that he may soon be here; his wife might also find employment here. We will give you all the thanks we can. Töltschig is gone expressly with a letter from Holland for Bishop Nitschmann, now at Portsmouth.

"I am your poor brother,
"JACOB HUTTON.

"Give my love to my dear elders, and kiss their hands; the very dear Countess, also sister Jennerin (*i.e.* wife of Jenner), Molther in particular, if he be among you."

Hutton's wife adds (in German) to the same letter:

"I do not know whether you will make out my husband's letter. One thing is certain, that it is very desirable Töltschig should go to Yorkshire; but that cannot be until another brother supply his place. It (the change) would result in our meetings being better understood. The uproar and rioting continue, but we let the people do as they will; for they only break our windows, and not our heads.

"We have had letters from Spangenberg, in Holland, who at present has no orders to proceed to London. I trust, however, that orders may be given him soon, which would be very gratifying. It is clear the souls are anxious for their conversion, and their hearts melt when one speaks to them of the Saviour's sacrifice and merits.

"I am not yet capable of keeping bands, but I speak as much as I can in private. I am not so cheerful as I ought

to be; for being in ill health, everything seems a burden to me. Yet I determine to do what I can, laboriously if not pleasantly, until the Saviour make it easy to me: on the whole, I look for daily improvement. We have, dear Count, written once before to you, and have had no reply. In this respect, also, we hope for improvement.

"Br. Molter is probably with you ere this, who will supply you with full information. I therefore conclude and remain,

"Your poor sister,

"LOUISE HUTTON."

Hutton adds the following P.S.:—

"The wind has of late been very wonderful, and I really think your people (the brethren and sisters going to Pennsylvania) have received the letter which I sent under cover to Mr. Le Long. They have several men-of-war with them as well as a whole armament; but I am of opinion that the Lord is not with us English in war matters. He is, however, with us at all times in congregation affairs. This I learn by daily experience.

"I am your poor HUTTON."

In the same month Hutton addressed the two following letters in English, to the Pilgrim Congregation and the Count:—

"DEAR CONGREGATION,

"I am desired to write to you from our people. I call them not yet a congregation; but a congregation of hope. They thank you very heartily for your unfeigned love towards them and care for them. Though they find much want of many labourers, and are ashamed they have profited no more under the labour of those whom the dear congregation has sent among them; yet they have no doubt but ye will continue to remember them before the Lord, and not leave them destitute, now in the time [when] there seems again a sort of life to be coming amongst us, a greater desire than ever of being brought into order. We could not be easy, if we had not given you these public thanks, which we doubt not are unfeigned.

"We will not use many words to desire you to send us somebody in the room of brother Molther. Brother Spangenberg is generally expected and humbly desired, not

because we cannot be well without labourers, but because we have had experience of your love to us for these two years. We beg you to have patience with us, and to believe that I am, in the name of your poor brethren and sisters, the souls in bands in London,

"Your devoted brother,

"JAMES HUTTON."

To Count Zinzendorf.

"MY DEAREST, GRACIOUS COUNT,

"I entreat you and the dear congregation to write as often as possible, and as much as you think proper. That we need great help and advice, my Saviour knows right well. I thank him for his grace, I fly to him; if I did not, I must soon sink. He has given me stronger love to the congregation, since I read in the newspapers that the Emperor in council at Vienna has adopted oppressive measures against the Brethren in Bohemia, and that in Lübeck there has been an uproar against our congregation. Emperors, kings, princes and priests, all are but pigmies when compared with the power of the blood of the Lamb, and with his promises to his own. Here things go on very promisingly, the souls approach nigher continually, and the Saviour sounds not his Gospel in vain; on which account we shall joyously accept whatever good is sent to us; and I believe we shall find abundance of work for them.

"Your poor brother,

"HUTTON."

On the 11th of October, 1740, the following was addressed to Count Zinzendorf from Hutton's wife:

"That all things work for our good, both myself and my husband have assuredly experienced. At first we lost much of our simplicity, and consequently fell into disorder, but the Saviour compassionating us, has again set us right without confusion. We humble ourselves before Him with thankfulness; simplicity and the poor sinnership become very dear to me, and we are now happy in fellowship.

"Everything here goes on well; the souls become poor and seek grace. The Saviour causes a new breeze of grace to blow among them, and they are much pleased at my being able to speak a little English. Our parents (Hutton's father and mother) love us much, and do not interfere, ex-

cepting at my husband becoming a preacher; for they think it a great sin for an unordained person to stand up and preach, and believe it will be visited with condign punishment, as was the sin of Corah and Abiram. Heretofore my husband has not preached, saving where our parents have not known of it; yet, since circumstances may arise to make it necessary that he should preach at ordinary meetings, I pray you to inform us whether we ought so far to conform ourselves to our parents' views as we have hitherto done? We ask the question solely from having been advised so to do. To gain your good will and not to close your hearts against us, we will do what the congregation thinks right, for we unreservedly belong to the Lamb, and that is not the business of friends or relations.*

"Our brethren have been requested to preach in another quarter of the town, and have done so with blessing; but it was not under my sanction, for they who made the request were separatists from the Wesleyans; yet with the exception of these the hearers are a rude people, to whom the preaching of the Gospel is wholesome and good. It must also be observed that the ground is new, and that Wesley had never previously preached in the place.

"I remain the poor and miserable, but, through the mercy of Jesus, blessed sister,

"LOUISE HUTTON born BRANDT."

In a letter to Spangenberg of the 18th of November of this year, Hutton writes:

"MY DEAR BROTHER,

"Last week I waited upon the Earl of Huntingdon and his lady, at no great distance from London. The Countess, who had sent for me, I found more eager to hear the Gospel than any one I ever saw before. Of poor sinnership and of the Saviour she has not much to say; nevertheless, she receives the Gospel very simply, and believes it. I look daily for its striking deep root in her heart; she has great liking to the Brethren; she does not lack good sense, but has a very violent temper; her lady's maid, however, tells me she has not been in a passion for more than twelve months.

* The answer given to this letter has not been found.

"While I was conversing with the Countess, her husband joined us. We were speaking of the lost (prodigal) son; on which subject he recommended some great authors to me. I offered him my opinion in the matter, that in the [mere] repentance of the lost son there was no value; I had myself been such an one, and had experienced equal mercy. Relating to him how this happened, he appeared quite satisfied at having heard something on the subject. I shewed him that our Saviour had given up himself for the sins of all men, and that whosoever believeth this, shall obtain forgiveness of sins. He said he believed that also. He is not yet awakened, being unable to distinguish the difference between the preaching of the clergy and that of ourselves; and thus I let it rest. He is friendly to us and the Moravian Brethren.

"In another conversation with his lady, I spoke very freely to her respecting her conduct towards her lord; telling her she ought to be obedient, cheerful, and loving. She listened to me as though she had been my inferior. This astonished me when I considered her as an English Countess, and of a choleric and violent temper.

"Conversing with the Earl on the discipline of our Brethren, and on the separation as far as practicable of the sexes, he, from a feeling of conviction, approved of our method. He has a lovely daughter sixteen years of age; I have great hopes of her. I pressed it much home to her heart to believe in the Saviour, to love him above all, and never forget him. Her eyes filled with tears, and she seemed full of emotion. O! how much I should rejoice if this child were in Marienborn! She has great capacity, is of an engaging disposition, healthful, and free at times even to levity. I cannot sufficiently commend the congregation on the great care they bestow upon the children. My heart pains me when I think how awkward I should be in educating my children if I had any. The person in charge of the above young lady is a good simple sheep. I think were she (the young Countess) among the children at Marienborn, that she would become a child of God.

"Yesterday I waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury and delivered to him the letters with the Catechism and Declaration. He was very friendly, asked after my father, and whether I followed my trade? That was all, he being

in a hurry, and I somewhat timid; I hope you will forgive me. He looked very venerable. I soon withdrew.

"We poor sinners, my wife and myself, live happily together. Sometimes I fear I love her too much; at others, not enough. We entreat the prayers of the congregation.

"I am, with great love, the congregation's poor brother,

"J. HUTTON."

In the month of March of this year (1741), Mr. Whitefield applied to Hutton to print a tract he had written on the doctrine of reprobation, but this was declined, on the principle which he uniformly maintained, that he ought not in his trade to publish that which he himself did not believe to be in accordance with the Divine Word.

The repeated applications made by Hutton in the previous year for assistance from the brethren abroad were, in connection with the missions in America, duly considered at a Synod held at Marienborn in the month of December; but with especial reference to England, where the awakenings continued to increase, and great need was felt of a judicious and faithful guide in the oversight of the flock. Spangenberg and his wife were therefore deputed to visit England, there to superintend the increasing work of God. They received the blessing of the congregation at Herrnhaag; and on the 5th of April, Hutton and his associates had the pleasure of greeting them on their safe arrival in London. The brethren and sisters in office thinking it desirable to dwell together, Spangenberg had a house in Red Lion Square fitted up for their accommodation, as a 'pilgrim house,' from whence to superintend the whole work of the Brethren in England. Hutton, and the Society under his care, being now animated by an eager desire to spread the knowledge of the Lord to the utmost ends of the earth, availed themselves of the assistance of Spangenberg to carry out their views. At a love-feast on the 27th of April, the brethren, to the number of twenty, agreed unanimously to do what St. John commends so much in his 3rd Epistle, in so far as the Lord should enable them and bless their endeavours for the spread of his name. At this meeting the original "Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel" was organized, which Society included in its labours, and received reports from, the whole English province, as well as from the

continent of Europe, and the missionary stations in America and the West Indies. This Society, in its structure, was somewhat like the Christian Knowledge Society of 1699, which, through the court chaplain Ziegenhagen, had been brought into connection with the institutions at Halle. It also bore resemblance to a Presbyterian Society of the year 1647; and, like the Dutch Society organized at Amsterdam by Count Zinzendorf, previous to his departure for the West Indies in 1738, it had for its object the support of the missions of the Brethren.

This Society was formed not so much for the sake of the brethren and sisters, who had already assisted and cheerfully contributed towards its object before its organization, but for the sake of Christian friends, to whom the opportunity of aiding the cause of Christ might be a source of blessing as well as of thankfulness. From a letter written by Br. Spangenberg, we learn that the Members chose four of their number as a Committee, whose duty it was to raise funds, defray expenses, carry on correspondence, and hold weekly conferences with each other for the despatch of business. As they required a brother from the congregation abroad to be among them, they appointed Spangenberg as assessor of the Church of the Brethren. The brethren first chosen on the Committee were Hutton, Stonehouse, Ockershausen and Bray. Br. Marshall was secretary, Br. Holland servant, and two sisters, Holland and Stonehouse, were appointed as female servants. The proceedings of this Society were conducted under the following Rules, which exhibit its character and constitution.

Rules of the Society for Furtherance of the Gospel.

1. It is to be observed, that this Society is not intended in opposition to any other of the like nature, or to interfere with the charities of any other Society whatever.

2. The design of this Society is to further the Gospel or glad tidings of salvation, by aiding and assisting labourers and their assistants going to different parts for the Lord's sake, as far as it shall be able, as well during the time they may stay here, as in their passage to the places they are designed for; and also wherever such are as stand in need of their assistance.

3. This Society is to meet once every month, namely, on the first Monday in the month, at which time will be read letters and accounts relating to the progress of the Gospel; to the hearing thereof all the members of the Fetter Lane Society may be admitted; as also others whom the Committee of this Society may give leave to; and when the reading of the letters, &c. is ended, then they that are not proper members of this Society to depart, and the Society to continue awhile together, in order to consider matters by themselves.

4. At this General Meeting, a box will be placed where it may be most convenient for any person to put therein as much or little as best suits them, and according as they are disposed towards the furtherance of the Gospel. At the same time, accounts and minutes of this Society will lie on a table for any member to inspect at pleasure.

5. The Society to have a Committee of four members, a Secretary, and servant, who are to act as deputies of the whole Society, one of whom is to be appointed Treasurer.

6. This Committee is to meet once a-week for the despatch of business.

7. Besides the members of the Committee, two or three of the Moravian brethren, whom their Church shall appoint, are to be with them.

8. The Committee may invite to be present at their meetings, any stranger whom they shall think proper.

9. The Committee may call an extraordinary General Meeting, if any particular occasion should require it.

10. On the death or removal of any member of the Committee, or if other occasion require it, the Committee may propose to the Society any person or persons whom they shall think proper to be added to the Committee; but such ought to be persons of tolerably good understanding, of an upright heart, and of some experience in spiritual things.

11. The Committee is likewise to propose new members, as well for the Society in general, as for the Committee in particular; therefore, whenever a new member is to be chosen, he must first be mentioned to the Committee, who will take care to inquire privately into his character, and afterwards propose the person at the next General Meeting. And here it is to be observed, in proposing members for this Society, that not every person, because he is a good man, is

therefore to be recommended for a member, but those only who may be of use to the Society, and capable of carrying on its designs; for, seeing there are no subscriptions, too great a number is rather a hindrance than a help to the Society.

12. The Committee not to take up more than £30, without acquainting the whole body.

13. The Secretary to take care that what is read at the General Meetings may be copied, and laid by.

14. When a new member is to be chosen into the Committee, it is to be done at a meeting of the whole body. The same also, whenever a new member of the Society is to be made choice of. They that are members of the Committee, are, of course, members of the Society also.

15. When any one is proposed to the Society by the Committee, either for a new member of the Society, or Committee, if upon balloting there is no objection found against him, he is to be admitted; but, provided any one has an objection against the person proposed, he need not mention it until afterwards, and that privately to one of the Committee, who will inquire thereinto with the utmost secrecy; which, if it be found of no weight, or is removed, then the person may be proposed again, and so balloted for afresh; then, if no new objection be found, he may be chosen; but, if after an objection be made in balloting, no person gives in a reason of the objection to the Committee, or to any one of them before the next General Meeting, such person before balloted for shall then be declared duly chosen, and the objection be deemed a mistake, or groundless. The intent of this order is to prevent disputings, or groundless objections, or ill-will against any who may not approve of the person proposed.

16. The members of this Society may consist both of men and women.

17. It will be well not to acquaint any one with his being proposed for a member, lest if he be not chosen, he should be offended or grieved. And when any one is made choice of for a member of this Society, the Secretary, or whomsoever the Society shall appoint, is to acquaint him of it, that no mistakes be made, but that one may know who is to answer for it.

18. No person to be removed out of this Society for ill behaviour, &c. until he has been admonished, first privately,

and then, if he amend not, secondly, publicly; and if he still continue the same, thirdly, to be turned out of this Society, till the whole body is satisfied that it is proper to receive him again.

19. Every one that receives any money for the use of this Society, to pay in the same to the Committee within three days after the receipt, provided the same be not received out of London.

20. No person to invite or introduce any one who does not belong to the Fetter Lane Society, to hear the letters read, &c. at the General Meeting, until he have first mentioned them to the Committee, and had their consent.

21. No controversies in religion or politics are ever to be allowed in any meeting of this Society.

22. These stated Rules of the Society are to be read, whenever a new member is to be admitted.

23. Any orders established by this Society to be altered only at a meeting of the whole Society.

This Society, for ten years, paid the expenses of the Missions of the Brethren, more especially in the English colonies, until it was dissolved, in consequence of the pecuniary difficulties of the congregation.

On the 19th of August, 1741, it was proposed in conference whether it might not be well, and even necessary, for the Fetter Lane Society to have a President and Stewards, as was customary in other societies, it being uncertain whether the Moravian brethren could always be here? and whether some of the English brethren should be appointed to take the work upon them, especially as our Saviour had bestowed so much grace on several of their number, and endowed them with the requisite gifts for such offices, as to leave no doubt of their faithfulness and fitness? The English brethren and sisters thought well of the proposal, provided that the Moravians would not leave them, but keep them under their care as they had hitherto done. This being heartily promised by the Moravian brethren present, the meeting was reminded of the character which ought to be sustained by a President, and the voting took place after the singing of some appropriate verses. Twenty-seven persons voted on the occasion; and the number of votes being, for Hutton twenty-five, and twenty-two for Viney, the presidency was

assigned to Hutton; Br. Viney, without further voting, being proposed first Steward, and Br. Holland, after voting, was chosen second Steward; but at the next meeting, held on the 26th of August, Hutton, on account of his activity in business, was thought more suitable for the office of Steward, and Viney better adapted for that of President. No vote was recorded at the time, but on the 7th of October, the brethren and sisters were informed, that each individually having been of the same opinion, Br. Viney was appointed President by the conference, and the brethren, Hutton and Holland, called to the office of Stewards. On the 14th, it was agreed that there should be Stewards among the sisters, as well as among the brethren, because sisters could be more appropriately employed in the affairs of women than brethren. The six sisters present gave their votes; for Sr. Hutton six, for Sr. Spangenberg three, for Sr. Stonehouse three.

The month of September, 1741, is remarkable in the history of the Brethren, on account of a synodal conference held from the 11th to the 23rd of that month in the house in Red Lion Street, taken by Bp. Spangenberg of the widow sister Metcalfe. This conference consisted of the principal labourers in the church of the Brethren, among whom Hutton and his wife would necessarily be included. The accounts of this Synod are well known and published in the histories of the Brethren. The chief subject of consideration was "the work of the Lord as entrusted to the church of the Brethren and its labourers for the last nineteen years—the *Renewed church of the Brethren* widely scattered, owned by the Lord and blessed, spoken against from without and not rightly understood even within her own borders; and, for the present, *the best mode of governing the same*." The leaders themselves did not feel competent to govern the whole. The two principal offices of the church were vacant, *the spiritual*, that of the Chief Elder, and *the temporal* or external, that of Steward or Warden of the congregation; the former through the resignation of Leonhard Dober, the latter (at least for a time) through the intended absence from Europe of Count Zinzendorf. The childlike and firm faith of the assembled brethren and sisters laid hold of the conviction impressed on their minds on the 15th of September, "*that our Saviour Himself would be and remain the Chief Elder and Guide of*

His people." Hereupon the current business was taken in hand, namely, the establishment of *a General Conference*, or collegiate *Board of Direction*, consisting of twelve persons, who should reside at Marienborn, and superintend the whole church of the Brethren; and the newly projected establishment of congregations on the European continent, in North America, and in Great Britain.*

Oct. 7.—Hutton proposed to re-establish a religious society, of which he had been an active promoter, at a house in Islington, which for want of proper persons to conduct it had been dissolved; but the proposal does not appear to have been carried into effect.

Oct. 14.—The new Collection of Hymns was in the press, and it was agreed to print "The Moravian Specimen of Doctrine." Both to be published by Hutton.

At this time there was much intercourse between the Brethren and Mr. Whitefield, who, having been in Scotland, wished them to undertake the care of the awakened there. His people also desired to share in the Fetter Lane meeting-house, but the fear of disturbance interfered with such an arrangement.

Nov. 11.—Hutton had been to Hendon to visit a poor man there in a consumption.

Nov. 18.—Ingham had written to inform the brethren of his marriage in the foregoing week with Lady Margaret

* At this Conference, the subject of the Lord's Day was discussed, and it was agreed to require the Brethren so to observe the Sabbath as not to occasion offence. The desecration of the Lord's Day on the continent of Europe, imitated in England on the pretext of keeping every day sacred alike, thus making every day alike secular, has more than once been a source of distress to faithful men; and hence, on one occasion, the complaint of the ministers against the Brethren became general, that they walked here and there for pleasure during the time appointed for meetings on Sundays, which was considered "really alarming, and certainly a token of great dryness of heart." The principle laid down by Bp. Böhler respecting this day was, "that as the first day of the week was kept (in England) as a Sabbath among all Christian denominations, and as the same was required by the law of the land, he therefore wished the Brethren might, as much as possible, endeavour to behave so as was required of all Christendom; in particular it should be observed in the choir houses, where the neglect of it could in no wise be defended. He also urged, that the time would be much better employed in reading the Bible, which had been too much neglected, although every general matter transacted by the Brethren was all drawn from thence."

Hastings, and the brethren sang for him the hymn beginning—

"Take their poor hearts and let them be,
For ever closed to all but Thee," &c.

The year 1742 opens with an example, which every Christian tradesman would do well to follow. Hutton began the new year by thanking God for his shop, which had hitherto been his pulpit, and from which his customers never retired when he was present, without some discourse for the good of their souls. On one occasion, when strange notions of the brethren pervaded the public mind, a female having heard many calumnies against the Moravians, applied to him, in order to satisfy herself. One of her prejudices was removed by means of a little circumstance which then happened. She had heard, among other things, that parents, in the congregations of the Brethren, had no sort of affection for their children, but cruelly sent them away from them, &c. Observing however that Hutton behaved tenderly towards his young child, and hearing him declare that he loved it much, though acknowledging our Saviour's higher right to it, she perceived that the Brethren were misrepresented in that respect, and therefore supposed they might be so in more. She then told him her reason for coming, which was, that her husband, though a good man, had a leaning towards the Moravians, and being uneasy on that account, she wished to get some book whereby she might know the principles of that people: so he gave her the little book called "The Traveller's Present." *

* The tract here mentioned, which was translated in 1742, and printed and published by Hutton, was written by Count Zindendorf, "with the intent that if one should meet with any person on the road or elsewhere, and fall into discourse with him about religion, and the time not allowing one to speak fully all that may be needful, then one might give such a one this little book, which would serve as a further explanation of mind concerning the essentials of religion." It was prepared in February, but not completely revised until the 13th of October, when it was put into Hutton's hands, who printed and published it by the 20th of the same month. It has the following title:—"The Traveller's Present; or, a Letter, giving a short History of *Religion*.—London, printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun in Little Wild Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields." It consists of twenty-four pages, 24mo., of which the following is the first.—

In the early part of the year, Count Zinzendorf and many German brethren and sisters came to England, some few to remain, the greater number on their way to America. Br. and Sr. Böhler, and several English brethren and sisters who were designed for Pennsylvania, were married, and after they had been formed into a congregation, brother Piesch being appointed their overseer, they sailed in a ship fitted out for the purpose. At the end of June, Hutton having been to Dover, reported his visit to a Dutch vessel which had arrived there with German brethren and sisters on their voyage to Pennsylvania. He found several sick on board, and one female in a deep consumption, whose patient and resigned behaviour in her illness had edified him very much. Finding that this vessel was to lie at Dover for a week, or longer, and that the crew were desirous of cleaning her, and clearing her of vermin, he hired two rooms, one for the brethren, the other for the sisters, very cheap and convenient, where they might live by themselves, and keep their stated meetings and conferences as usual. He also sent Br. Samuel Lieberkuhn* to visit them, and look after their sick. There were other passengers on board, who were very troublesome to the crew. The brethren and sisters, whose quiet deportment had greatly endeared them to the sailors, received much kindness from them.

In this year another book was published by Mr. Hutton, entitled:—"A Manual of Doctrine, or a Second Essay to bring into the form of Question and Answer as well the Fundamental Doctrines, as the other Scripture Knowledge of the Protestant Congregation, who for 300 years past have been call'd *The Brethren*.—(Reserving a Liberty to alter and amend again, what at *any time shall be found needful*.) Written in High Dutch, by the author of the first Essay; and now translated into English with an *Introduction*. Lon-

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"My dear Fellow Traveller,—Here thou hast a letter which I have wrote to thee out of the fulness of my heart, and with many tears for thy salvation's sake; and the Lamb of God hath sprinkled it with his blood, that it will be profitable for thee, if thou abidest by thy heart, or, now findest thy heart."

* Who departed to the Lord in 1777, after more than 40 years labour among the Jews—and of whose services the Periodical Accounts, vol. xii. 364—xiv. 309—xv. 155, give very interesting particulars.

don: Printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun, in Little Wild Street, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1742." *

A slanderous pamphlet having been published by the Methodists against the works of Archbishop Tillotson and a book entitled, "The Whole Duty of Man," which works were held in great estimation by the people, the Brethren, whom the rabble confounded with the Methodists, were much annoyed in their public services by tumultuous disturbances, and rather than be the occasion of disorder they for a while closed their chapel. With the view of obtaining legal protection, the subject of obtaining licenses for the places of worship of the Brethren was seriously considered in the early part of this year; and in the month of May, Spangenberg and Lieberkuhn had an interview with Archbishop Potter, the old friend of the Brethren and of Count Zinzendorf, and took the opportunity of speaking to him on the subject. The Archbishop replied, that there was no occasion for any license as the Brethren were not Dissenters; which quite accorded with the legal opinion previously obtained,

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* This book is in 24mo. and has 271 pages, besides the title and table of contents, and an introduction of 18 pages followed by a hymn. The Introduction consists of the dedication of the first Essay or edition, signed David Nitschman, Moravian; and is followed by the preface of the Overseers or Bishops of the Congregation. There is a commendatory letter from Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, then in his 80th year, to Count Zinzendorf, dated Berlin, 23 Aug. 1740; after it is the advertisement of the Author to the first Essay or edition, then a particular Declaration of the Elders and Deacons, concerning the Moravian Book of Doctrine; then the introduction of the Author to his second Essay, at the end of which are two lines of errata, and finally a Hymn. The contents are the following:—

	PAGE		PAGE
Of Christian Faith	1	Of his Exaltation.....	133
Of God.....	10	Of the Kingdom of Grace.	153
Of the Father	16	Of Baptism	173
Of the Son	30	Of the Church.....	177
Of the Holy Ghost	40	Of Marriage	188
Of Angels	55	Of the Lord's Supper, &c.	191
Of Man and his Fall	60	Of Magistrates, &c.....	200
Of the Secret Mercy in Christ .	66	Of Saints or Christians	209
Of the Law	67	Of Disciples or Special Servants of Christ	230
Of the Power of Darkness	76	Of our Saviour's Second Appearing	261
Of the promised Mediator	90		
Of his Coming in the Flesh ...	114		

On the last page of the book is a list of Books printed for and sold by James Hutton.

that by act of Parliament none was required, inasmuch as the Brethren consisted of foreign Protestants and English churchmen. In the course of the conversation the difficulty that had arisen in the minds of the Brethren, as to how they were to be styled, was mentioned by Spangenberg, who proposed "German Protestants, called Moravian Brethren."—The late brother Plitt, in his MS. history of the Brethren says, "To this (the application for the license having been agreed to) the Archbishop consented, and a license was drawn up accordingly at the office of his Grace." But the grant does not appear to have been made, for on the 6th of July, the brethren Hutton and Schlicht "went to see for a license for the house in Fetter Lane, at Doctors' Commons, where they were told a certificate from the minister, or teacher, of the denomination of Dissenters which they were of, or for whom the meeting was to be taken, with several of the congregation's as well as the teacher's name to it, was to be brought thither, desiring the place to be licensed." They told the person in office they were not properly Dissenters. He said, "Then there was no license could be given, the toleration was for Dissenters, not for Church people." They afterwards bought the Toleration Act, "but could find nothing for their purpose" in it.—All which was on the same day communicated by Hutton to Spangenberg, then in Yorkshire—and so the matter seems to have rested until the 7th of September; when Hutton, under instructions received from Spangenberg, took a license for Fetter Lane Chapel, under the designation "Moravian Brethren, formerly of the English communion." This was the first sanction of the public worship of the Brethren in England. But the title "Moravian Brethren" was contrary to the inclinations of some of the brethren, of whom it is quite evident the majority were members of the episcopal Church of England, and had formerly belonged to one or other of the Vestry Societies. These men had but one idea, which Spangenberg himself fostered, namely, "that as members of the Moravian church of the Brethren they continued to remain members of the Episcopal English church, both being sister churches," and they had sought reception into the church of the Brethren under the impression of this conviction. Count Zinzendorf thought a dangerous step had been taken, and that Spangenberg and

Lieberkuhn had sought for church privileges by asking for a license, and wished to procure a standing in England for the Moravian church through the favour of the Archbishop, which might too much lift up the church, while it would tend to confirm their opponents in believing that the church of the Brethren was "a schism from the evangelical church." Hence his opposition to these transactions in his protest, dated Nov. 19, 1742, which he required to be deposited in the archiepiscopal archives at Lambeth Palace, on his return to England from North America in February, 1743.* Hutton and other members of the Fetter Lane Society of the year 1738, on the other hand, rejoiced that the connection with the Brethren had led to the formation of a Missionary Society, and a Congregation of the Brethren in the metropolis. It appears from the "Acta Fratrum," appendix No. XXII. 1749, that the Moravians, to prevent their English brethren being reckoned as strictly under the jurisdiction of their hierarchy, permitted them to take regular licenses; which at York they obtained from the archbishop,

* "To his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. David and Nicolaus, Bishops of the Church of the Brethren,

"Wish much health,—As soon as we heard that certain holy men in your metropolitan city, endued by God with singular gifts, had received license for preaching the word of God from the chief magistrates and patrons of the city, under this title:—'MORAVIANS *so called, formerly of the English communion*,'—we must ingenuously own that it caused in us the greatest perplexity. And although the persons distinguished by this title, were well known to us, and we admired and respected them for their integrity of heart and the excellent gifts with which our Lord had endowed them; yet we can by no means consent to their taking upon them the title of *Moravian*, as preferable to any other common denomination. Our church will never ask for the rights of *dissenters;* neither (since she is the most ancient of the Protestant churches, if not their common mother) could she take upon her the name of orthodox, apostolical and episcopal, without great folly. And although we may easily believe that the best of men, being ignorant of ecclesiastical history, and finding themselves assisted in the ways of the Lord by the labours of the Brethren, might therefore agree to adopt both their name and fortune—which truly Christian simplicity herein we neither justify nor condemn; yet we are desirous to have our express protestation set forth in this letter, properly deposited in the paternal hands of the Archbishop. As soon as an opportunity more favourable to the tranquillity of the Brethren shall happen, we are desirous that it may be thence again obtained, and either made known to the public, or in private, to those of each party according as it best comports with propriety and candour.

"Given at Philadelphia, 19th day of November, 1742."

but in London, they were taken *from the magistrate*, because Count Zinzendorf had negociated with them for their continuance, under the spiritual direction of the then archbishop of Canterbury.

Hutton, constantly on the look out for opportunities of doing good, in the month of May accosted some foreigners in the street, and discovered them to be poor wanderers from the tender mercies of the archbishop of Salzburg. Many of their fellow exiles were in Zealand, where their minister had left them; he forthwith adopted means by which one of the brethren there might take them under his care.

Mr. Whitefield, who always had a friendship for Hutton, in 1738 sent him the journal of his voyage to America, and appointed him his bookseller; and in 1740 he carried on an affectionate correspondence with him. In 1741, however, he complained that his bookseller, whom he believed to have got some hundreds by him, being drawn away by the Moravians, had refused to print his works; yet Hutton was still his bookseller in 1741, and now in March 1742, we find Mr. Whitefield happily united in conference with the Moravians, Spangenberg, Viney, and Schlicht, and their English brethren, apparently on the subject of a negro boy, whom Mr. Whitefield had brought with him from America, and whom he desired to commit to the care of the Brethren. They gladly complied with his wishes, and undertook to provide for the boy, and bring him up for the Lord; they being at liberty to dispose of him as they should find most fitting until he should arrive at the age of twenty-one years. The boy was committed to the care of Br. Thiele, accompanied by Br. Bowers, who on the 17th of June embarked with him for Herrndyk; and on the 27th a letter from the boy to his mother in Carolina was read in the London Conference. With regard to the after life of this negro, it appears that on the 28th of December, 1743, Mr. Whitefield wished to have him again, on the plea that he might take him to his mother, who would be sadly displeased if he should not return to Carolina with him. He, being now prejudiced against the Brethren, insisted on the boy's return from Germany in a very unfriendly manner. This was a grief and great disappointment to them, Whitefield having made a present of the boy to their church to be brought up therein till he should be of age; and particularly as the re-

moval of the boy, who was not yet quite settled, might entirely spoil him. In January, 1744, Mr. Whitefield coming to town, appears to have become reconciled to the Brethren, and consented to the boy continuing under their care. This seems to be the same negro who was named Andrew, and was baptized at Lindheim on the 7th of August of the same year.

On the 28th of May Hutton was appointed a permanent visitor of the single brethren, and on the 15th of June he was deputed to attend the sick conference as often as practicable, in order that he might be in the nearest connection with everything relating to the whole Society.

At a general conference of the Brethren in London on the 1st of July, it was determined that the Brn. Hutton and Ockershaussen should wait upon Mr. Thorold, who had taken offence against Hutton and the Brethren, and ask his forgiveness, if necessary. This was cheerfully done, and on the 5th or 6th the interview took place. This excellent man was John Thorold, Esq., of Windsor,* a gentleman of fortune, a very worthy and truly Christian man; who, not being ashamed of the Gospel and its followers, had from the year 1738, attended the evening meetings of the society in Hutton's house, expounded the holy Scriptures, with singing and prayer for the work of the Lord, particularly among the Brethren; but, through the influence of Zeigenhagen and others, now objected in particular against Hutton,

1. His former behaviour to his parents.
2. His not attending to his business of bookseller:

And against the Brethren,

1. Their not praying so much to the Father and the Holy Ghost as to the Son, having had this scheme from Muggleton and the German Anabaptists.
2. Their speaking so contemptibly of reason, which opened a door to fancy and enthusiasm.
3. Their saying there were no duties in the New Testament.
4. Their not giving an open conscientious confession of their faith.

* Mr. Charles Wesley, in his journal under date 15th and 16th of Sept. 1737, mentions his calling on Mr. Thorold at Windsor; probably the personage, of whom an account is given in "The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon," vol. i. page 77, as Sir John Thorold, Bart.

5. Their disowning their tenets when driven to a pinch.
6. Their talking so much about feelings.
7. The general amnesty published 13th Nov. 1741.

Many other lesser matters he mentioned beside. In general he believed them in error, but hoped in time they would be more enlightened in the Gospel.

Hutton and Ockershaussen spoke on these allegations as plainly and in as few words as might be, yet not much in way of vindication.

Hutton was ready to admit that before he had become influenced by the Gospel his parents had just cause of displeasure, but since his happy change no son could be more loving and obedient; and with regard to his business, that since he had engaged in the Lord's service he held that service secondary to nothing.

With reference to the Brethren: 1. The view they had of the Lord Jesus Christ enabled them to see Him as the one only true God, manifest in the flesh; as their only hope for salvation from sin, death, and hell; and therefore their whole doctrine, faith, and practice, being centered in Him, He was regarded by them as alone suitable to be held forth to poor sinners as their only hope.

2. They ever spoke contemptuously of human reason when it was set up in opposition to the faith of the Gospel; but, otherwise, never.

3. They altogether excluded every claim to salvation that was based upon the performance of works, however good in themselves; but the very nature of obedience to the faith in Christ, brought with it the fulfilment of the duties of love to God and man; and none, without that faith, could by any possibility exercise it; all other principle in the fulfilment of duty being the mere expression of self-love, expectant of a return for service done.

4. The Brethren had, in the Manual of Doctrine, already published an open confession of their faith.

5 and 6. These were simply untrue.

7. What the general amnesty, published 13th Nov. 1741, means, the writer has not yet been able to discover, except that on the 29th of July, Hutton received a letter from Spangenberg, saying, "Tell Thorold that he must not partake of the sins of the people who take offence at a congregation of Christ, and by so doing bring to daylight that there dwells

within them the spirit of those Israelites who were jealous of Moses and Aaron. Respecting the *amnesty;* it is a matter over which the hearts of many souls have overflowed, and they prayed with much humility to be graciously accepted. I could not look upon it otherwise than as a sign of a great event, and proceeding directly from Him, and therefore that Thorold should no longer scruple to recognise any of the Saviour's people and servants."

From this it is probable that many persons had been excluded by the Moravian Brethren as unsuitable for church membership, on account of some irregularities; and, upon their earnest entreaty, had been forgiven, and received again into fellowship.

Mr. Thorold also objected: Some persons had taken offence at the Brethren,

1. For speaking so highly of a congregation.
2. For drawing people away from their ministers.
3. For so promptly excommunicating people.

To which it was replied:

1. We are right in speaking well of the Lamb's bride.
2. Souls, when they hear better things than those taught by their ministers, leave them without our fault.
3. The Brethren have no liking to excommunication, yet when they *do* excommunicate our Saviour legitimates it—*i.e.* it is not done without His sanction.

Hutton was now fully occupying his spare time in translating accounts from abroad, to communicate them to the monthly meetings of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

On the 27th of October, Hutton and Töltschig waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury, who received them kindly. The object of this visit is not explained. On the same day the Watch-word (Text-book) for every day, which had been translated into English by the Brn. Marshall and William Delamotte, was received from them, and agreed to be printed for the ensuing year by Hutton.*

* An imperfect copy of this first English Text Book, perhaps the only one, still exists. Its size is 24mo.; its title, "The Watch-Words of the Covenant in the Blood of Jesus, for the year 1743. London: Printed for James Hutton, at the Bible and Sun, in Little Wyld-street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1742."

It consists of a passage of Scripture with a part of a hymn for each day

The following letter, dated 28th August of this year, was addressed by Br. Hutton to Bishop Polycarp Müller:

"As brother Schlicht is I hope already with you, so I beg the favour to let him have a copy of the letter in Latin to the Archbishop of Upsal as correct as possible; for, in the copy we have here, it stands that the Brethren took up arms against their sovereign. Now, I believe, it is only a fault in the copyist. Brother Spangenberg desired that I would write that Br. Schlicht might have the true copy. We are to print the translation of it in English. Also, I beg of you, that I may have at least one perfect copy of the Büdingsche Samlungen (Büdingen Miscellany), No. 6, and following numbers; for I must print some extracts from them here in English. I would take it as a favour, and it would perhaps be serviceable for our Saviour's kingdom, if I could have, so soon as convenient, whatever is published in print in any of the congregations.

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in the year, with the dates given under the old as well as the new style, and the monthly Communion days are distinguished by a double line under them, the Congregation days having a single line only. Memorial days are not given. The following is the introduction:

"O Congregation of the Lamb,

"Take this little book from the hands of your poor members which find themselves among a *People terrible from the Beginning hitherto.*

"But your God is the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, even in *India*. And his servant *John the Savage* has already made many *Laodicean* hearts asham'd, and is a blessed accomplishment of the old prophecy in the first word of the ensuing year.

"We go on, devoted to Grace, and recommending ourselves to your prayers.

"*Lord Jesu, take no rest,*
Till all in Thee are blest.

"From Little *Bethlehem*, on the river *Delaware*, in *North America*, on the borders of the Heathen, before my departure to the nations of the savages.

"Your poor unworthy Fellow member,

"*June*, 1742." "JOANNAN."

The first word above referred to stands thus:

"January.—Jan. 1. (Dec. 21.)

"If any of thine be driven out unto the utmost *parts* of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee.—*Deut.* 30. 4.

"Then all can safe and well
In Jesu's Heart's Wound dwell."

The verses are exceedingly trite and simple, and appear to have been revised by Br. Schlicht.

"I am to mind my business of a bookseller more than I have done, and my Saviour will have it so, and the brethren believe, as well as I, that I have been to blame that I have not minded it more.

"In the bottom of my heart lie a love and respect for the congregation, and particularly towards you. I long and thirst often to be able once again to see you, but our Saviour has chosen in this time otherwise for me, and I am not at all unsatisfied. I have found no one can love or endure the congregation long, if he stands in intimate connection with it, except he is always sensible that he is a sinner and deserves nothing. My selfishness and pride and ambition have been many times manifested to me and put to shame, yet our Saviour has in all these things had patience with me and received me lovingly. I have sometimes imagined something, reckoned at least, that I love the Brethren, but the crossing of my will or disappointing of my ambition has made me feel that I have no love but what I catch from our Saviour as a sinner at his feet.

"In Yorkshire it goes on exceedingly well. Br. Spangenberg wrote to me lately very good news from thence. My wife will soon, I hope, have a child. I beg your remembrance of her before our Saviour. She labours very much with blessings among the women here in London. Pray salute very heartily from me and my wife all brethren and sisters. I kiss your hands and all the *eldern*, and remain your very poor and unworthy brother,

"HUTTON."

"P.S.—In a very particular manner salute my dear Brn. Töltschig and Schlicht. May our dear Saviour bless them and bring them safe to us again, that we may rejoice altogether in much joy that our Saviour has died for our sins, and that he loves his poor church so much."

The papers noticed in this letter were required, in order to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, to whom the cross of Christ was neither the wisdom nor the power of God, and in reference to the Lord's work in Yorkshire he had lately received intelligence.

On the 1st of September, after singing "O Thou the Church's living Head," &c., and reading the Daily Word to the assembled brethren and sisters, Hutton spoke on the

text, shewing that an insight of our misery and weakness procured our good, and brought us a fresh accession of happiness by making the grace [of the Lord] so dear to us; therefore we should not be cast down thereat, especially labourers, who mourned for those under their care. They did not repent of their tears, seeing [that] a blessing always followed them. We should cheerfully commit our labour and ourselves into the hands of our Saviour.—After praying, and singing "Most worthy Spirit, O give to Jesus' flock, so us'd to smart," &c., he read the letter from Yorkshire, giving an account of a great love-feast held in a field, of more than six hundred persons, with great blessing: so much had the Lord effected since Ingham, Delamotte, Spangenberg, and the little congregation had commenced His work there.

On the 1st of October, Sr. Hutton was delivered of a female child, which being sickly was baptized on the 8th at the church of St Giles by the name Mary Salome, several of the brethren being present.

We now approach the interesting period when the Congregation of brethren and sisters was settled in London.

The work which in 1735 had been begun in England by Spangenberg, carried forward by Böhler and Molther, and their like-minded friends from Jena, in the years 1737 to 1740, and placed upon a firmer footing by Count Zinzendorf and other brethren (after the model of the Vestry Societies), had exercised a powerful influence upon the religious state of the country, in unison with the Wesleyan Methodists and their revivals. This work was more fully developed by Spangenberg, both before and after the conference in London of 1741 and 1742. All had the same great object in view, the fostering of the spirit of true Christianity, by the surrender of the heart to our Saviour, and the formation of societies of kindred minds, through the instrumentality of the Brethren. Their labours, however, ultimately resulted in the formation of settled congregations, although that was not the chief object of their activity. Yet, if the church of the Brethren was to be of any abiding blessing and influence, according to her peculiar character, as compared with the Methodists, it became necessary that she should gain a firm footing and fixed sphere of activity, and find a spiritual home in England; and this she did at this period through

the instrumentality of Spangenberg, whose previous course of life, in two of the German Universities, and in North America had given him a clear insight into the nature of the work of revival, and had fitted him for the spiritual care of awakened souls. He knew well the dangers of separation and schism in the Church of Christ, and was pre-eminently qualified to discern between the excellencies and the defects of Methodism, and to establish by its side the cause of the Brethren for the furtherance of true Christianity in England.

Spangenberg was supported by several fellow-labourers, who formed the 'Pilgrim House' in London, of which he and his wife were house-father and mother. Besides these there were his friends Lieberkuhn and Schlicht from Jena, with Töltschig and other Moravians, who had previously been active in England, and some Englishmen, as Hutton, Viney, and others. These formed the centre of operations in England, and presented the picture of a little apostolic congregation in the midst of the metropolis—the London conference being composed of the brethren Spangenberg, Töltschig, Piesch, and Hutton.

Besides the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, of which we have spoken, the undertakings of the brethren in this year were: First, preaching in and about the city, after the example of the Methodists; but combined as much as possible with the spiritual care of individual souls, and the establishment of bands or small societies. Secondly, the origination of a boarding-school at Broad Oaks in Essex, called Lamb's Inn, and intended chiefly for the children of the members of the London society. This was the commencement of the boarding-schools afterwards established in England. Thirdly, the settlement of the Fetter Lane Society in London, as a congregation of the church of the Brethren. This had been agreed upon in the conference of 1741, and was carried into execution in a solemn and festive manner by Br. Spangenberg, in the appointment of congregation offices, regulation of the choir-divisions, &c., on the 10th of November, 1742. Of this settlement the only remaining document records that it took place on the 30th of October; preparatory to which Br.Spangenberg, in the name of himself and his brethren, on the 27th, gave an account of his having visited the society bands; an-

nounced the intention of receiving persons into the congregation in Fetter Lane, on the following Friday, the 29th, at two o'clock; and, also of settling a little church at the same hour and place, on Saturday the 30th. He also mentioned the names of some of the officers and persons, and stated that there was no objection against the Brethren receiving into their congregation any one who was willing to abide a member of the Church of England; for there were instances of persons in many of the churches who still abode in their own church, notwithstanding their union with the Brethren. Accordingly the reception took place on the 29th, at which Br. Hutton was received, and the brethren and sisters who had heretofore mainly constituted his Fetter Lane Society, were now, under the advice of Count Zinzendorf, formed into a congregation of the Unity of the Brethren; they considering themselves not as exclusively Moravians, but as a society in the Church of England in union with the Brethren.*

The following is a List of

"The Congregation of the Lamb, with its officers and servants as settled in London, October 30, 1742, (old style.)"

MARRIED MEN.

1 *William Holland*, Painter, in a large way of business, of Basinghall Street, over against Blackwell Hall, near Guildhall. [He went to Yorkshire and left the congregation in 1747. He died in February 1761.]
2 *James Hutton*, Bookseller, at the Bible and Sun, in Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields.
3 *Richard Bell*, Watch Case Maker, in Vine Court, Bishopsgate Street. [In 1744, he was labourer in Fetter Lane Society; then vice-elder of the married men. He went away from the congregation.]
4 *John Browne*, Woollen Draper in St. Martin's-le-Grand: [born at Wood Planton, Lancashire, July 8, 1712. He went to Yorkshire, and afterwards to Ireland.]
5 *George Bowes*, Wholesale Dealer in Clokes or Clocks, &c. in George Yard, Little Britain; [a Dissenter, born March 18, 1691, at Boulton, Yorkshire. Society

* Crantz' History, p. 271, 3.

meetings were held in his house. He departed happily, January 10, 1757, and was buried at Sharon ground in Chelsea, aged 65.]

6 *William Stanton*, Butcher and Brewer, No. 6, Row Street, Brick Lane, Old Street; [born in London, April 25, 1704, departed August 12, 1754. He and his wife had care of the children at Broad Oaks. He was a faithful man; and was buried at Chelsea.]

7 *John Edmonds*, a Poulterer and Brewer; [born in London, March 1, 1710, and died November 24, 1803, in his 94th year, and was buried at Chelsea.]

8 *George Chapman*, Butcher, of Lime Street, near Leadenhall Market. [Born at Winchester, Hants, August 10, 1705. *Lapsus.*]

9 *William Peter Knolton*, Fan Maker, corner of Star Alley, Mark Lane, Fenchurch Street; [born December 10, 1702, at Luton, Bedfordshire, a Baptist: he went to Pennsylvania and there left the Brethren. He died in London, November 10, 1767, attended at his own request on his death-bed by Br. Broderson.]

10 *John Clarke*, keeps a Turner's shop, corner of Hand Alley, Bishopsgate Street; [born in London, March 21, 1716. He left the congregation.]

11 *Thomas Lateward*, Linen Draper, journeyman, lives with Mr. Wells in Taggett's Court, Moorfields, at the Green Canister, a tea shop near Broad Street Buildings. [He was servant to Mr. Wiseman at the Three Nuns, in the Poultry; born September 6, 1716, at Upton Cresset, Salop. Put out of the congregation after August 1752.]

12 *John Paul Brockmer*, Gold Watch Chaser, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street. [Admitted to communion in February 1743; had a son John, born June 19, 1742, baptized on the 25th, by Br. Spangenberg. Meetings kept at his house in 1743.]

13 *Thomas Gladman.* * [He had been at New London in America, between April and July, 1742, when he wrote a letter to Br. Spangenberg, and was probably the Captain Gladman who was connected with Mr. Ingham in 1738.]

Those marked thus * are not further enrolled.

14 *John West*, Black Silk Dyer, Thames Street, between Dowgate Hill and Elbow Lane; [born at Newington-Butts, November 3, 1717; continued a faithful brother until his departure, August 7, 1798, and was buried at Chelsea.]

15 *John Senniff*, * Shoe Maker; [born at Worms in Germany, January 1688. He was warden of the German congregation at London in 1744, died May 2, 1752, and was buried in the burial ground near Bloomsbury.]

16 *William Hunt*, Blacksmith, or rather a Watch Spring Maker, No. 17, Baldwyn Street, Old Street; [born at Langham, Rutlandshire, August 15, 1703, a man of unblemished life. He died May 30, 1757, and was buried at Chelsea.]

17 *Jaspar Payne*, Cheesemonger and Wine Cooper, corner of Queen Street, Watling Street, St. Antholin's. [He went to Pennsylvania, where in 1747 he was in office at Bethlehem.]

18 *John Leighton*, Baker. [He was a Dissenter; had been employed at Broad Oaks, and went to Pennsylvania in 1743. He departed at Bethlehem in May 1756.]

19 *Henry Jones*, Cutler, in White Rose Court, Coleman Street; [born at Droitwich, Worcestershire, March 17, 1706; he became a widower in 1751, and afterwards left the congregation.]

20 *John Hilland*, Hog Butcher, in a yard turning in by a smith's shop over against St. Luke's Church, Old Street.

21 *William Kendrick*, Peruke Maker. [He visited Basingstoke in April 1744, on account of the brethren there. He left the congregation about 1745, and next year published a book of Hymns, chiefly those of the Brethren, but very much altered, and everything left out that speaks of heart worship. He and Mr. Cudworth were afterwards in connection with each other.]

Married Women.

22 *Louise Hutton*, see her husband above.

23 *Elizabeth Holland*, see her husband above. [She was born in London, April 17, 1710, daughter of a respectable merchant who lived at Greenwich; married March 31,

1741; widows' labouress in 1771, and departed October 26, 1780. She was buried at Chelsea.]

24 *Esther Sutton West*, see her husband above; [maiden name Hopson; born at Luggershall Wilts, July 1, 1714; married April 11, 1741. She served the congregation more than half a century, and dying December 31, 1794, was buried at Chelsea.]

25 *Hannah Knolton*, see her husband above; [she was a cork cutter by trade, and a Baptist. Born November 5, 1708, at Gainsborough. Went to Pennsylvania.]

26 *Jane Browne*, see her husband above; [was born at Beeston, Yorkshire, November 24, 1718.]

27 *Martha Hilland*, see her husband above; [maiden name Abraham; born in London, September 6, 1708. Her first husband was Thomas Ireland, her second, John Hyland, died June 10, 1749; they faithfully devoted their house at Mile-end to the service of the congregation. She died November 26, 1767, and was buried at Chelsea.]

28 *Grace Stanton*, see her husband above; [born at Dublin, June 8, 1692 or 4, departed January 31, 1759, and was buried at Chelsea.]

29 *Mary Bowes*, see her husband above; [a Dissenter, died in October 1746.]

30 *Katherine Bezançonet*, [husband a Joiner and Cabinet Maker; of the Reformed church; maiden name Digeon; born October 15, 1704, at Vitterberg in the Palatinate. In 1702 she married Francis B., a native of Switzerland, in 1722. They came to London in 1734; she departed January 25, 1768, and was buried at Chelsea.]

31 *Mary Dijon*. [She was born in Leicestershire in 1720, married a soldier named Andrews; and having become a widow, in 1743 married her second husband, David Digeon, a Shoemaker, native of the Palatinate, born in 1722. They went to Pennsylvania in 1743.]

32 *Elizabeth Payne*, see her husband above, [with whom she went to Pennsylvania.]

33 *Sarah Utley*, maiden name Morgan; [born in Shropshire, in 1711: Hutton's maid servant. She was married in August 24, 1743, to her second husband, Richard Utley, and went with him to Pennsylvania.]

34 *Sarah Leighton*, see her husband above; [maiden name

Clifford; born May 19, 1704, at Canterbury, married in 1732. She returned to England and died in London, April 12, 1785.]

WIDOWERS.

35 *Lewis Wellett*, [born of French parents at Amsterdam, January 2, 1711; of the Reformed religion; married in August, 1744, the widow Ann Mackenzie.]

36 *John Pellett*, Master of the French tongue, Balsover Street, Tiburn Road, near Hanover Square; [born at Nismes in France, January 22, 1672, departed April 15, 1758, and buried at Chelsea. He was grandfather to Mr. J. P. Theremine, Apothecary, and a member of the London congregation.]

37 *Joseph Hodges*, Smith, [born in May 1710, at Nasland, Gloucestershire; lost his wife in 1741; April 17, 1744, he married Christiana Andersen, who died March 4, 1778. He departed July 10 of the same year, and both were buried at Chelsea. They were much valued members of the congregation.]

WIDOWS.

38 *Martha Claggett*, gentlewoman, opposite Mackrell's Coffee House, Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn, [second daughter of William Clifton, Esq. of Castleford, Yorkshire; born November 11, 1691. She married Wyseman Claggett, Esq., of Broadoaks, who died in 1741. She had four daughters in the congregation, and died May 10, 1773, and was buried at Chelsea.]

39 *Esther Kinchin*, [born in London, November 2, 1712; married, first, the Rev. Charles Kinchin, who departed in 1742, and secondly Ludolph Ernest Schlicht.]

40 *Frances Beadle*, Midwife, [born November 26, 1702, in London. She lived mostly in her widowhood with Sr. Hutton, and was midwife to the congregation. She died January 18, 1763, and was buried at Chelsea.]

41 *Ann Mackenzie*, servant maid, [born of French parents in London, in December 1708. Her second husband Br. Lewis Wellett.]

42 *Mother Banister Payne*, see under married men; [perhaps Jaspar Payne was her son. She went to Pennsylvania.]

SINGLE MEN.

43 *William Griffith*, Shoemaker, [born at Pemmowa, Carnarvon, February 2, 1704. He was the means of bringing Br. Thomas Rhode to the congregation. He went to the pilgrim congregation in Germany in September 1744, and there departed.]

44 *Richard Utley*, * [born in Yorkshire, in 1720, and marrying Sarah Morgan, they went to Pennsylvania in 1743; he was at Rhode Island in 1757. There was a Samuel Utley (in January 1767) a missionary at Antigua, who with his wife removed to Bethlehem at the end of 1768; perhaps a son of this Richard.]

45 *Thomas Knight*, journeyman Jeweller, at Mr. Watson's, Bow Lane, corner of Basing Lane; [born April 8, 1721, at Basingstoke: he visited Germany, and was active in the West of England, in Dublin, and in Yorkshire.]

46 *William Horne*, a merchant's clerk, near Mr. Ewster's, Aldermanbury; [born at Wakefield, July 15, 1716; went to Germany, where he was ordained deacon, and was afterwards active in Ireland. He married Mary Bowes.]

47 *William Delamotte*, * [died February 22, 1743, and was buried at St. Dunstan's in the East, London.]

48 *William Thacker*, Butcher, Peter Street, Clare Market; [born in London, November 6, 1715; married July 16, 1751, to Martha Wells, and died October 18, 1766. He was buried at Chelsea.]

49 *John Gambold*, Minister, Stanton Harcourt, six miles from Oxford; [a celebrated man, whose life and labours have several times been published.]

50 *John Holmes*, * Taylor, [visited Germany in 1736 with Viney and others. It is recorded that "May 30, 1779, the old married Br. John Holmes, who had been in connection with the Brethren 40 years ago, was readmitted to society." He departed happily August 11, 1780.]

51 *Samuel Watson*, Jeweller, in Bow Lane, corner of Basing Lane; [a Presbyterian; born at Witham, Essex, November 25, 1714; he married Lucretia Okely, and went to Ireland, and thence to Yorkshire.]

52 *William Knash (Nash)*, Chaser, [born at Tunbridge, Kent, April 11, 1717; served his married brethren faithfully till his death, December 3, 1753, and was buried at Chelsea.]

53 *John Cooke*, Painter; Romanist,'[born at Leghorn, July 11, 1720; went to the pilgrim congregation, Germany, in 1747, and there departed.]

54 *Richard Brampton*, journeyman Perriwig-maker, in Bucklersbury; [born July 12, 1710, at Canon-Frome, Herefordshire; went to Germany and then to the north of Ireland.]

55 *James Greening*, Apothecary, youth; [he married Elizabeth Rogers, August 24, and went to Pennsylvania in Sept. 1743. In 1754 they served at White's Alley, London, until June 1757, when they left for Bristol.]

56 *George Moore*, Gingerbread Baker, corner of Watling Street, Queen Street; [born at Beeston Hall, Yorkshire, October 20, 1717. He went to Yorkshire.]

57 *Lewis Brandth, (Louis Brandt)* [Painter, brother of Sr. Hutton.]

58 *Peter Sims*, Butcher, in Paved Alley, Leadenhall Market; [born at Peckham Rye, April 30, 1716; he married Hannah Howarth, and went to the north of Ireland.]

SINGLE WOMEN.

59 *Mary Bowes*, [a Dissenter, born at Leeds, December 29, 1717; married August 9, 1744, to William Horne, and went to Ireland.]

60 *Elizabeth Rogers*, in Prince's Square, Ratcliffe Highway, St. Paul's Shadwell, [married James Greening, August 24, 1743.]

61 *Mary Ewsters;* [born in London, November 28, 1723, married William Pearson, and went to New York.]

62 *Margaret Lloyd*, [born at Llan-gwesten, North Wales, May 27, 1709. She went to Yorkshire.]

63 *Christian Anderson*, Mantua-maker, at Mr. Renn's (? Wren); [born in London, January 24, 1713; married Joseph Hodges, April 6, 1744, and died March 4, 1778.]

64 *Jane Chambers*, Seamstress; [born in Edinburgh, May 26, 1711, married Br. William Hammond, January 22, 1750; went to Northampton. He died August 19, 1783; she departed in Fetter Lane, January 14, 1791, and was buried at Chelsea.]

65 *Dinah Raymond*, * [married Charles Henry Conrad de Larisch, who died November 1, 1754, and was buried at Chelsea. She was born in London; she fell asleep

at Herrnhut, May 25, 1756, where her remains were interred.]

66 *Elizabeth Claggett*, see her mother, under the Widows; [born at Castleford, Yorkshire, December 20, 1715. She went to Yorkshire.]

67 *Susannah Claggett*, see her mother, under the Widows; [born in London, March 16, 1722-3.]

68 *Sally Romley, (Sarah Rumley,)* [born at Finninlg, near Bowtry, Yorkshire, April 13, 1718. She married — Hill, and left the congregation; readmitted July 18, 1757; departed July 25, 1790, and was buried at Chelsea.]

69 *Jane Fuller*, a Baptist; [born at Abingdon, Berkshire, October 12, 1706; went to Germany, and married Br. P. Verbeck, February 3, 1747. She died about 1768.]

70 *Joan Hopson*, [born at Ludgershall, Wiltshire, January 1723; married Br. John Wade, and went to Pennsylvania.]

71 *Jane Bagley*, servant maid at Mrs. Claggett's; [born at Leeds, Yorkshire; went to the congregation in Germany.]

72 *Jane Miller;* [born at Hammersmith, in December 1720; married, August 28, 1743, Br. George Proské, with whom she laboured in the work of the Lord at Dukinfield and elsewhere.]*

Out of these, which were divided as above into classes or choirs, the following were appointed officers: viz.

Congregation Elders.

William Holland. Martha Claggett.

Vice-Elders.

. . . . Esther Kinchin.

Wardens.

James Hutton. Louisa Hutton.

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* Of the 72 persons here enumerated, there were afterwards actively engaged in the work of the Lord:

In America, 14; in Germany, 5; in Ireland, 6; in Yorkshire, 6; in Essex, 3	. .	34
In London	. . . .	31=65

That is, ninety per cent. of true labourers, leaving ten per cent. of such as had either left or were excluded the congregation as drones or unfaithful.

MARRIED CHOIR.

William Holland, *Elder*. Louisa Hutton, *Eldress*.
Richard Bell, *Vice-Elder*. Elizabeth Holland, *Vice-Eldress*.

Wardens.

John Browne. Esther Sutton West.

UNMARRIED CHOIR.

William Griffith, *Elder*. Mary Bowes, *Eldress*.
Richard Utley, *Vice-Elder*. Elizabeth Rogers, *Vice-Eldress*.

Wardens.

Thomas Knight. Mary Ewsters.

Widows.

Eldress, Martha Claggett. *Warden*, Esther Kinchin.

Admonitors.

William Stanton. Grace Stanton.

Censors.

George Bowes. Margaret Lloyd.

Servants.

John Paul Brockmer, Martha Hilland, or Hyland.
Richard Utley, Margaret Lloyd.
William Peter Knolton.

Sick Waiters.

John Edmonds, Martha Claggett,
George Bowes, Grace Stanton,
Richard Brampton, Esther Sutton West.
Samuel Watson,
James Hutton.

Summary.

Married Men	21*
Married Women	13
Widowers	3
Widows	5
Single Men	16*
Single Women	14
In all	72

* Of the thirty-seven Brethren, only two, Br. Gambold also excepted, were at all likely to be well educated, the rest having been tradesmen, journeymen, and mechanics.

In a few days after the London congregation had been thus settled, a letter in its name, was addressed by William Holland its elder, and James Hutton its warden, to the Pilgrim Congregation; that is, to the German brethren and sisters with Count Zinzendorf, who had been banished from his estates and country.

"November, 1742.

"Dear and much honoured servants of the Lamb, highly respected Pilgrim Church,

We, in the name of our dear Congregation here in London, take this opportunity, by our dear brother Spangenberg, to let you know of our love and respect for you as our mother.

We tell you that we are young, small, and weak; yet our strength is in One who is strong.

We are gathered together and do sit down on a Rock, whose name is Jesus, Lord of Lords, whereon we shall stand.

We own Him, the crucified One, our Lord and God; and not one of us can think of being saved in any other way than through His crucifixion and blood-shedding.

The milk we so long for and cry after, is the bleeding-grace out of His wounds; we desire *that* may overstream us, and may glue all our hearts together.

We look about us, and are astonished at the free-electing grace of our Saviour, and bleeding Mediator—we recollect ourselves and wish to live and die for Him.

We are surrounded with enemies, and we ourselves also are dangerous enemies; and we believe we cannot stand one hour without our Head;—but He will never leave nor forsake us.

We believe that the prayers of the body, are heard by the Head, we therefore altogether recommend ourselves, our congregation, each soul, and all our conference meetings and labours, to your prayers.

Be with your spirit amongst us and ask a blessing on our whole plan. We lay ourselves at your feet, desiring your motherly blessing, and wish to be your obedient happy children.

WILLIAM HOLLAND,
JAMES HUTTON."

The following rhymes, homely but full of meaning, perhaps the first he ever penned, were written by Br. Hutton

1 November 2, 1742, the birth-day of his much respected
ıd heartily beloved sister, Esther Kinchin, who had be-
›me a widow in the course of the year; and was now, as
e have seen, vice-eldress of the congregation, and warden
f the widows' choir.

1. O Lamb of God so mild,
Who once wast a poor child,
Our flesh and blood didst take,
In that despis'd, revil'd,
Tempted; then on the stake
For us all wast nail'd;
Our strength nought avail'd;
But, Thou hast prevail'd.

2. Thou knowest, Lamb, thine own,
What Thou for them hast done,
That it suffices too;
The spoils which Thou hast won
Thou dost with joy review:
Yet Thy purchas'd sheep,
Whom Thou wilt surely keep,
Look at themselves and weep.

3. Well might I weep and cry,
"Hadst Thou not deign'd to die
And made our pardon sure,
O Lamb! my friends and I,
(Only in Thee secure,)
In Thy death on the tree,
Will ever look to Thee;
Nor thence once tempted be."

4. For, should we stand to-day,
And clearly see our way,
Yet look but once aside;
Our case would soon display
That Thy once having died
Is the one only thing
Our souls to rights to bring.
We'd look again and sing—

5. O! ever sing this song
Dear sister, with the tongue
Which Jesus purchas'd then
When murder'd by the throng
Of hating, blood-bought men:—
"'Twas then He thought of me,
That His my soul should be,
His kingdom I should see;

6. "That I should serve him too,
His handmaid chaste and true.

Happy my natal-day!
O what may I e'er do
Such mercy to repay?—
Only poor sinners call,
To fill His festive-hall,
With them before Him fall."

This notification of a sister's birthday appears to have given rise to a registration of the whole society, which included the name and description, with the time and place of birth, date of reception into the congregation and to communion, with a space for notices of what became of the party in after life, and the date of death. This register, when properly filled up, contained much personal information, but it has been discontinued for many years.

Among the few documents of this period there is one of a very interesting nature, containing an account of the setting apart of the sisters Claggett, Kinchin, and Hutton for special service in the London congregation. As the pilgrim congregation was then in Yorkshire, it became necessary that these sisters should travel there for the purpose. Their journey was performed rather slowly, the facilities for travelling being then but few. They left London early on the 21st of November, and reached Smith-House, Yorkshire, on the 26th, at about midday, and were eight days returning, *i. e.* from the 30th November to the 8th December. As the account of the services is very minute, and strikingly exhibits the pervading principle animating the brethren and sisters at that period, and at the same time gives a detail of the manner in which they proceeded in setting apart brethren and sisters to the service of the Lord, not elsewhere to be found, we shall give the whole as communicated by Br. George Marshall in a letter to the London congregation, dated Smith-House, Yorkshire, Nov. 29, (Dec. 10) 1742.*

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* "Dear Congregation of the Lamb in London, our youngest and most tenderly-beloved Sister,

"We all rejoice as often as we think on you, and whenever your dear names come one after another in our minds, we cannot help melting into heart's-tears, adoring our good God for all His mercy bestowed on each and all of you, and also on us while we have lived among you. For there is not one of us but must freely confess that London has been a place of blessings to his soul, and remains a theme of praise whenever he thinks of it.

Hutton at this time had his hands full in his Saviour's cause.

On the 26th November he accompanied Br. Heckenwelder and his wife to Bedford, where they had been ap-

"Now you have sent us three of your dear sisters and weightiest labourers, to receive the blessing from the Lord and His Holy Spirit that ruleth in His Church. Their presence hath rejoiced all our hearts, and now they are, according to the will of the Lord, after a short stay with us, returning again to their respective stations; we heartily convey them with our hearty wishes and prayers, and I having it so in my heart, and partly being charged also to do so, will by this give you a short account of what the Lord hath bestowed on them and us, since their arrival in Yorkshire.

"Tuesday last, before the prayer-day, we got letters from London, and our dear Br. Hutton wrote us concerning the setting out of our dear Br. Toeltschig, and the above-mentioned three much respected sisters, Claggett, Kinchin, and Hutton. We expected them to be with us, according to dear Br. Hutton's account, at least on Friday evening, the day before the prayer-day, and therefore our dear Br. Piesch went on horseback from here on Wednesday to meet them at Doncaster. Our dear Sr. Spangenberg by a letter welcomed them to Yorkshire, and on Friday evening we were altogether in great expectation of seeing them here in Smith-house, and sent one messenger after another to meet them, but they did not come.

"On Saturday, the prayer-day for our church, we were very much concerned the whole forenoon for them, and sent again one of our dearest brethren on horseback to meet and assist them. He went as far as Wakefield, but missed them. But about one o'clock they arrived altogether on horseback, because there was no possibility of the coaches coming hither, the roads being so bad. They were altogether very cheerful, and we were exceedingly rejoiced to see them. We heard that Sr. Hutton had fallen with her little baby from the horse; but we thanked the Lamb who had let His angels sing: 'This babe shall undisturb'd abide.' Our dear travellers rested and refreshed themselves a little, and we never before had such a happy congregation-like dinner in our hall as on this, and the following days. The sisters sat at one large table, because they were most in number; the single brethren at another; and the married at a third. There was a blessing through the whole family. After dinner there was a little conference, and the prayer-day began at four o'clock.

"Concerning our little church here, in Yorkshire, it has hitherto been true what we sing:

In stillness He collects His flock,
With very little noise and show.

"Our Saviour has not given us so much leave as to mention any thing thereof at the general meeting of the Yorkshire societies, nor of the settling of the church in London, nor of any thing which Br. Spangenberg has written to us. We think it is for this reason, lest the adversaries might make a handle of it, and get some ground to accuse us of drawing the people and alluring them to us. Yea, we have not so much as in private invited any one to us. But to whomsoever our Saviour

pointed to the oversight of the Society; and on the 3rd of December he gave an account of his journey thither, having become personally acquainted with those souls, who were

had given a desire in the heart to be closer united to us, and they have declared this their desire, we have at times given them leave to come to our prayer-days, sacrament day, love-feasts, German meeting, &c., but it has always been reckoned as a particular favour; and this has been blessed. At this time we had more than ever before, and there were many who had not obtained leave to come. All who were present were very much humbled before our Lord, and there was a particular wind of grace blowing among us.

"We began our prayer-day with the hymn.

Oh! how unutterable is
The love which Christ to us has shown, &c.

"The whole congregation rose up, and Br. Toeltschig prayed heartily to our dear Lamb for a blessing, and thanked Him for all His endless (numberless) graces and mercies bestowed on us hitherto. Then we sat down again and sung:

Speak that the sinner's happiness
May hourly fill our hearts with peace, &c.

"Then some letters from London were read from the Brn. Edmonds, Griffiths; Sr. Mary Ewsters; Br. Horne, Br. Broughton, and verses were sung for each; also one from some brethren in Lancashire, and a verse was sung for them. After that the [proceedings of] the prayer-day of the dear congregation at Herrnhaag were read, and we cheerfully sang several verses between, particularly for our Br. Smith.*

Remember, children of the Lamb,
That Smith who feels the holy shame
When call'd by that sweet word,
Which Jesus thrice to Peter said,
Went to the Hottentots most glad
Of Jesus' death to bear record.

"It was mentioned that our dear Br. Smith having been forward in going against his feeling, (*i. e.* impelled by his own will rather than his conviction of duty) and the will of our Saviour and His church into Bohemia, with another brother who had been sent there, was imprisoned there by the Roman Catholics. The brother who had been sent died in prison; but Br. Smith remained a prisoner six years, and by his long confinement almost lost his senses. When he was in this condition the Roman Catholics put some questions to him and made him consent to them; and, upon this consent they gave him his freedom, with a testimonial that he was a good Catholic, which testimonial he brought to Herrnhuth. The brethren, having considered the matter, told him they would have no fellowship with him, unless he would go back and confess his being in all points of one mind with their church, and in case the Roman Catholics should not be satisfied, he should offer himself again to be their

* George Schmidt, the first missionary of the Brethren in South Africa, from 1737 to 1742.

hearty in the Lord's cause. On the 6th we find him conducting the monthly meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, to which he gave the following

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prisoner; which he accordingly did; and, after being laughed at by the Romans, was sent home again, having first received a certificate that they would make no pretence to him. When, soon after, the mission to the Hottentots was afoot; and as he had been like Peter in denying his Lord; so likewise his Lord and loving Saviour here asked him as it were, "Simon, lovest thou me?" and bade him feed his sheep—he at once devoted himself to that mission. We were almost melted into tears when we remembered this our Sinner-Friend's tender-heartedness towards our dear Smith and all of us.

"After this we read, with great satisfaction of heart, our dear Br. Spangenberg's letter, written to our church here in Yorkshire, from Amsterdam. We sung for him:

Think on thy pilgrim and his toil,
Dear Saviour, a right pass he has,
Where'er he moves let free grace blow
And let the' Accuser somewhat lose;
Dear object of his faith and love,
To whom his more than all he owes,
Open the fountain from above,
And let it on his spirit flow.

"Then some sweet letters were read from some dear Yorkshire brethren and sisters, who have a great desire in their hearts to be received into our little church, viz., Betty Clark, Thomas Rainforth, Joseph Haley, Robert Craven, and John Wade. There had been several such letters in former prayer-days, among which were those of Sammy Hellas, Matthias Scorefield, and James Charlesworth. These three last, and Br. Robert Craven, were the only ones whom our Saviour would have [to be] received at this time; and John Wade was to be confirmed. This was done with an inward feeling of all our hearts, and to the satisfaction of the whole church. They are all four brethren of whom we have very good hopes that they will make good labourers. The reception itself was as follows:

"First we sang the hymn—

Christ crucified
And His dear bride
Is all my joy,
Nought else my thoughts employ, &c.

"Then our Br. Toeltschig called them all four by name, and in a father-like manner told them of our Saviour's gracious design with them; he put them in mind of all what the Lamb had done for them in shedding His own most precious blood, in calling them by His sweet voice, in taking them from the world and carrying them, and now fast locking them in His wounds, and engrafting them in His dear church. He told them how quietly and cheerfully they now could rest and sleep in His bosom, and how willing the Church was to receive them into its arms. He then prayed over them; and, while the Church sang the verse—

address: "The bottom and foundation whereon we stand and are grounded, is the blood and wounds and merits of Jesus Christ; and we will detest and abandon every thought that

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O thou dearest Bridegroom, slaughter'd Lamb,
Bring Thy fire more fully into flame, &c.;

four of the labourers received these four brethren as members of the Church of Christ by the kiss of love; the brethren Toeltschig and Piesch embracing the two married, and the brethren Schlicht and Reineké the two single brethren.

"Then we sat down again and sang—

Oh! Thou majestic heart of love,
How largely we Thy royal favour prove, &c.

"Our Br. Toeltschig spoke to Br. John Wade, who is the very picture of a pilgrim and traveller, and of one that ventures all things for his Lord, and at the same time a brother of an humble and child-like mind, who durst hardly lift up his eyes for shame; an upright soul, plain and open to everybody, my dear companion and fellow-traveller through all Yorkshire, whom I love and respect much in the Lord. Br. Toeltschig told him that it was the gracious mind of our dear Saviour, that he not only should be received as a member of His church, but also should be listed in the number of His servants and soldiers, and thereby be confirmed in that mind and desire in which the Lord had long since put into his heart for that very purpose. He told him that our Saviour wanted him not to do any thing in his own strength and power, but to venture all in the name of Him who was the Captain of our salvation, and was always at the head of his army; that servants of our Saviour were not their own, but His who had shed all, even the last drop of His blood to redeem and buy them; that they are only for their Lord's sake, for His name's sake, for His Gospel and children's sake to venture even their own life and blood thereon; that it was their happiness to be obedient and to listen to the Lord's voice; that they ought never to venture any where without His blood; that He ruled and governed His Church in a particular manner; that the Church never acted in any thing without knowing His will; that, finally, it would be best for him to keep to the wounds opened for the sins of the whole world; and, as long as his dear Lord and Master, the Head of the Church, would have him stay in His quarters; to stay and see, and hear, and learn, and if he should appoint any place for him, then to go at His command, faithfully stand upon his guard, and to fight in due time as His undaunted warrior. Br. Toeltschig prayed over him, and then dear Br. John Wade received the kiss of peace from all the labourers of the church; and herewith the first part of the prayer-day was ended. The brethren and sisters were told that in half-an-hour we would meet again; and, it being eight o'clock, that they who had a good way to walk, might go home; but there was no such thing, they all staid, and one could see joy and shame in every one's face.

"About nine o'clock we met again with deepest reverence and awe before our Lamb, to consecrate and bless our three dear and much respected sisters from London, and to impart to them those blessings and gifts which

denies *this*, and every thing which is not founded upon *this*, and will hold every person accursed who will not allow of *this*. But whoever owns Jesus Christ to be the only way,

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they want for their weighty offices, by that power and authority which the Lord and His Holy Spirit has given to his Church and the elders thereof, of whom He is Head, and General Elder, blessed for ever.

"We began this our second part of the prayer-day with the hymn—

Sacred anointing oil o'erflow,
And bless thy churches here below, &c.

Then the word of the day was read, "Israel shall be saved in the Lord with an everlasting salvation; ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded world without end."

We here at Thy throne—Enamoured fall down,
Praise to Thee our God,
Be brought by us sinners redeem'd with Thy blood.

"Br. Schlicht spoke of (on) these words concerning the free election, tender heart, and watchful eye of our dear Saviour upon His poor Church. We sang the verse—

Christ's happy flock sweet rest enjoy, &c.

"Then our dear Br. Toeltschig began to speak to the Congregation: that it was now four months since he left them; that during his absence he had experienced innumerable mercies and blessings from our dear Lord; that every where he had found new footsteps of grace, in Germany, in England, and also in London; that he wanted now to give the church a short account of what the Lord had lately done in London; that in London there was a little flock of sinners who knew themselves to be ransomed by the Blood, and of whom one indeed could say,

In Jesu's blood their element,
They swim and bathe with full content;

that the Lord our God with His presence and Spirit dwelt among them; and they oft as pardoned sinners sunk down at His holy feet; that the souls there, who hitherto had joined in love, were known by the name of the 'Fetter Lane Society;' that this blessed Society did still continue, and the Lord was very gracious unto them; that out of their number the Lord in particular had chosen some, and had given them power and authority to be a church of His, and that as He, the great General Elder of all his churches, hath his subordinate elders and respective offices in all his congregations, so in like manner at London there had been, according to His will and by His Spirit, chosen and appointed elders, wardens, and other labourers, not only for the church in general there, but also in particular for all the choirs thereof of both sexes; that the elders and wardens had been consecrated and blessed to that end by the laying on of hands and fervent prayers of the Church, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but as for the offices among the sisters, the three sisters then present, viz., sisters Claggett, Kinchin, and Hutton, were come hither from London to receive the blessing from the Lord Jesus and His

and his propitiation and merits his only foundation, *him* we will own and acknowledge for our brother, and will wish him good luck in the name of the Lord. It is a pity there should

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blood-bought cross's congregation, by the hands of His dear handmaids Pieschin, Gussenbaurin and Spangenbergin; Sr. Claggett to be eldress, Sr. Kinchin to be vice-eldress, and Sr. Hutton to be warden and eldress of the woman choir of the church of the Lamb at London. He then heartily and most earnestly desired the whole church to be altogether present in this worthy transaction with their hearts and united spirit, and wished that the Lamb now, in this minute, might rightly shower down His blessing, and with His blood and grace fill all our hearts, and especially the hearts and hands both of them that were to bless, as also of them that were to receive the blessing.

"When he had done speaking the church rose and sang, with a feeling that no tongue can utter, a new hymn, which had been made for this purpose, as follows:—

1. Now breathe the Spirit's rushing wind!
Church! cast all other cares behind,
The Lamb draws near, His oil this hour
Will give his servants life and power.

"Then our dear eldress Sr. Piesch went to Sr. Claggett, and laid hands on her, the church in the meantime singing the whole verse:

2. Receive then, sister, from on high
That which you now shall sanctify;
The Spirit purchas'd by His blood
Ordains you priest before our God.

"Then Sr. Gussenbauer laid her hand on Sr. Kinchin and blessed her.

3. He will with incense you supply,
Whose smoke ascends to God on high,
And fill your heart with burning love
Where'er you rest, or stand, or move.

"Then Sr. Spangenberg laid her hand on Sr. Hutton.

4. He pierces through your flesh and soul,
And richly flows throughout the whole;
Anoints your head, and hands, and heart,
And gives you mother's joy and smart.

"The congregation remained standing, and sung the rest of the hymn.

5. Thanks, praise, and adoration
Be to thee, Lamb, thou gracious Son!
That Thou vouchsaf'st to be always
With Thy Church 'till to th' end of days.

6. Think on each flock where'er dispers'd,
Wherein Thy praises are rehears'd;
In *Europe* and *America*,
In *Asia* and *Africa*.

be any difference, or that one shy thought should arise in the minds of those who are brethren and fellow-helpers in the work of the Lord. This is indeed the only foundation

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7. And bless the venerable train
Of *elders* whom Thou dost ordain
To be on earth Thy images;
Give hearts to pray and hands to bless.

8. Give to our *bishops* watchful eyes
To hinder all that Satan tries,
Let them and all the *wardens* stand
For Thy dear flock with life in hand.

9. And all the worthy *offices*
In Thy blood-congregation bless,
Give unto every *labourer*
For souls a tender love and care.

10. And bring each soul to know Thy death,
To go on this truth's simple path,
That Thou who bought'st us with Thy blood
Art the whole Church's Lord and God.

"Then we all fell on our knees singing :—

Now we at Thy throne—Enamour'd fall down,
Praise to Thee our God
Be brought by us sinners redeem'd with Thy blood.

"Our dear elder John Toeltschig prayed to the Lord, and recommended all His churches to His tender mercy, and we concluded this our ever-to-be-remembered prayer-day with the weighty verse:—

All praise and glory do pertain
Unto the Lamb for He was slain,
And hath redeem'd us by his blood
And made us kings and priests to God.

"What hath past most part of Sunday I can't rightly tell, because I was sent some miles to preach the gospel to the poor. Yet this I know that it was *a day of joy and feast of thanksgiving*. I am sure the Father in heaven, and the dear Son, and the Holy Ghost, and all the angels and all the saints, yea all the elements, sun, moon, and all creatures rejoiced with us; and, as the three in the furnace have sung, thanked, and praised the Lord.

"We have not had such fine clear days and nights this good while, and the people from all our Societies have flocked together to Smith-house like hungry bees both in the fore and afternoon. I have heard that Sr. Hutton kept the quarter hour meeting of the married women. Sunday evening dear Br. Toeltschig kept the German meeting of the congregation, and spoke upon the word of the day:—'From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia my suppliants, even the daughter of my dispersed, shall bring mine offering.'

and there *can* be no other besides this; may our dear Saviour bring our hearts to depend simply and altogether on this foundation, and to seek or look for no other. It is a pity that there should be any dissension amongst those who are brethren, and who as fellow-labourers ought to join hand-in-hand in the work of the Lord. But, to bring this about, it is necessary that we have one and the same foundation, otherwise it cannot possibly be. Here then let us abide and for ever remain, my dear brethren and sisters, and not be deluded by the wiles of the devil, who will use many de-

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A church though black without and mean,
Yet bright and much adorn'd within.

"He was quite among the blacks, and forgot himself and us, all for joy and thanksgiving over the blacks. After the German meeting was a love-feast, to thank the Lord for all His blessings poured out on our three London sisters, with both our families at Smith-house and the new house. We spoke of several things,—of the difficulties our brethren meet with in their pilgrimage, and especially at their first coming into the colonies. Br. Toeltschig told us how it had been when he and Br. Spangenberg, and the other brethren that were with them, first came to Georgia. Then we spoke of the peculiar beauty of each of the churches, and we concluded that we were the happiest, being satisfied with our happy lot; and we believed that the saints and angels in heaven could not love one another more than we did in our dear Lamb, though sometimes, as our dear Sr. Spangenberg expressed it, we attacked one another *like a bear*. At last we gave our three sisters some verses, especially our dear sisters Piesch, Gussenbauer, and Spangenberg gave to each of them a verse, which have been exceeding weighty to me, and so I trust to all. I could feel and see the heart of our dear three sisters fully expressed in them. Dear Br. Schlicht has given them a copy of all these verses, and also of all the rest; which were given by some other brethren. We concluded also this love-feast with hearty prayer and the catholic verse for all our churches:

O! may we safe and well
In Jesu's heart's wounds dwell, &c.

"To-day dear Sr. Hutton and Kinchin have been at our new house, and to-morrow they intend to set out from here for their much beloved London, for the good of which they have been anointed with the holy oil of gladness, and we have wished them hands to bless incessantly. Their sacred foreheads will refresh you and tell you more than my letter can express. Meanwhile I heartily have done what I was bid, and thereby I recommend myself to your remembrance before the Lord for your blessing and prayers.

"Your well-known, though unworthy Servant,

GEO. MARSHALL.

vices to hinder souls from coming to this foundation. Our Saviour is indeed a Lamb, if souls will submit themselves to Him, and to His righteousness—but he is a Lion to tear in pieces whatever will not bow down before him. May our Saviour then establish, settle, and ground us all firmly on this foundation of His blood and death, that we may stand fast for ever, and never be shaken or moved away from it. We feel His presence amongst us in this hour, and this is His aim and end in blessing us, that we may with more confidence depend upon Him, and on what He has done for us; and be rooted and settled in his grace and love.

"Now will we go and silent be,
And humbly bow both heart and knee,
Before our Lord and Head.
We'll gladly venture every thing,
At the command of Christ our King;
By Him we'll be for ever led."

On the 8th and 23rd, the Brn. Hutton and Holland visited Mr. Whitefield, who gave them "a very kind reception, and expressed himself very loving and hearty towards them." He also desired Sr. Hutton to visit his wife, which she did, and was received with great kindness.

On the 30th, Hutton returned from Sherbourne, where he had left Br. Horne with Mr. Stonehouse, who was very cheerful, and much pleased with his visitors.

The effect of the preaching of Messrs. Wesley and Whitefield and the Brethren, soon shewed itself in a repulsive manner among the Religious Societies sanctioned by the Bishop of London, who deemed it necessary, through his agents, to institute defensive measures, which in the beginning of the year 1743 exhibited a more definite form. A Mr. Hopson, one of the twelve stewards of these Societies, proclaimed excommunication, from their fellowship, for all who should hear the Moravian Brethren or Whitefield, or any other; and the Bishop had thoughts of proceeding against the Brethren by addressing Parliament, if no other means could be adopted. Whether this was done or not, does not appear, but his Lordship's agent, Mr. Broughton,* availed himself of the services of one Mr. Bray, who had be-

* Now, or subsequently, Secretary to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.

come his newsmonger. This man made it his business to go among the Brethren, construing all they did to suit his purpose, and then spreading calumnies against them. To this Mr. Bray, who was most likely one of the Society, and who signed Hutton's letter to Count Zinzendorf of May 2, 1738, (given at p. 33,) Spangenberg had written a letter, a part of which was printed in a pamphlet against the Methodists and Moravians, so as to make it tell to the injury of the Brethren. A similar unworthy trick had been played upon Spangenberg in Scotland some time before. This pamphlet, which had been chiefly managed by Mr. Broughton, was not published, but industriously circulated among the Religious Societies in the metropolis; Broughton is charged with writing statements in it against the Brethren, altogether at variance with his personal knowledge and conviction, from fear lest the world should look upon him as one of the Brethren. Br. Gambold was deputed to visit him, and point out the consequences of such duplicity, which in some instances had been punished with great spiritual blindness, and ended in enmity to our Saviour and his people. The result of Gambold's visit appears in the following memorandum of the 2nd of Jannary: "Mr. Broughton is much prejudiced against us, and he and Segenhaugen (Ziegenhagen) lay their heads together to find fault, and the pamphlet, now printed, is read in all the Religious Societies in town." It is probable this opposition of the clergy arose out of the violent manner in which their favourite books "The Whole Duty of Man," and the works of Archbishop Tillotson, had been attacked by the Methodists. The Brethren had repeatedly cautioned Mr. Wesley on this subject; but now thought it best to be quite still and silent, seeing that their cautions were disregarded.

The proper sphere of the labours of the Brethren in England, according to the synodal resolutions of 1741, was to be, not in London, but in Yorkshire, in the footsteps of the Methodists, and on the field where Mr. Ingham had hitherto been active, and for which a firstling congregation was formed, consisting mostly of labourers of the church. On the 26th of May, 1742, Br. Spangenberg blessed them for their respective offices, and many were received into the congregation: and on the 6th of July, this company left London, after a farewell love-feast. Soon after their arrival,

July 28th, Mr. Ingham solemnly proposed to commit his societies to the charge of the Brethren, and announcing this publicly to a congregation of about a thousand persons on the 30th, he put the question to the vote, which was unanimously favourable—and everything thenceforward proceeded with blessing. But opposition from worldly-minded persons was not wanting in the meetings, which was more especially the case when Mr. John Wesley came to Yorkshire, renewing his objections against the doctrines of the Brethren, as he had done in London, and publicly preaching against them. Hence, as at London, in the year 1741, a distinct separation between the Brethren and the Methodists took place in Yorkshire.

When, in the beginning of the year 1743, Count Zinzendorf returned from America to England, his first visit was to Yorkshire, accompanied by his daughter Benigna, Anna Nitschmann, and the brethren Hutton and Spangenberg. They set out on the 10th of February, and arrived at Smith-house on the 25th, where Hutton left them. Soon afterwards the Count and his company followed him to London, and there continued from the 11th to the 24th of March, during which time he preached and kept meetings with the congregation at Fetter Lane; Hutton acting as his interpreter. He also attended the meetings of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, which had been held from the 2nd of February in the first floor of Hutton's house, called "Hutton's Society-room;" it being engaged for church and conference meetings. The Count was very much pleased with the rules of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, among whose members he renewed many of his former acquaintanceships. Spangenberg accompanied him on his visit to Archbishop Potter, where and elsewhere, as he had uniformly done, he strongly objected to the separation of the Societies of the English brethren from the English Episcopal Church. It was during this visit of the Count to England, that the open rupture between him and the leaders of the Methodists, John Wesley and Whitefield, took place. Hutton succeeded in bringing the Count and Wesley together, for the express purpose of having a conversation on their respective views. They met in Gray's Inn Gardens, then open to the public as a promenade—"*Cur religionem tuam mutasti?* (Why have you changed your religion?) was

the first question of Zinzendorf, referring to the doctrine of the justification of the sinner by the grace of Jesus Christ, and by faith in him. Wesley desired to give a prominent place in his system of the Christian religion to the doctrine of *an active love*, proceeding from the new birth and faith; and manifesting itself in *striving* after *holiness* and *christian perfection*, and to the doctrine of the furtherance of this *active* love by the *means of grace in the church*. Zinzendorf on the other hand allowed of none other than a *grateful love*, proceeding from the experience of the heart of a *pardoned* sinner; he condemned all self-made holiness, and every merely legal duty, and act of self-denial. He had even publicly, as bishop and guardian of the Church of the Brethren, called the two Wesleys "false teachers and deceivers of souls, on account of their doctrine of *christian perfection*."

Not less severe was his declaration against Whitefield, with whom he had a friendly conversation in London, and whom he had heard preach on the subject of *reprobation*. He renounced all connexion with him, on account of this "*abominable doctrine*, so contrary to sound reason." "You must first formally recant, and preach openly *free grace* in the blood of the Lamb, and an *election of grace* as taught in the Scriptures, which is quite different from the doctrine of predestination which you teach; and if not, our church must necessarily be opposed to you."

We need not wonder that declarations of this kind, although affecting only the *doctrines*, and not the individuals themselves, led to a total rupture between these men of God. On the other hand, we dare not overlook what the Count thought and said in his more quiet moments; for example, at a synod in 1744, "Whitefield is an instrument of our Saviour, he belongs to the same household of faith, his foundation is likewise ours." And again in 1745, he says of Whitefield, "he desired to enjoy *for himself*, and not *with us*, what he had learned of Boehler in 1738; he did not fully understand our doctrine of the atonement; this led him to the doctrine of predestination, when, in the same year, he went to America, and thus separated from us."

In like manner, John Wesley, in his declaration addressed to the Moravian Church, particularly in England, June 14, 1744, acknowledged the excellent gifts it enjoyed, and had communicated. "I sincerely wished," he writes, "for an

union among us; but there is a something *between* us which prevents it. You have the pure doctrine of the atonement and so forth; and, in your congregations, a purer morality than is found elsewhere. But I blame you for your antinomian principles; for you say works, commandments and the law, are nothing. This you have in common with Luther, according to his erroneous interpretation of the epistle to the Galatians." In later years another cause of disagreement was added, to which Hutton alluded when replying to a question by Zinzendorf, "Why was not a friendly relation established between us and Wesley?" "Because," said Hutton, "Wesley thinks that he cannot rely upon your words." The very same objection was raised at Halle, against the Count, who, after the year 1744, very often spoke at the synods of the church against "*Methodism in religion*," referring both to the English and German Methodism, that is Pietism, as being most decidedly contrary to the inward tender religion of the heart, as taught by the Brethren. In the same spirit he expressed his views in his printed publications. Wesley did the like in his printed diaries, as well as in private conversation: "The system of the Brethren is not scriptural, but mystical, their mode of action not open; no good works, no self-denial, no external, no inward religion." Thus the two extreme views were set forth in the most antagonistic manner, during the very time of the formation of the congregations of the Brethren in England, and the Methodist societies. As on the continent of Europe, the Brethren and Pietists of the right kind, so in England the Brethren and the Methodists, laboured for one and the same object; namely, against the deadness of religion in the church, on the one hand, and the prevailing spirit of scepticism, on the other. Each party acted independent of the other, and each had its own peculiar excellencies, as well as defects; and it is interesting to observe that at the very time when the Methodists were most active, and their opposition, and that of the established Church, most decided, the congregations of Brethren in England became more and more established. The Brethren were not then asleep.

On the 7th of February, Br. Hutton, being informed by letter of the arrival of several brethren and sisters at Dover from Pennsylvania, hired a tilt boat, and accompanied by the Brn. Browne and Senneff, proceeded the same night to

Gravesend to meet them. To provide for these, appears to have involved an unexpected claim for money, application was therefore made to his mother, who advanced a hundred pounds, although sixty pounds only were sought for, to meet the emergency.

On the 18th he was called to the office of grand-juryman at Hicks's Hall, which he does not appear to have declined, being ever willing to fulfil the duties of citizenship, although they might be attended with personal inconvenience. At that time the office pertained to men of standing in society, and was not left to be performed by persons whose character and position were altogether unknown in their respective neighbourhoods.

Hutton, like a true-hearted servant of the Lord, was opposed to every thing likely to be dishonouring to Him. In relation to this, he was very sensitive. On one occasion, application having been made to Mr. Whitefield, by a clergyman of the English Church for admission to his bands, saying, "he had done no harm, only that he had a little difference with Hutton;" the latter was referred to: who replied, that as the party had "gone on pawning other people's goods," (he had published Hymns of the Brethren for his own benefit, without their consent), and persisted in justifying his conduct, he had declined taking him into his own bands. Mr. Whitefield does not appear to have seen this kind of dishonesty in so ugly a shape, and hence the applicant was received by him.

On the 29th of March, having been called upon by Br. Spangenberg, then in Holland, for a statement of the Proceedings of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, he wrote to him as follows:—

"London, March 29, 1743.

"My very dear Br. Spangenberg,

"According to your direction, I have drawn out on the other side, the account of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; but I have not included above £600 for the sea congregation, no where reckoned in this account; so that you will find that our Society and the members thereof, have laid out for our so dear Lamb, and His use in his servants, above £1500 since April 27, 1741, being but twenty-three months. This, I must say it, has very far exceeded

my expectations, when I look at the low circumstances of all my brethren, members of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, not eight of them being worth a hundred pounds each. I am astonished! but the Lord has done it, and has Himself given the money, bringing it from many corners to my great surprise. But the willingness and heartiness of my dear brethren who are members, their ungrudging hearts, their courage to venture on our Saviour, their readiness to bind themselves, for what they were worth, to raise money for the work of the Lord, *this* has made my heart weep for joy sometimes.

"But the benefit which has arisen from these poor £1500 is infinite and endless, and shall be found being blessed by the Lord, even to the day when He shall come to reign with his saints a thousand years upon the earth. The letters which have been forwarded from Germany and Holland to England; from England to America; from America to England, and Holland and Germany, and many other parts, in their originals; have no doubt been of the utmost importance. I am sure, from the translations we have had of several of them, they have been blessed to several hundreds, I may say, thousands in England; when one reckons not only London, but Scotland also, and Yorkshire, Bedford, Northampton, Shelbourne, &c. But the blessing they have already been of is not all; they shall still be blessed for years to come. O! how well is about £34, which we have paid for letters in these twenty-three months laid out! no purchaser could purchase these blessings without the Lord's special eye for £34,000; nay, I have known above that sum laid out in religious uses to much less purpose.

"The journeys up and down in England which have cost us but about £44, have far more abundantly been useful to our Saviour's work than we know, or can at present describe; yet what we have already seen makes me call to mind the feeding of five thousand people with five barley-loaves and two small fishes.

"The journeys to and from Holland and Germany have also been so much blessed to us here, that we wish to give continually to that same purpose whatever is needful; and are surprised to find that no more than £40 or thereabouts have been laid out for that purpose.

But we know and believe that whatever has been laid out

for Pennsylvania will abundantly repay and bring forth the seed which has been sown, when we consider that there are about fifty labourers that have been carried over thither from Europe, that there are already some converted preachers, Indian congregations, and doors opened in so many nations of Indians, and a passage made for the true servants of Christ into the several sects which fill Pennsylvania; and when we remember what word it is which they testify, whose flock they are which carry the testimony, and the constant success which attends the word of reconciliation through the blood of Jesus.

"Upon the whole, I must declare, that if I were a rich man, I would lay out my money thus, and as I am a poor man, I will lay out therein as much as ever I can get. Indeed the giving of money to these Societies for the furtherance of the Gospel is the best contrived way of laying it out for the Lord.

"Our debt of £323 which we owe, the Lord will find out some way to help us to pay; our people are not straitened in their bowels, but their circumstances are straitened. They, only some of them, venture to wish to be rich, that they might be able to do more. They are uneasy sometimes, that they cannot possibly do more, because for them the Lamb has died, and because they know by the word of *that matter* they fain would spread everywhere, that every poor confused, sinful soul might be made happy thereby. We only live to serve Him; we only like to stay here in this world, that we may bring, or help to bring souls to Him; we have no other end why we do not die immediately; we would rather die than not be useful in the kingdom of our Saviour. His thirst after souls encourages us to believe He will bless even *us* poor wretches in our endeavours for His name and kingdom. He shall see of the travail of His soul, and shall be satisfied. Amen!—(My mother seems broken-hearted: she loves to hear me speak of the love and death of our Saviour.)

"The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, has received since April 27, 1741	£578	14	4
It has laid out since that time .	£902	8	4
So that it is in debt . .	£323	14	0

"The ship &c., which Delamotte bought, amounting to about £600, is not reckoned in this account.

"May the good Lamb, whom we kiss in our spirits, and whom we thank for the honour He has done us in employing us in this part of His service, continue to bless us and to anoint us and all our matters, to forgive us altogether our many failings herein, and to cover us all over with His blood.

"I am, your loving brother,

JAS. HUTTON, *Referendary to "the Society for the furtherance of the Gospel."*

On the 3rd of April, in the public service of the Sabbath, it is recorded of him that he prayed the Lord, "that the children of the brethren and sisters might not have any of this world's goods, but that they might be pilgrims from their infancy," and thus escape the snares with which worldly property always more or less entraps its possessors. Having unreservedly devoted himself and his all to the service of God, there was nothing he so severely reprehended as what is called 'living by the Gospel;' but when he found any one undermining it by speaking evil of it, for the sake of their own selfish ends, his severity became unbounded. One Mr. Mason who at this time was the means of injuring, though not of destroying the friendly relations subsisting between the brethren and the excellent Dr. Philip Doddridge, underwent such a castigation from Br. Hutton, "for gossiping against the Church in things that are false, and which he himself could not think to be true, yet spreading them as though they were true," as made him quail; for he had thus behaved after having acknowledged his fault, professed repentance, and commended himself to the prayers of the brethren.

This year, a synod of the Brethren having been called, Br. Hutton with his wife, accompanied by Mr. Ingham, and the sisters Esther Kinchin, Mary Bowes and Martha Ireland, set out from Little Wild Street on the 20th of May at four in the morning, in the Harwich coach for Germany, and were absent until the 16th of July; during which time Br. Marshall occupied the office of *pater familias* in Hutton's place. At this synod, which was held at Hirschberg in Voigtland, from the 1st to the 12th of July inclusive, much appears to have been done, not only in matters appertaining to the Continent, where there were about eleven hundred labourers of the Brethren, not including more than three hundred in Livonia; but also in the affairs of the English province; and as soon as practicable after the return of the

brethren, a conference was held to consider how matters were to be ordered in the London church meetings, &c., when it was made known by Br. Neusser, from Br. Spangenberg's account, and past and present directions:—

That in Fetter Lane the Gospel should be openly proclaimed.

That the London church should be regarded as a choir of labourers, (distinct from the Society and its general meetings, &c.) each member of which was to consider him or herself as in preparation by the Lord for future service in any station, post, or office to which He might call them.

That this church, as a body of labourers, consisting of only a few souls who were wholly devoted to our Saviour, might enjoy all the privileges and discipline of a church elsewhere; which the mere members of the Society, by reason of their not dwelling together, could not enjoy.

That this church should be in stillness, none knowing it but such as were in it. (See Rev. ii. 17.) This London church should cleave to the Pilgrim Church as the body to its soul.

The Pilgrim Church is described as a congregation of labourers who go hither and thither; whom no one knows but he to whom it is revealed. Every one who has a whole mind to our Saviour, is a member of it. It is composed of persons who indissolubly cleave together, as a testimony in the Saviour's wounds, against all who are unfaithful: witnesses whom the Lord will preserve in the hour of trial; souls who neither have nor desire an abiding city in this life; and who labour for the good of others among all religions, but never form themselves into a sect. So much cannot be required of every one who loves the Saviour.

This Church is not the Moravian Church, but its servants; sojourning so long in it as the children and servants of God, or rather the spiritual Church of God, has freedom of action, and is acknowledged. This relationship to the Moravian Church remaining only so long as she herself abides faithful.

A pilgrim, according to Count Zinzendorf's definition, is "a Philadelphian (lover of the brethren), with a Moravian coat and a Lutheran tongue."

In relation to the Society in general, where souls know our Saviour, the brethren clothe them, if they can, in their several religious habits, as Lutherans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Moravians.

The connection between London and Yorkshire was thus

defined:—That London, as a choir of labourers (a small flock hidden as yet and acting quietly), should provide labourers for Yorkshire, and train up souls which were to be sent from Yorkshire for the purpose; Yorkshire being the county where our Saviour exhibited his Church openly; and where, for the present, the congregation of the brethren should be settled. The London Church, being private, was to have a particular connection with Yorkshire, and be in a measure dependent upon it, inasmuch as the chief elders were at this time there. Upon this the brethren and sisters were asked if they were willing to live in this church and be pilgrims? and Br. Holland, the congregation elder, answered; that he and his brethren and sisters understood this when they wrote to be received. At this Pilgrim Conference the Neussers, Toeltschig, Hutton, and his wife, were constituted the committee, Hutton, however, having been appointed to it by our Saviour.*

Arrangements were then made regarding Lamb's Inn, or Broad Oaks; at which place the children's economy was maintained; also, as to the house at Mile-end, where the Pilgrim Committee or Conference was to dwell. It was determined, besides, that a synodal meeting should be held twice a year, at which general matters were to be considered and disposed of.

The duties of the Committee of Pilgrims embraced, among other things, the settlement and arrangement of plans, the choice of elders, wardens, &c. for the several congregations; the disposal of such important persons as Knolton, Bowes, &c.; the reconciliation of labourers to their respective duties, &c.; the appointment of persons for posts and places, and of labourers to the several churches.

In reference to the conduct of labourers, those who should be appointed to specific employments, were urged not to meddle with the general labourers, but to encourage them by a faithful fulfilment of their particular functions, so that the eye should not say to the hand, 'What need is there of thee? &c.' The general labourers also were exhorted to avoid as much as possible interfering with particular officers; so that all and each in their several spheres, by hearty union in the discharge of their duties, might be an example to those who should be called to the synods.

At the synod of Hirschberg, it appears that Count Zin-

* By the lot.

zendorf's useful and valuable treatise, (written at Philadelphia, in May 1742,) on the plan of the Brethren in labouring with souls, was approved of. It was printed in German, and read in English, at a meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 5th November, 1744; but did not appear in England until it was translated and published by an unknown author in a pamphlet, written in defence of the Brethren, which came out on the 22nd November, 1753, and probably does not now exist,

The following extracts from the fragment of a diary will shew how constantly Hutton was engaged to the end of the year.

"July 21st. Br. Hutton set out with Br. Spangenberg, Neisser, and Marshall, in a chaise for Lamb's Inn, where they held a conference on some general plans. He returned on the 23rd, and the same evening kept the singing hour, and at a love-feast gave an account of the journey to and from the synod.

"July 24th, Sunday. David Taylor, formerly footman to Lady Ingham, a great preacher in Derbyshire, Leicestershire, and part of Yorkshire, and Lancashire, a man who was awakened under the law by Br. Ingham, and preached according to his knowledge; stirring up many people in that way, and settling societies here and there in the several counties; who sometimes was for the Brethren and sometimes against them, "as such unstable and unsettled people are used to be," came to Hutton, telling him he was now in great uncertainty what to do, The country people were so enraged at him for preaching, &c. that they sought his life, and he did not know how to continue any longer in those parts; he was willing to be directed. We gave him no positive advice. He told Hutton he himself wanted a good foundation, that he was unsettled in his own heart, &c.; but since that day, he never came again, nor do we know what became of him. On the 21st of October, we however find him "wanting a whole box full of Hymn-books, and the Count's Sermons."

"July 25th. Hutton, &c. visited the house at Mile-end, which is to be our future Pilgrim-house; his plan was also made clear to him.

"On the 28th, Hutton and Kendrick visited such as had been received or applied for admission into bands during his absence in Germany. On the 30th it was determined that he

should continue Treasurer to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

"On the 31st, he and Neisser went by post-chaise to Gravesend, having heard in the forenoon that Capt. Garrison was ill. They returned the same day, having left all well, and refreshed by their visit.

"August 1st. Prayer day, began at near 4; Br. Hutton sang a hymn; then, after praying for a blessing, he read some sweet accounts from divers parts of the world.

"August 6th. Hutton read letters, and received Mrs. Andrews, widow, Mrs. Fuller, and Jane Bagley, and Joan Hopson, two single sisters, into society fellowship.

"On the 11th, Mr. Whitefield, Humphreys, and Cennick, and John Syms visited Hutton, the latter desiring to leave Mr. Whitefield and unite with the Brethren. Having taken time to consider of it, Hutton and Schlicht went to Whitefield on the 19th, who had previously declined seeing them. He said he could not discharge John Syms, his agent, believing it to be our Saviour's will that he should stay with him, and do the work he had entrusted him with; but that he had given him up to the Lord. Whitefield wished Hutton to advise Syms to continue with him; but this could not be done, inasmuch as Syms had said he was called by the Holy Ghost to leave him; and the Brethren could not advise him against his convictions. They had advised him to wait. Whitefield thought if the Brethren received him, his friends abroad would have much to say against it; Hutton told him that the Brethren had not held out to Syms the least encouragement, and declined giving him a promise of reception if he left Whitefield, notwithstanding that Syms had said, his leaving Mr. Whitefield was as clearly to him the will of the Lord, as when the sun shineth."

Between the months of July and September, Hutton and his wife were engaged in a heavy undertaking, providing for, and preparing certain brethren and sisters who had given themselves to the service of God in Pennsylvania. It was at first intended that houses at Mile-end, belonging to one of the Brethren, should be engaged to lodge the pilgrims in, but as these were not ready, other lodging had to be sought, and after considerable trouble, a mansion was found in Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, which was engaged by Br. Larish and his wife, who were desirous of country air, and for whom, on account of their worldly cir-

cumstances, it was suitable. A part of it was let to Hutton until Michaelmas; and here the parties were lodged from the 12th of August until the ship that had been bought by Captain Garrison, should sail from Cowes. This ship, the "Little Strength," in which the Lamb's Church, one hundred and twenty in number, was to go to Pennsylvania, sailed down the river on the 31st of July. Hutton and other brethren having on the 26th been present at the administration of the holy sacrament on board the ship, with Captain Garrison, Br. Erhardt, and the other sailors who were brethren, about to sail for America with the brethren and sisters; Br. Neusser officiating. The ship's ensign was "a lamb passant, with a flag on a blood-coloured field." This solemn service was very greatly blessed. In taking the house, Hutton remarks, "We found a house for our purpose at Greenwich, too fine indeed for us, but our Saviour approves of it. Br. Larish and his lady live there; they using what they want, and letting us the rest; so nobody can reproach us for having so fine a house, which otherwise, many might do. It is a private and retired place on Blackheath, near Greenwich, in a very healthy situation; we will take it till Michaelmas, by which time, perhaps, the houses at Mile-end may be ready."

Among those who were thus provided for at Blackheath, were three brethren and three sisters who, having declared aloud their intention to live wholly for our Saviour, agreed also, for his sake, to marry. These were united on the night of the 11th of September, the brethren Toeltschig and Neusser joining their hands, and the latter marrying them in the name of Jesus Christ, &c., in presence of the whole family; after which, Br. Toeltschig prayed for them. On the 5th, Thursday, the three pairs coming together, they were addressed by Br. Toeltschig; he and Neusser laying their hands on them. They were blessed into their married state; the brethren, by Br. Toeltschig; the sisters, by Sr. Hutton. At this "there was a great feeling and melting of almost all our hearts." The names of the married couples were:—

1. *James Greening*, apothecary, from London, aged 25, to *Elizabeth Rogers*, born at the same place, aged 36; vice-eldress of the single sisters.

2. *Richard Utley*, born in Yorkshire, aged 23, vice-elder of the single men, to *Sarah Morgan* (Hutton's maid), born in Shropshire, aged 32.

3. *David Digeon*, shoemaker, born in the Palatine, aged 21, to *Mary Andrews*, a soldier's widow, born in Leicestershire, aged 23.*

Hutton had great difficulty to encounter in reference to Br. Greening, whose mother was much averse to his going to Pennsylvania, and had discharged her servant, Br. Edmonds, who had lived with her twenty years, and without whom she could not manage her business; she being desperately angered at his having, as she thought, persuaded her son to go; and one memorandum states, "This woman has stirred up many people to be enraged on us in this matter, and cry, and alarm has been given that we take children from their parents, &c. Dr. Bradbury, a most vehement, factious, Independent preacher, went to Sir John Gunson, to know if these Moravian Brethren could not be hindered from transporting so many of the king's subjects out of the nation, &c. Sir J. Gunson answered him, The king could, by his special prerogative, but such a proceeding would make him odious, and would seem an infringement on the subjects' liberties, and therefore he believed the king would not do it, unless some very extraordinary and very material persons were going away. Sir John Gunson told Hutton this discourse, at the same time telling him he had heard two hundred persons were going at once. Hutton told him about twelve were going out of England; of those, not all were English, and no person of condition among them; and all this noise was made about a butcher's son going. Sir J. Gunson laughed."

On the 9th of September, it having been determined to send the brethren and sisters at the house in Dartmouth-row, Blackheath, to Portsmouth, in order to join the "Little Strength," which had been to Holland, and was now expected at Cowes; Hutton "hired a waggon to carry them by land and all their goods for ten guineas;" not having been able to procure a vessel to convey them, as originally intended, by sea.

"On the 10th, the brethren and sisters came in three companies from Blackheath to London by water, all their baggage also, well—themselves in peace, and joy, and love. We went in three troops to the end of London, and waited in a house for the coming of the waggon; 'till it came, they

* See above, p. 92-95.

were happy for an hour or so, and very cheeerful in the inn, at the end of the town; and were informed again just before they went in the waggon, indeed they were several times told, separately and jointly, that if in their hearts they were unwilling to go, they should still have liberty to stay behind. But no one would stay, Sr. Digeon wept, because she thought she should not at all times be willing to suffer; yet she would by no means stay behind. About 11, they went away together in the waggon; the brethren on foot by the waggon, and were exceedingly happy on their journey. They arrived on the 23rd, safe and well in Portsmouth, astonished at the particular blessings the Lamb had showered upon them on the road. They went with a sloop immediately to Cowes, where they arrived next morning at three, and took lodgings in the inn, there to await the arrival of the 'Little Strength,' from Holland, which was on the 25th."

"The Lord helped Hutton in some contributions, wanted for bringing the English brethren and sisters to Cowes. He collected it chiefly from those who had been spared hitherto, and were not members of the Church, nor of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel."

On the 24th of September, Hutton wrote from London, to Count Zinzendorf and Anna Nitschmann, as follows:—

"London, September 24th, 1743.

"Dearest and heartily beloved Brother and Sister,

"At the request of Br. Neisser, I write to inform you how things have progressed. He has gone this morning to Cowes, to visit the brethren and sisters there, and to see those who are left. The dear Saviour has been among us, and caused us to know His will, and made us willing to do what He has ordained, and these are all blessings. We have had many trials to endure, the Saviour is sure to come off victorious; it is impossible that it should be otherwise. Br. N—— will write to you more about it shortly. He would have written before, but delayed it in expectation of seeing Spangenberg; he thinks of writing on his return from Cowes.

"You chosen hearts! where shall I begin, except at this point, that I love you very much; and we have nothing to do to obtain blessing, but to receive it. At times one certainly feels much oppressed, as though the heart would burst in pieces, yet one gets over it in the end.

"You will perhaps recollect my telling you at the synod of Hirschberg, that we should not be able to find six couples in England for Pennsylvania; at least, that we could not promise as much. We have now happily found the six couple. May the Lamb bless them! It was our intention as soon as they were promised, to take the three couples, of whom Neisser will give you some further particulars, into the house at Mile-end, on the Harwich road, where at some time or other, we propose to live together as a pilgrim conference. But the devil hindered us, and thinks he has frustrated our designs; he has however been foiled in his intentions, for the Saviour had directed us to another house at Blackheath near Greenwich. Br. Larish and *she*, (*i. e.* his wife,) have engaged the house, and placed at our service the rooms they will not require; where we were enabled to provide for them comfortably. Br. and Sr. Neisser, myself and wife, also went to live there, and Toeltschig joined us from Yorkshire; and we all and the three couple lived together in love, and painted to ourselves how it will be when the Lamb shall be in the midst, in the new Jerusalem. We also have quarter hours and bible-hours, which have been specially blessed to us. The history of Abraham exhibits to us the patriarchal heart-faith. We have read the epistles, and sung with tender feeling together; and we could not have lived more happy in Jerusalem—such were the indescribable grace and affection that prevailed in our dwelling. Myself and the brethren and sisters were present body and soul, and the three couples in particular were greatly blessed; the Saviour having revealed to me and to them, the marriage mystery, for which I cannot sufficiently thank Him.

"On Saturday most of us went by coach to Portsmouth, having on the previous evening had at the same time a special communion and one admission. This was indeed a blessed communion! It was held in the house of Larish, and except Br. Schlicht, no others were present, when the grace and emotion experienced were not to be described. The brethren Holland, Reineke, and Knowlton accompanied the travellers to Portsmouth; and I learn from Br. Reineke, that the journey was greatly blessed. We several times seriously asked the brethren and sisters going to Pennsylvania, and again on the day before they departed, if it were their whole mind to be entirely the Saviour's, and altogether united in the congregation? also, whether they went to

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—HUTTON."

In the midst of their activity, Hutton and his wife and child were visited by a severe attack of diarrhœa, of which the parents recovered; but the infant, to whom medicine had been improperly administered, lingered until the 4th of October, when she departed, while they were singing over her the verse beginning—

"Safe from the hellish vulture's claw," &c.

This infant, Mary Salome, was buried on the 10th at Westminster, by night, as was then customary. When her death was announced to the congregation, the hymn No. 47 of the collection was sung:—

How sweet's the dream of her that sleeps,
E'en thee, thou happy bride!
When choosing for thy rest the place
Where thy Beloved died.

The bonds that bound thy Lover fast
Unbind thee from thy pain;
His piercing cry! *that* soothes thy soul,
And sings to sleep again.

The nails which caus'd Him so much smart,
Thy heavenly seat make fast;
He bears thee on His heart, thou Him,
Sleep on and take thy rest.

Hush! stir not up the friend of Christ;
Wake not the lovely bride;
Some vision causes her to smile—
She sees His open side.*

On the 14th September he had a visit from Mr. Howell Harris, the Welsh apostle.

October 3rd.—Br. Hutton, at a general meeting, prayed for a blessing, then read several letters from different parts of England, with many blessings, and ended the day with prayer. At this time he composed a hymn, perhaps on the departure of his beloved infant, and Br. Schlicht set it to music on the 6th, on the evening of which day the anthem was sung; and old Mrs. Hutton, on hearing it, said it was heavenly.

On the 7th, Mrs. Storer and Mrs. Vickars, in the Helpers'

* This beautiful hymn is from the German of Gottfried Neumann, a member of the church of the Brethren, at Herrnhut, in 1736.

Conference to which they appear to have been appointed, were told of the importance of their office, and how they ought to conduct themselves in it, in a sweetly-instructive manner, by Br. Hutton.

On the same day, while in the Elders' Conference, Br. Spangenberg arrived from Plymouth, and rejoiced the hearts of Hutton and his colleagues, who received him with open arms; and the next day he, with Hutton and Schlicht, visited Whitefield, most likely on the subject of John Syms, but what transpired does not appear.* Hutton's multifarious engagements in the service of his Lord so increased as to make it necessary some one should be appointed to aid him in his business, Br. Thomas Moore was therefore appointed to live with him for the purpose.

On the 7th October, Hutton was called to visit young Senneff, who had the day before been committed to Newgate. Br. Bell had been with him and cheered him up a little. He was among the common-side prisoners, where all manner of wickedness is learnt, and in a sad condition. Hutton was requested to see him, and deal kindly with him and care for him, in order that he might perceive tenderness towards him in all our hearts. Br. Schlicht composed this verse for him:—

> "Should Senneff turn, like the unhappy son,
> Embrace and give him absolution."

The vigilance of the Bishop of London kept his agents in constant employment; and Mr. Broughton, the better to satisfy his Lordship, on the 29th September, attended the public service of the Brethren and took notes of Br. Holland's preaching; the bishop having desired an account from him of the Methodists and Moravian Brethren, and of the number of such as had joined them. Mr. Broughton informed the bishop that the Moravian Brethren were a sober, good, and holy people; but had "strange notions and a strange doctrine, and explained the Scriptures so strangely." He also sent the bishop a copy of Spangenberg's letter to Bray. Mr. Hopson had been spoken to by Br. Griffiths concerning a charge he had made against Br. Brampton of speaking against the Bishop of London, who "thought the

* John Syms, however, was received to Society fellowship, 11th of April, 1748, and dying 11th of August, 1756, was buried in Camberwell Churchyard, where there is a memorial of him and his sister, Mrs. Sarah Osborn. His widow, Sarah, died 15th of March, 1797, and was buried at Chelsea.

Brethren to be the most enthusiastic people that ever were since Christianity was in the world."

Oct. 21.—Hutton was specially appointed to care for the matters regarding the houses at Mile-end. On the 30th, the threat of exclusion was carried into effect upon Br. Hurlock, who was turned out of Coleman-Street Society, and a rule was made, "That he who will not keep close to the Church of England must not be a member of the Society."

In the course of this, and the following month, Hutton was several times at Broad Oaks, where the girls' school was kept, and where a house congregation was settled, on the 26th of November.

In the beginning of December he was actively engaged at a conference in Yorkshire. On the 13th, he appears to have advised the closing of religious meetings at the house of Br. Bowes, in George Yard, Little Britain, on account of the riotous disturbances made at them by the mob. This created some jealousy in the mind of Bowes, which was happily removed by one of them asking forgiveness of the other, and the other praying their Saviour's pardon for both. Thus closed the year 1743.

The year 1744 was opened by a love-feast, given by Hutton to Br. and Sr. Spangenberg, who, in blessed fellowship, enjoyed the presence of their Saviour.

On the 4th of January, it was found that some single brethren had taken offence at the penitential tears shed by George Moore at their meetings. What was not right in this, if was considered, would in time cease, and that heart-weeping was better than eye-weeping; yet, if the heart be affected, no hindrance should be made to prevent such tears from flowing freely. The conduct of those who had taken offence was severely reprehended, and it was determined to deal strictly with the choir of single brethren; it being judged "better to have a few quite free and cleared from blame than many who bring a curse upon each other;" and "very dangerous for persons to meddle with a church, and keep a curse upon themselves; for, the Lord will not be mocked." This sifting of the choir was deputed to Br. Hutton, who, in a few days after, is reported to have held a love-feast with it, "which our Saviour blessed much."

On the 12th, Br. Charles Nottbeck, being about to go to Lisbon, Hutton gave him a Portuguese New Testament. His call was to proclaim Christ on the coast of Barbary. In 1746 we find him at Algiers, preaching in a large place, called the Bagnio, with more people to hear him than ever.*

January 17.—The Brn. Hutton and Neusser were deputed to visit Bedford. Hutton was, during the whole month, when in town, fully occupied in the various meetings of the congregation and society, of all which he now appears to have been the principal leader.

In the beginning of February, the German brethren of London were formed into a congregation, not, however, as separated from the English brethren, but for special benefit to those who should be in it, and for the good of the Germans in London. It was settled on the 4th, Hutton being included among its members.† About this time a change was made in the London Congregation by distributing its members into classes instead of bands—a distinction at first not well understood; and consequently the dissolution of the bands became a grief to many. Hutton and his wife were leaders of classes assigned to them. A letter which Hutton about this time wrote to Count Zinzendorf, under direction of the brethren, will explain the nature and the cause of this alteration, and at the same time afford an indication of Hutton's peculiar state of mind, as well as of the condition of the congregation in which he held so prominent a position.

"My very dear heart and respected Brother Ludwig,

"My poor heart is bold to love you, which it does in a very tender manner. Do not cast away my love because I am unworthy of yours. You love me too, I know it; only you love more solidly and really, and to better purpose than I. I love like a poor child, which lies in its cradle, and smiles and laughs sometimes at its parents and nurses; but at other times, when out of its cradle, it is disobedient—and wishes its parents and nurses would let it alone to walk by itself; yet, though it behaves so badly, the parents do not

* He arrived at Algiers in May, 1745, and continued there till October, 1748.—Crantz. Hist. page 243.

† These were Neusser, Hutton, Marshall, and their wives, Digeon, Gottschalk, Schlicht, and twelve others, among whom is mentioned "an old woman."

kill it and cast it away, but if need be, correct it and remember still, *that it is our poor child with which we are to live or die, we will do what we can, we will have patience with it.*"

"Your sharp letter of the 20th of February, I look on as a dear justly angry parent's correction. I kiss the rod, I see your dear heart in it; and if you were to throw me away, my heart says, I have deserved it. But do not so, my dear tender heart, remember my weakness, and let all that is past be forgiven, and forgiven by you. I will not say that my tears shall move you; however, I weep, but not as I ought. May the Lamb melt and break quite through my heart, and let His almighty blood wash away what gives both Him and my own heart, and yourself, such pain. When once I see you, I shall be sadly ashamed; yet I think I shall love you tenderly, my dearest heart. I am grieved that you must have sorrow and vexation on our account. May the Lamb not be angry at us, and take away His blessings.

"When I began this letter, I intended only, as I was ordered, to give you an account or view of our matters in London; but when I wrote your name at the beginning, I could not help telling you something of my own heart. I do not look on myself as fit to love the Lamb any more at all, yet I beseech Him not to take away my witness lot from me; but, rather give me to serve Him with a pure heart fervently, all my days. I am sometimes so discouraged, that I begin to think I shall continue lame and blind always from the wounds I have caused myself, by my unfaithfulness, want of single eye, and pride, and laziness. May His blood heal me through and through. I am His poor creature. I am once received into His church. I stand and weep. Dear Lamb of God have entire mercy on me, thou Elder of Thy Church, and bring me quite to rights.

"Our matters in London you must think, go not on as they should and might do, if we labourers were right; yet, our dear Saviour does indeed bless us, and many, almost every one of the sheep in our congregation at London, loves the Lamb; our preachings are blessed to them, and the word of the blood of the Lamb is tasted and grateful to them; the Lord blesses it, because He is engaged so to do, and *that* word indeed works inward miracles. May it always remain amongst us, the word of the 'man of sorrows;'

the word of His patience and sufferings; the word of Him who weeps over His own Church till He gets her to mind, and enjoy rightly, all His blessings in a solid and heart-piercing manner, Amen! Until He comes again, that dear tender-hearted Lamb, whose patience exceeds all our thoughts, and by whose patience we still live.

"Our members of the congregation seem to come nearer to the discipleship every day, and to make their election and calling to be quite His; and indeed, if we do not forfeit our election to His service, all our members seem to have that election, and are prepared by the Holy Ghost and the spirit of the Church to be labourers. The outward circumstances of several who are encumbered, the engagements which lie upon them, and the distance we live at from one another, are some of our little impediments; but these we know the Lamb can easily break through. May He only get the heart's-bottoms of all our people, to effect which we bestow all our labours and wishes, and we know if we get that for our Saviour, and can lock up the heart's-bottoms in His wounds, our work is done. Till then, we will not rest, nor be satisfied, and therefore

> Of the Lamb slain—We sing and sing again,
> And of that Jesu's blood—Which do great wonders could.

"Some of our people are ready for the warfare, yet not so many as we wish. May His fiery thirst of love for the souls be kindled in all our labourers' hearts, and in those whom He has chosen to serve Him. May that whole heart and mind without reserve towards our Saviour, that to-be-depended-upon heart, may that be frequent and increased among us. Our people find what they want, and are ashamed. On the whole, I believe the Lamb and we are sorry a little about our London church, yet rather more glad than sorry. We can praise Him, and can and do meet Him in our church hours and quarter hours, and particularly, at the last sacrament, He indeed was with us. We feel we are in His hands, His estate on whom He all bestows, and we can follow His footsteps among our people. His soft and His hard staff are felt, and the hearts yield and give way in a certain brokenness when reproved by His Spirit, and by us. In short, there are many dear souls among us who love the Lamb somewhat tenderly, and I cannot say there is one person without life from our Saviour in the whole church.

"The Society, for the Church and Society are, as you know, two distinct bodies, though all the members of the church still remain also in the Society as a salt, is not now in bands as before; because the bands (1) had no longer that blessing they used to have; and (2) the souls did not know for what, or how they should use them. We therefore—according to all our hearts, and according to the Lamb's appointment, who loves the Society, for He planted it, and has watered it, and has out of it gathered His church, and there are many dear souls yet in the Society;—we laid aside bands, and appointed classes instead of bands; in which our plan was to speak with the souls respecting their circumstances, according to our own feeling; sometimes also asking one or another such necessary questions, as should be given us, without the souls imagining they must begin, and give some account of themselves as they did every time when they met in bands, which was so like a confessional, as not always to be agreeable to them, and finally became formal, and hindered them. The members of the Church were, as before, mixed in the classes, and each class began with a love-feast, and we hope the Lamb will go on to bless the alteration, for nor London, nor any thing in London shall please us, but only what is blessed by Him—

> That Church shall not longer stand,
> If He should withdraw His hand.

Our labourers have at least had this blessing by the alteration, it seemed to them as if they all wanted to learn anew how to labour, and they drew afresh towards our Saviour, as beggars. This was a real blessing.

"In the Society we receive into some care and connection with us those souls who are from time to time touched by the preachings; and though as Br. Neisser has written you formerly, we cannot answer for the members of the Society, yet we are careful whom we receive into it, because the world involves our Church in some measure in any blame which may arise from its members; though the publisher in England of Gilbert Tennant's book against the Moravians, has made a distinction between the members of our Church and of our Society, a thing which, if we had done publicly, might not have been so well. The devil is a fool sometimes.

"Our chief plan of care for the Society is to visit its members, and this is really blessed. We have twice in the week for them 'helpers' conferences, to which every one is admitted who has any matters, or who wants to learn to labour, yet we herein use discretion. The helper conferences are blessed. We therein know circumstances which happen daily, and learn also to know which of our people are labourers, and how they manage their matters; and indeed we could not do without suffering great mischief, if it were not for these helper conferences. Besides this, we have also once a week a select conference, consisting of the elders and wardens of each choir, and some other dear hearts of the Society, with whom we speak of the plan in general, and also of particular circumstances, as far as is needful; and we go over the circumstances sometimes of all the choirs of the societies in these conferences; and here we appoint also the visiting of the souls, having with us in the conference, always such as can be sent to this or another person as need requires.

"Besides this, the elders and wardens of each choir in the church, who also labour through the whole choir in the Society (for the church labourers are also labourers in the society) meet for each choir apart, and consider weekly the circumstances of their choir. Besides the elders' conferences which meet weekly, there is also for the church, which is in a much more blessed way than it has been, a conference weekly with all the elders and wardens of all the choirs, in which nothing but church matters, and the church members are treated of, including the plan of labouring, and whole-mind matters. This is intended to be, and is a drawing as a purse the labourers in the church more and more into one heart. In the church, bands are still continued, according to our Saviour's orders, that therein we can, and do come at the foundation and heart's-bottom every day, and we wait the Lamb's blessings and find them.

"The church has a quarter hour meeting every Wednesday night in my house at present: after that, a singing hour in our chapel. In these the Lamb is very near to us, and the church spirit is felt and acknowledged by us, and by those who are by favour one or another sometimes admitted. This comforts my heart, that the Lamb acknowledges us. If that were not so, I should perhaps run over the sea to you. But, He also blesses our prayer-days; and we

remember you, and are remembered by you, and a connection is felt, and it feels as if we belonged together. I, for my part, look on myself as belonging to Herrnhuth, Herrnhaag, Marienborn, Gnadek, &c. as well as to London; and this point is somewhat also felt amongst others. Our church hour is on Sunday evening in the chapel, and though there is public preaching twice on the Sunday for the Society and every one who will, yet our church-meeting on Sunday night, to which we can refuse no one to come, is full, and the people say there is a particular feeling in the church-meeting. We all sit below stairs, and he who keeps the church hour, sits under the pulpit, the women fronting his left, and the men his right hand; this is a blessed meeting.

"My dear hearts, do not forsake us; there is, indeed, a blessing amongst us.

"I am your poor brother, JAMES HUTTON."

In the month of March, the people in the neighbourhood of Broad Oaks, stimulated by their detestation of Popery, which now threatened the kingdom with one of its old tricks in the shape of a pretender to the throne, took alarm at the quiet establishment of the Brethren at Lamb's Inn; and, determining to test their loyalty, assembled around the house in a form so hostile as to put the inmates in great jeopardy, as the following journal of their proceedings will shew. The Lord, however, overruled all for good. Br. Metcalfe, who had the care of the establishment at the time, writes:—

"March 7, Wednesday.—They talked at Thaxtead that we were Papists, and had the Pretender here: that Br. Brown is he, and that we have a great quantity of fire-arms and gunpowder.

"10th, Saturday.—The alarm about us, makes the country people talk of coming to search our house.

"19th, Monday.—About three o'clock a mob of about a hundred people gathered together about the door, some with swords, sticks, and other weapons. Several of them had come some miles, hearing we had got many barrels of gunpowder and fire-arms, and that we had undermined the land with an intention to set Thaxtead on fire, a town about two miles from our house. When I saw the mob, I thought on it before the Saviour, and waited to see the event. The people

walked about for some time, wanting to come in; they made several attempts, and the gate was only on the latch, yet they had not power to enter it. It was very visible

——— that Lamb's Inn door
Was sprinkled with blood all o'er.

"They got as far as the gate, and attempted to come in; but it was as if their hearts failed them; for, when they opened the gate, nobody prevented their coming in, and yet they had not power, and so let the gate shut to again. Thus they did two or three times. There were a serjeant and a corporal among them, who also attempted to come in, being called by the mob to venture, but they had no courage, so let the door shut to again, and withdrew a little. I kept in stillness waiting to see how it would go. In a little time after, the officers and mob ventured into the garden, and came to the door—our people seemed alarmed. I went immediately to the door to them, and asked what they wanted? The officers answered civilly, they desired to see the house. I used them civilly, and told them we did not make a show of our house; but, if they would behave civilly, I would shew it them, and that I had nothing against shewing my house to anybody who should behave well; upon which I desired the mob would immediately withdraw, and get out of my garden, which they did, and I followed them. They went quietly out like so many lambs, some bowing and pulling off their hats. Then I took the two officers and shewed them our house, from the top to the bottom. There was such an awe laid on the officers that they could hardly look up. They came into the great parlour where our large Bible lay on the table. The corporal, when he saw it, seemed to promise himself a pleasure in gratifying his curiosity, and immediately opened the book, expecting, as I suppose, to find some Papistical books, but saw it was the Bible and Common Prayer Book together. Upon which he says, 'Aye, this is a proof enough that you are no Papists; if you were, this book would not have laid here.' I told him *that* was our arms, and that we had none else but an old gun, with which we sometimes shot the jack-daws. They behaved very well, and wondered at the ignorance of the people in raising such surprisingly false reports: they seemed quite ashamed, for which there was no ground. I gave them some ale, and they went away wishing us happiness together; and the

mob followed them quietly. They seemed affected at seeing us and our children and everything in such order.

"21st, Wednesday.—While I was at dinner two men came from Justice Ward with a civil letter to me, and a paper with several questions, which he desired me to answer. I received the men kindly and shewed them our house, and sent a letter with answers to the questions.

"Thursday.—Wrote to London to acquaint them with the Justice's affair.

"Friday.—This morning Br. Hutton came here, and he and I went to see Justice Ward, who lives about twelve miles off. When we came there the Justice received us very kindly. Br. Hutton told him, 'This is Mr. Metcalfe, who has sent a letter and answers to your worship's questions.' He was very civil and desired us to walk in, which we did. He immediately ordered his servant to bring a bottle of wine to treat us with; he then told me he had received my letter, and I answered I hoped it was to his satisfaction. He thanked me and said, he was well satisfied; but hearing such strange reports spread abroad concerning us, he had a mind to inquire that he might be able to deny those false aspersions, &c. He said he was sorry we should have so much trouble. Br. Hutton said he was ever willing to resolve (explain to) our friends, and particularly the magistrates, concerning our aim and intention in living together, &c., because we always respected the magistrates; and as he (Hutton) had received advice from me (Metcalfe) he set out from London that he might have an opportunity of making him acquainted with us, &c. Then Br. Hutton told him that we were members of the Church of England and brought up in it, but that we loved the Moravian Church and her excellent discipline, and gave him an account of her, and referred to the history which I had sent him. He was acquainted with the history of the Brethren, and seemed quite pleased, and said we were no Papists, but he believed us to be good people. Then Br. Hutton gave him an account how we became acquainted with the Church, and of the origin of the first society begun amongst us, &c.; and that many souls who were concerned about and desirous after their salvation, wrote to the Moravian Church to desire her to send some brethren over to instruct us, which she did. And so we entered into a hearty discourse, and spoke of many particulars about the Church

and the English brethren, and those also in Yorkshire, &c., and that they came also to Yorkshire by the request of the Rev. Mr. Ingham, &c.

"We staid together I believe about two hours, and the Justice said, if the Justices who were to meet the week following should want to trouble us he would speak for us, and do what he could to prevent them. He was glad he had an opportunity to know us. We took our leave of the Justice with great heartiness, and he led us both by the hand to the door, told us he should be glad to be more acquainted with us, said he would come and see me, and gave Br. Hutton an invitation to come and see him at his chambers when in London. He wanted us to stay longer with him, and seemed to think the time short.

"24th, Saturday. Br. Hutton kept the Bible hour, and spoke a little after. It was sweet and blest; and about eleven or twelve he set out for London."

About this time a newspaper paragraph stated, that Count Zinzendorf and his followers—who are described as "a sort of Methodists that affect to know of nothing but Christ"—had been imprisoned at Riga, but were released. This probably arose from Br. Arvad Gravin, who, in the last year, had been imprisoned, when proclaiming the Gospel in St. Petersburg.

The following hymn was written on the 15th of March, by Hutton:—

The Lamb, and all His grief and smart,
Shall be the pleasure of my heart,
While it doth move in me;
And when that heart no more shall move,
My Spirit, finding her old Love,
Shall kiss Him tenderly.

Then you and I, and thousands more,
From this, and your, and every shore,
Shall each the other find:
Happy in that which always here,
When to the heart 'twas plain and clear,
The many members join'd.

And then, too, we shall think no more,
What we were used to think before;
Alas! how distant we!
The Blood will flow through every limb
On each of us—from Him! from Him!
And we united be.

On the 20th of March, the congregation remembered their brethren and sisters in Yorkshire, who were perhaps now suffering for our Saviour; and, it was observed, they had reason to be well grounded that they might stand when trials came, for it was matter of serious reflection that "they had less liberty here than the brethren at Herrnhut, who, much hated by the Papists, live under a Romish king. But liberty does not depend on country or religion, but upon where our Saviour opens and nobody can shut" When, on the 22nd, Hutton heard that France intended to declare war against England, he opened upon 'the word,' for the 2nd of November, 1742, which was very appropriate to the circumstance, and cheering to his loyal heart:—"He hath purchased the Church with His blood."—Acts xx. 28.

> "How vain the attempt to seek to overthrow,
> What our dear Lamb has once decreed to do
> For his poor sinners and relations dear,
> Who're bound to Him by bond of blood so near."

At this period some most unhappy differences arose, which threatened to dissever entirely the English from the German brethren. As the circumstances necessarily involved Hutton, we shall give the details of the affair. The establishment of the congregations by Spangenberg was followed by a "time of sifting," occasioned partly, by the spirit of English independence opposing itself to the superintendence of the work by the *German* pilgrim congregation, and partly, by the tendency of some towards Methodism in opposition to the freer spirit of the Brethren. Both these features were combined within the newly formed congregations; but here, as in Germany, it ended in the rejection from the general body of the heterogeneous elements.

Spangenberg, by whose means the congregations in London and Yorkshire were founded, was called in August 1743 from this field of labour, to serve the pilgrim congregation at Gnadek, (Burau in Silesia.) When he returned to London in October, with a second party of emigrants for Pennsylvania: he found disorders among the labourers, both in London and in Yorkshire. "We German labourers of the pilgrim congregation," writes Wenzel Neisser, Spangenberg's chief assistant, "are charged with ambition to govern; which chiefly arises out of the early rigorous proceedings of Spangenberg, at that time unavoidable. They

do not yet understand the Saviour's economy, (*haushaltung*.) They have grace, but in office forget themselves, and desire to separate with their present attainments, and thus produce a schism. Among them, Viney, [who on the 27th of June, 1743, had been appointed Warden of the Yorkshire Societies;]* is risen up as the patron of their emancipation; and both in writing, and by word of mouth, denounces the pilgrim congregation as a popedom, which ought to be resisted in the spirit of Luther. He found supporters in the country, and no one could speak of seduction, for this spirit predominated, not among the congregation members, but among the labourers; nearly all of them, excepting a few sisters, siding with him." This was undoubtedly a very critical moment for the British congregations of the Brethren.

On Spangenberg's proceeding into Yorkshire, he desired a written declaration from Viney of his objections, which were:—

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* Richard Viney, by trade a tailor, as early as 1738, as we have seen, is named next after Hutton as a member of the Fetter Lane Society, when the Brethren and Methodists were in close connection. The same year he visited Germany with Br. Holmes and others, and was at Herrndyk with Wesley in 1739; "where," says Zinzendorf, "through Wesley he was first prepossessed in my favour." From that place, on the 25th of May of the same year, he addressed his "Letter," wherein he strenuously advocates those principles, the infraction of which was the occasion of his defection. Its title is, "A Letter from an English brother of the Moravian persuasion in Holland, to the Methodists in England, lamenting the irregularity of their present proceedings. London, printed for J. Roberts, at the Oxford Arms, in Warwick Lane, MDCCXXXIX, (price three-pence.)" The pamphlet is extremely rare; it contains 19 pages 8vo., and is signed Richard Viney at p. 16. In March 1740, we find him at Oxford, where he held meetings about three times a week; but as Mr. Wesley maintained his popularity there for awhile, he was listened to by about fifty persons only. In 1740 he returned to London, and worked at his trade, yet continuing to preach very acceptably, and with blessing, in Fetter Lane, where in September 29th, he spoke against Wesley's legality. When the London congregation was settled in 1742, he became its President. He then removed to Broad Oaks, Essex, where he and his wife superintended the school of the Brethren, and where they lost a child 'Mary,' which was buried in Wimbush churchyard. On the 24th of November, 1742, he wrote an account of the order and way of the schools at Broad Oaks; and 27th June, 1743, he set out for Yorkshire, Br. Hutton having proposed him as a preacher there in September 1740.

1. "The unscriptural use of the lot."
2. "Arbitrary church government in connection with the lot, drawing in by its means, restraint of conscience, outward oppression, and the disposal of persons and their property."
3. "Zinzendorf's more than papal domination, by means of the pilgrim congregation."
4. "The conduct of the pilgrim congregation, (that is Zinzendorf) towards the Moravian Church, and all other equally oppressive and artful proceedings."

After some interchange of correspondence, Viney desired that an appeal should be made to the lot on his several points of objection; the other labourers also were anxious to know, through it, who was right, and who was wrong. Spangenberg writes: "I called upon him (Viney), and proved him to be an adversary (Satan), nevertheless I willingly yielded to the wishes of himself and others, although the case would not be thereby improved. We, in Yorkshire, had no power to inquire by lot respecting the pilgrim congregation at Marienborn; but in as far as myself and my proceedings in Yorkshire were concerned, I willingly consented to the decision of the lot."

Three propositions were accordingly prepared, each with a negative and a blank paper.

1. "Viney is an enemy to good order and an adversary."
2. "Spangenberg is right in regard to the lot and church discipline."
3. "The conduct of Spangenberg and his fellow-labourers has been arbitrary."

These drawings took place in the presence of Ingham and other witnesses, and from among the nine slips, the first and second (of the three proposals) were for Spangenberg, the third for Viney. This struck all with terror; Viney said, "Pray for me." During the following days he again faltered. At last, on the 12th of November, addressing a penitential apology to the London congregation, he made the repentant confession, that he had declined in self-knowledge during the last eight months.

On the 14th of November, Spangenberg, writing to his wife, then in London, acquainted her, "that Viney having desired that his matters should be made out by the lot, he had been now openly declared thereby an enemy of the good

order of God, and a Satan, which had produced terror among all present; and he himself desired the prayers of the brethren, because that it was to him, as if our Saviour had come down from heaven and declared him."

Subsequently Viney viewed his case as less culpable, and appears to have resolved on joining Mr. Wesley, with whom we find him on the 19th of February, 1744; under which date in Wesley's journal, is an account of his proceedings, varying a good deal from the one given above. Wesley, giving him credit for this statement, expressed his satisfaction, and was willing, either that he should go back, or stay with him. He returned to Yorkshire on the 28th. On the 17th of April it is recorded of him, "Viney goes on still to poison our brethren in a very cunning manner, and to make schisms among them, which is the devil's work. The brethren in Yorkshire have resolved, and also his own sister, not to meddle at all with him, as long as he does not acknowledge his sins." He was then excluded.

On the 16th of May he was with Mr. Wesley, who, after a long conversation, added his statement to his journal. On the 23rd of October, Mr. C. Wesley, in his journal, says, "I rejoiced among my brethren in Birstal. Here they have been sifted like wheat by Mr. Viney. They received him upon my brother's recommendation, (whose unhappiness it is still to set the wolf to keep the sheep,) and he has served them a trick; bringing them off from their *animal love** for their pastors, their prayers, fastings, works, holiness. He had well nigh destroyed the work of God, when John Nelson returned from his captivity." From this time the name of Richard Viney no longer appears.

But to return to the Brethren. That the English labourers, after the above decision of the lot, were not in harmony with the German labourers, is shewn by Neisser's letters, which especially exhibit this principle; "that every possible concession should be yielded to the English people,

* On the 25th October Mr. C. Wesley writes, "I met the Birstal Society, whom Mr. Viney had almost quite perverted; so that they laughed at all fasting, and self denial, and family prayer, and such like works of the law. They were so alienated by that cunning supplanter, that they took no notice of John Nelson, when he came back; for Viney taught them, that all *that* was animal love."—See "Journal, &c." of the Rev. C. Wesley, vol. i. page 384, 5.

but not so as to violate any church-rule." In this spirit a general conference was held in Yorkshire, on the 1st of April, 1744, at which something was also said about arbitrary domination in connection with the third lot of November, 1743. Spangenberg, meanwhile, had returned to Germany. Neisser, who presided, told them they ought to be ashamed of themselves, "for Spangenberg had already asked their pardon; they were speaking against the Spirit who presided in all our congregations." Toeltschig and Hutton, with several others present, united in this opinion.

In the midst of these proceedings, Count Zinzendorf's letter of the 2nd of February (? 20th,) arrived from Gnadek: "I hereby declare, that I will have nothing more to do with those English brethren who have been mixed up in Viney's rebellion; for He who knows my heart, also knows that I have no spirit of intolerance towards the brethren; I disapprove of the absolution that is given to such Corah spirits, who after all, have only the eyes of a deceiver; I laugh at the English national self-righteousness in matters relating to our salvation. If the English brethren can, and will do without us, let them do so, as well as they will and can. When the English brethren have become entire servants of God, which at present they are not, then we shall find England again. Such are my thoughts, and I desire to be erased from the list of English labourers, and not to be named among them, until all accomplices in the late revolt make an acknowledgment in writing of their having been deceived by Satan.

"The well-known little fool and poor sinner,

"LUDWIG (LEWIS.)"*

"This, writes Neisser, "struck in upon us like a clap of thunder." A formal declaration, with signatures, dated $\frac{12}{23}$ April, was the consequence, in which they ask forgiveness, and separated from Viney; desiring rather to be struck off the list of labourers than to be severed from the Count and the pilgrim congregation. In like manner, on their own account, Hutton and the London labourers expressed themselves in a letter dated the 20th of May. These declarations,

* Zinzendorf, at the synod of July 1744, said, "I wrote thus, to put to shame the *self-made* piety of the English."

which appear to have been both drawn up by Hutton, arrived at the Synod, held in the month of July, and confidence was restored.

"12th April, O.S., 1744.

"To temptation do not lead,
Help us to stand rather,
From the wicked one quite freed,
In the wounds together.
Pardon us our trespasses,
Like as we're forgiving;
Then through our Lord's patience 'tis
That we still are living.

"With these words we begin our account of the present state of our matters here in England, and to such experienced labourers in Christ Jesus, our Elder and Head, as we believe you to be, we think they should be sufficient to give you an idea of the whole. Yet the respect and regard we bear towards you, and the offices and engagements which our Saviour, by your blessing, has committed to, and laid on us in this country, and the earnest desire we have ever to remain in the closest possible connection with you, oblige us to lay open before the Lord, and you, by this our statement, all our matters in general, and thereby to engage your continued assistance and care over us for the Lord's sake, as well as for our own. We know and confess that our conduct is not such as might justly ensure your cheerful aid, yet we rather would die than be cut off from that body of Christ which consists of real members of His.

"According to our acknowledgment and desire, be pleased to look upon us as members which have been in many things ignorant. We trust that we shall not be judged according to judgment and justice, but according to His mercy. May this mercy fill your hearts with compassion towards us, to pray for us, that our Saviour may vouchsafe us to become and remain, in the bottom of our hearts, sinners; and in fellowship with you. We desire, that, through the death of Christ, all our selfishness and pride may be killed and mortified, and that we, quite free from the wicked one, may be cleansed both in heart and mind by the blood of the Lamb, and all our trespasses blotted out.

Let us have your peace.

"We acknowledge that not only Mr. Viney, one of our

labourers, has acted the Satan amongst us towards you—(with whom (him) we have broken off, and do break off, all, even the least connexion, and that the rather because we believe he still remains the same, and his humiliation is pretended and not real, nor solid, nor about the main matter; we leave him to the Lord)—but that *we*, at the same time, have been seized and tempted by the same spirit, which has disabled and hindered us from going on in cheerfulness and faithfulness, and has caused us to walk in darkness many times. Yet we thank the Lord that this spirit has not overcome and overwhelmed us entirely. Dear brethren, we have declared our mind to Br. Neisser, and Br. Toeltschig, we neither can nor will justify ourselves in anything, and we, by this fellowship, and unitedly, repeat it.

Forgive us, and let us have your peace.

"We cannot promise you much—by the grace of Christ and your prayers, we hope and believe we shall be kept and preserved till the end of days. Indeed, if the name of our dear brother, the Count of Zinzendorf, and his fellow-labourers, should be scratched out of the list of the names of the labourers in England, we should have neither heart nor courage that our names should remain in the list; because the Lord would remember the tears many of your labourers have shed to our blessing in this country. We trust you will not forsake your brethren in England, but remember us in a particular manner, especially when the whole body of part of the Lamb's servants shall be gathered together in Marienborn.

"The account we have to give is as follows:—

"1. As to how we stand towards the Lamb—what can we say now to that? The first part of this account says so much that we cannot pretend to say anything further; yet, should He ask us as He did Peter, Lovest thou Me? Our hearts must answer, Yes! and not No! Even so also in regard to His church stand our hearts, yet of that we cannot boast, but feel more shame at present than anything else.

"2. As to the labour which we have been entrusted with; we cannot say that we have been so faithful as we ought and could have been. We have wanted cheerfulness. Yet we have done what might be expected from persons in our

unhappy circumstances. Our desire is that He may receive us quite again, and thereto our hearts say:

How is my heart with rapture moved
That there are hopes He, my beloved,
Will make me His heart's consort:
That I in Him, my Jesus dear,
My Bridegroom wonderfully fair,
May always prove a comfort.
O! I have joy that abiding, and residing in my Lover,
I'm His body's living member!

"Br. Neisser and Br. Toeltschig have indeed scarce anything left for them but faith and patience; and perhaps they were not far from taking away their fellowship from us, and if they had gone away perhaps some of us had gone with them. We thank the Lamb that we see that their cheerfulness to labour amongst us is returning again, about which they themselves will perhaps give you an account. When the Lord blesses you, let us be blessed with you; for we, notwithstanding everything, are yet your poor yoke-fellows, brethren and sisters, which have been together at the Conference in Yorkshire.—April 12 (st. vet.), 1744.

James Hutton,
M. Claggett,
Esther Schlicht, } from London.

William Horne,
John Okershaussen,
Wm. Holland,
Eliz. Holland,
Mary S. Loyd, } from Yorkshire.

"To temptation do not lead,
Make and keep us rather,
From the wicked one quite freed,
In the wounds together—
Thereto we say, Amen!

"Dear Brethren and Sisters,

"We also at London, though at a distance from Viney, with whom we have now renounced all fellowship; yet, having had pride as well as he, and not having had continually a single eye, have also been punished with the same spirit which has seized and carried him away. *Though we are not*

quite carried away as he was by the same spirit, yet we have been sorely wounded by it, and must, to our shame and sorrow, have not only our natural corruption to bring before our Saviour that He may kill and keep it under, but also must come often to Him to put out that fire which Satan is allowed to kindle in us for a punishment of our unfaithfulness and pride. In the pain which we feel from such things, and against which our hearts, by His grace, are and shall be set, we sing:

"To temptation do not lead,'
Make and keep us rather,
From the wicked one quite freed,
In the wounds together.

"Dear Brethren and Sisters, if you should leave us in this condition; you, who are our nurses and the healthy parts of the body of Christ to which we belong; you would scarce leave anything but what is sick and faint. Be quite assured that all those thoughts of ours, *of being independent and setting up for ourselves*, came upon us as a punishment and plague for our pride, from which we wish to be delivered. We are too young labourers, too inexperienced, too unfaithful to be left alone, or to be trusted by ourselves with a flock of Christ; and the sheep will suffer as well as we, if you punish us in that manner. Forgive us, therefore, dear brethren and sisters, for the Lamb's sake, and not for our sakes only, but for the sake of the sheep also, all our wicked jealousies and suspicions of you, all our desire to be independent, and all that want of a hearty love towards you, all that half-mind towards our Saviour which has caused us not to like to be subject, &c. &c. We, in all those times when we are or have been in a sober and untempted mind, *desire* you may not leave us; and, though our Saviour should be very near us, as He indeed is sometimes; yet, till we know that you are reconciled to us, and have forgiven us, our peace will be but very imperfect.

"Dear Saviour! Be so gracious to us this day, and heal our wounds at the bottom, and take away, by the blood and the water, all that poison which is in us, that it may never plague nor overcome us any more. Help us to tread under our feet, those enemies which have sought to eat away the tender union between us and Thy other churches. Especially, dear Saviour, be so gracious as to take away from the root all that pride which would again mislead us. Bring us

into the dust at Thy feet, keep us there, and sprinkle us continually with Thy blood, that we may be Thine, and Thy church's for ever; that we may willingly abide in that subordination which must be in Thy church, and which we especially have so much need of. Dear Saviour! have pity upon us, and, particularly, take away that independent spirit which we have sucked in with our mother's milk, and which, as English people, plagues us,—as Thou knowest. Take away from us all our blind and false ideas and notions, which belong not to Thy kingdom, and to which Thy Spirit is not bound, neither has connexion with. Dear Saviour! Thou knowest us; Thou knowest wherein Thou and Thy children are grieved by us. Take away, by a hearty absolution, and keep away such things from us for ever, Amen!

"JAMES HUTTON, for himself and all his fellow-labourers, of the English, in the church at London.

"Signed in their presence, and by their order, as their whole mind, in conference of them held in Mile End, May 9 (st. vet.), 1744."

Br. William Holland succeeded Viney in the stewardship of the Yorkshire congregation, to which he was introduced by letter, from Hutton, as follows:—

"To the congregation of the Lamb, our Lord and God, which He has planted in Yorkshire with his own right hand, and all the souls which love Him in sincerity, grace and peace, Amen!

"Because we are one body under one Head, and, because we love Him, who is our Master and Chief Shepherd, for that reason your wants are our wants, and we gladly obey our Lamb and Head in giving your, and our dearly beloved brother, and worthy elder of our church, William Holland, to labour amongst you in the office the Lord has appointed for him, in the room of the unhappy Mr. Viney; for whose fall we are sorely grieved. I believe I need not tell you how dear our brother Holland is to us; because you are the Lamb's, and we are one another's. If he were even dearer to us, still we could not deny him to the Lamb and you. Receive him, therefore, and may the Lamb bless him in all his labours and give him joy therein, according to all his heart's desire. We need not recommend him to your love, because we know

you. Farewell in the Lord. May the Lord obtain all His gracious purposes in you all. Amen! I recommend myself and our church in your prayer.

"JAMES HUTTON."

Towards the close of the year 1743, when the emissaries of Satan were doing their utmost to embroil the kingdom in civil war, by exciting every species of disloyalty against the King, the Brethren in England, ever faithful to Christ their Sovereign Lord, were, as his subjects, always ready to exhibit their submission to Him, by loyalty to the King, to whom He had committed the government of these realms; hence, in the midst of the excitement, caused by the threatened invasion of England by the young Pretender, Charles Edward Stuart, from Scotland, supported by France; the Brethren, in their private meetings, were not unmindful of their earthly ruler; and they thus record their faithfulness. "Our King George we will love, and take no share in any of the evil speeches against him." But now that everything was rife for rebellion, the Brethren considered the propriety of outwardly expressing their fidelity to the House of Hanover, and attachment to the existing constitution in Church and State, and also their abhorrence of Romanism, and of the French, as its abettors, by addressing the King in person, the friends of the Brethren strongly urging on them the measure, because they were merely tolerated in the realm as foreign Protestants, "under the good will of the King, without any legal standing." The following minutes record their proceedings:—

"April 23 (May 4).—This morning, early, Br. Ingham arrived by mail, from Yorkshire, on account of the Address which the English brethren are about to present to the King. In the afternoon, Neisser, Schlicht, Piesch, Hutton, Ingham, and Reinké, held a conference, respecting the Address, at which the Saviour's assistance was humbly sought in this important matter, and specially asked for, and He graciously came near to us.

"April 26.—In a conference, the Saviour graciously helped us to bring to a conclusion the desired Address. At five o'clock the whole congregation assembled at Br. Hutton's house in Little Wild Street, when a general consultation took place thereon. In the first place, the ground of it was

pointed at; which chiefly was, that, however truly loyal we were, we should have been looked upon with suspicion, should we remain silent when so many addresses were presented, if we did not endeavour to make ourselves known. The Address was then read to the Congregation, and the question put whether any one had any objection to make, but they were all much delighted with it, and declared they had long wished for something of the kind. Br. Neisser hereupon observed that "the English brethren, who had joined the Moravian Church, were not, on that account, dissenters from the English Church, but ought to have great regard for it, as one in which (were) many witnesses for the truth, and one in which many souls could be saved. Mr. Ingham belonged to the English Church, from which he would not have separated if he had not been ejected. They had united themselves with the Moravian Church to enjoy the blessed discipline of the Apostolic Churches, which is wanting in the English Church."

"April 27, Friday.—The Rev. Mr. Ingham, James Hutton, and William Bell, Registrar of the said congregation in London, went this day, in the name of all the English brethren, united to the Moravian Church, to the Court; and, after they had been announced to the Lord of the Bed-Chamber, were admitted to the chamber of audience, where a large company of gentlemen was assembled, and when Br. Ingham's name was announced, and put at the bottom of the Address, he delivered it into the King's own hand, who, smiling graciously, accepted the same, and Br. Ingham kissed his hand.

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"The humble address of his Majesty's Protestant subjects, the United Brethren in England, in union with the ancient Protestant Episcopal Bohemian and Moravian Church:

"Presented to his Majesty by the Rev. Mr. Ingham, Mr. Hutton, and Mr. Bell, Registrar of the said congregation in London.

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

"May it please your sacred Majesty graciously to accept this Address, which with all humility is presented by

your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the United Brethren in England, in union with the Bohemian and Moravian Church.

"We are, though despised and hated, and few in number, a happy people, consisting of persons out of several sects and parties of Protestants, who, from an earnest concern for our own salvation, and a zeal for the good of others, are united together; and, for the sake of her excellent discipline, are in union with the ancient Protestant Episcopal Bohemian and Moravian Church, one of the earliest witnesses against, and sufferers by, the Papists; a sister of the Church of England, their doctrines also in the fundamental points being the same.

"Our hearts are warmly and sincerely affected towards your Majesty's sacred person, family, and government.

"We have learnt in the Scripture, which is the standard of our doctrine and principles, to be willing, hearty, and faithful subjects, not for fear only, but for conscience sake, as unto God; and, as such, we hope always to approve ourselves, believing that government is assuredly the ordinance of God, and that a real respect, deep reverence, and the heartiest love towards governors, are inseparable from the true nature of a real Christian, and that whosoever despise magistrates are either wicked, or fanatical people.

"We have an abhorrence for Popery and Popish pretenders, and are exceedingly glad it hath pleased God to place on the throne of this realm, a king who leaves the direction of the consciences to God, the only proper Judge and Lord thereof; whose royal and truly noble principles, so averse to persecution, incline him to grant that liberty of conscience to all his subjects, which they could not expect to enjoy under a Popish Government.

"We, therefore, have ever besought, and do, and shall continue to beseech God our Saviour to preserve these kingdoms from Popery and Popish pretenders, and to continue a long succession of kings amongst us in your Majesty's royal Protestant family.

"Such is the wish of our hearts.

"We, therefore, shall stand by your Majesty to the utmost of our power, and especially by our prayers, which are our only weapons.

"May the Lord of Hosts direct all your Majesty's councils and undertakings, and turn the design of all your

enemies into foolishness! The Lord our God be with you! Amen!

"Presented in the behalf of all the United Brethren in England, in union with the Bohemian and Moravian Church. April 27, 1744."*

"April 28.—We hear our Address has been given to the printer, but through some means it has been prevented from being printed, lest it should encourage the Methodists, but it will be inquired into." The result of this inquiry is no where recorded.

At the Synod of Marienborn in July, objections were raised to the heading of the above Address. Count Zinzendorf objected, as in 1742, on occasion of Spangenberg's application to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to the phrase *Episcopal Moravian Church*, being afraid of opposition from the national English Church. "The Brethren in England," he said, "ought to call themselves simply '*Lutheran Protestants*,' without reference to the confession of Augsburg, which, however, they need not disown." Hutton, who was present, proposed that we should make use of the name "Old Lutheran Protestants," commonly called Moravian Brethren, who held with Luther's original ninety-five propositions of Oct. 31, 1517. This was approved of, and a summary of our doctrine was accordingly prepared by the Synod, compiled chiefly from the earlier writings of Luther, a copy of which Martin Dober took with him to England. It was translated into English, and Hutton wrote a short preface to it, but it does not appear ever to have been printed, although it was intended that the societies of the Brethren in England should subscribe it.

Among many of the English labourers this *new* view met with no approbation; more particularly the suppression of the term "the Moravian Church." The new appellation was therefore never publicly used; neither was the new

* Dr. Lee, of Halifax, a clergyman of the Established Church, prepared a document containing a summary of the doctrinal views of the Brethren, and even an admonition to his Majesty to seek the salvation of his soul. The conference of labourers, however, preferred the shorter address as given above, and which was drawn up by Br. Hutton, and approved of by lot. It was moreover agreed that English brethren only, and no Germans, should attest this document. The Methodists, who suffered much from the prejudiced populace, had under consideration an address to the King, but it does not appear to have been presented.

summary of doctrine which was designed to avoid an allusion to, and connection with, the Augsburg Confession. It was quite apparent at this Synod of Marienborn, and subsequently in England, that the spirit of the English Brethren was firmly attached to *the Moravian church*, and by no means inclined to allow the imposition upon them of another ecclesiastical form not harmonizing with it; especially one which would give them no legal standing among the churches of their own country, or which might even make them appear as *dissenters* from the national church, a thing they most of all dreaded; and in order to avoid it many of the English brethren eventually withdrew, among whom was William Holland,* who, with many others, would have gladly been called Moravian Brethren, without separating from the national Church and her thirty-nine Articles. But as the *new* appellation adopted by the Synod appeared to make this henceforward impracticable, they desired to retain their former *liberty*, as members of the English Episcopal Church.

On the 1st of May, Tuesday, Sr. Hutton gave birth to a daughter, at three-quarters past two o'clock; she was baptized Maria Theresa.

From the 9th of this month to the 9th of August, the Brethren in Fetter-lane were repeatedly annoyed by the appearance at their public services of the so-called French prophets; one of whom, a Mrs. Sellers, claimed acquaintance with Br. Hutton and his wife, to whom, after she and her companion had been prevented from entering the chapel, she wrote a long letter. The Brethren on a former occasion praised God for preserving them from the spirit of the French prophets, to which, in 1739, several had a great inclination. It was observed "that the best preservative against other spirits than that of Jesus, is to remain poor in spirit, and humble at His feet."

May 9th.—Hutton was attacked by a person in the street, who asked him why he would not return and become

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* From an autobiography of his widow, who died in 1780, and was buried at Chelsea, it appears that on his going to Yorkshire (see p. 148), he got into confusion. He visited Germany in 1745, where he was treated with the greatest tenderness; but all would not do. Returning to London, in 1746, he was advised to resume his trade, which he did, and then left the Brethren. His decease was sudden, 26th Feb. 1761.

a good fellow again, as Matthew Clarke* had done? Hutton was now in an infinitely better fellowship; nothing could make it desirable for him to return to the world.

On the 21st, he accompanied Johnny Wade to Hillingdon, where Mr. Masterman became very friendly to Wade and his wife, while they were at Broad Oaks.†

May 28th. Br. Hutton accompanied a party of Pennsylvanian brethren to Harwich, on their way to Holland.

It was on occasion of this visit to England of Br. Weiss, that John Cennick, being then in London, at an interview with him, acknowledged that he had gone too far in his irregular method of preaching here and there; and declared that it would be most agreeable to his own feelings, to commit all the societies he had been the means of forming, as Ingham had done in 1742, to the care of the Moravian Brethren; while he himself retired to one of their congregations. On reading the litany of the wounds of Jesus, Cennick wept for joy. In the course of this, and the following year, he consigned his societies in Wales to the Methodist local preacher, Howel Harris, and paid a visit to Marienborn, which he renewed in the year 1746. He entered the theological seminary, and attended the synods at Zeist and Herrnhaag. After having married Sr. Bryant, Cennick returned to his native country in 1747, and entered upon a new sphere of usefulness, as the first missionary of the Brethren in the north of Ireland, where he laboured seven years with great blessing; the work having, in some measure, been prepared by Benjamin La Trobe.

July 11th. Hutton and Br. Knolton set out for Basingstoke. Upon his return, on the 21st, he reported that they had visited Sherbourne and Basingstoke. At Reading they met with a light-minded fat fellow, who pretended to talk

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* This Matthew Clarke was one of those who united with Hutton in inviting the Brethren to England in the year 1738 (see page 33), and perhaps the same who became M.D. of Cambridge University, comitiis regis 1728, and was admitted 1731.—*Cambridge Graduates*, 1787, page 83.

† This was Henry Masterman, Esq., who had a large estate about Hillingdon; and who, in 1754, was clerk of the Crown, and an officer of considerable rank under the Lord Chief Justice. On the 6th April, 1747, it was proposed to Mr. Masterman, that if he would build the Brethren a house in Hillingdon, they would take a lease of it for twenty-one years; but he declined the offer.

of the law and the gospel; but Hutton had no inclination to speak to him of inward matters. They found several hearty people at Sherbourne. Mr. Stonehouse received them in a friendly spirit, and had made a place capable of holding five hundred people, to keep love-feasts in. He had also made a plan for a square in the woods, and designed to erect a house there. At Dummer, they visited a Mrs. Field, who had ten children, and was expectant of the eleventh; she was very hearty, and although her husband was sick, and unable to work for them, she expressed her cheerful conviction of the Saviour's ability "to provide as well for fifty children as for one." Hutton found that at Basingstoke a schoolmistress was wanted to teach the children. On Sunday they had a Bible-hour, under the sweet feeling of our Saviour's presence. The people had assembled from twelve miles round, to be present at it; among whom were several dissenters at the preaching, in which Br. Hutton said very severe things to the pious people. Br. Knolton spoke to a man who had some obscene pictures, which he burnt immediately. They parted with the brethren there, singing:

"Oh Jesus Christ! all praise to Thee,
That Thou a man vouchsaf'd to be."

And it was observed that nothing unites brethren so closely in love, as travelling together on a pilgrimship. It appears that the Brethren gave up the care for Basingstoke, in the early part of 1746; when (27th February) Hutton wrote to Richard Ayllin,* directing those who had a mind to be in connection with the Brethren to go to Buttermere.

On the 14th there is this note: "Observed several things concerning the Brethren; *cutting off their hair;* and cautions were given concerning it, as well also against the uniformity affected by so many of the brethren getting *grey coats.* It being well to avoid such affectation."

As the house in Little Wild Street, wherein the conferences of the Brethren had hitherto been held, was to be vacated at Midsummer; it is probable that Hutton, at this time, removed to the one he subsequently occupied in Fetter Lane, opposite East Harding Street.

On the publication of Wesley's Journal, the Brethren were

* Or Aillen, perhaps Allen.

grieved at many passages in it, wherein they felt he had done them great injustice. They however did not return slander for slander, but committed themselves to Him who judgeth righteously; only entering upon their minutes of the 12th of July: "Mr. Wesley has at length published his Journal, but he has not once mentioned the Brethren's asking his pardon. He has also mentioned his letter to the church at Herrnhut, but has not inserted their full answer. Because Br. Hutton and Viney could not remember what a deaf and dumb man had written, he attributes that to their shuffling and lying. He charges them with Antinomianism. He does not go on to our satisfaction at all, but as he does not belong to us, we have nothing to do with him.* It is a little observable, that the Brethren have no friends among any of the different religions in the world; and that they differ from all, and stand alone. The Jews at New York are less unfriendly to the Brethren than others; they frequently come to hear Br. Böhler, and think him a very particular (remarkable) man." Indeed so much were the Brethren vilified at this time, that they were driven to the necessity of confining their trade to themselves; for which purpose it was agreed, "to have a list of the names and places of abode, and business of the brethren, that belong to us; being, as they are, hated and despised by the world, and having little trade, that we may employ one another; and it is hoped that they will have grace not to be exorbitant in their prices." The Brethren, therefore, were driven to this measure, otherwise inimical to their principles, which condemned all such unions; and only four days after this, an entry was made, of the Brethren having heard of a combination among barbers and tailors; and it was declared, that "if a brother should be concerned therein, they would publicly disown him, for that from such things generally come civil wars."

On the 19th of July, the great house in Nevill's Alley was taken by Br. Bowes.

August 2nd. Br. Hutton read some verses which he had made, and sent to Br. Spangenberg, on his going to Pennsylvania.

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* It however appears that Mrs. Hutton (probably Hutton's mother), "wrote a very sharp letter to Mrs. Wesley about his contradictions in his Journal; for praising the Brethren, and then saying all he could against them."

On the 5th, a book of Finley in Pennsylvania, entitled, "Satan Stript of his Evangelical Robe," was brought into the Elder's Conference; "a very railing book against the Brethren," which gave them an opportunity of explaining among themselves several points that might be misunderstood.

At this time, the whole of the brethren of the London congregation were looked upon as labourers; and were from the 10th of August allowed to enjoy all the privileges of the Pilgrim Congregation, it being observed in conference, that the former stood in the same relation to the latter, as the body did to the soul.

On the 16th of August, Br. Gussenbauer arrived from Germany with letters from Sr. Hutton's brother, Lewis Brandt, then labouring happily in company of Br. George Moore.

A tract having in the first half of this year been published by the Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson, entitled "Observations upon the conduct and behaviour of a certain sect called Methodists," &c. in which the Brethren were mentioned, a copy of it was transmitted to Count Zinzendorf, who deemed it proper to address a private letter in Latin to his Lordship, of which a close translation is given below.*

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* "Having read a tractate, entitled 'Observations upon the conduct and behaviour of a certain sect called the Methodists,' &c. I judge it incumbent upon me to make the following observations in respect of the same.

"I. As to the statements respecting the procedure of the Methodists, I decline offering any remarks, as that involves matters peculiar to themselves, with which I am but imperfectly acquainted.

"II. Mention, however, is made of a certain people who derive their designation from Moravia, and who for several centuries throughout Poland, Prussia, Bohemia and Germany, have been honoured among Protestants with the characteristic title of Brethren, or Unity of the Brethren, and I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, that any one belonging to the church or kingdom of England should be so ignorant as to call,—as the writer of the said tractate has done at the 9th page—that church, a new sect, which all who are well acquainted with ecclesiastical history,—and among these I reckon William, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, and John, who now sustains that dignity—have called an episcopal and apostolical church, and the most ancient among the Protestant churches.

"I am well aware that some faithful, pious and fervent men belonging to the Anglican Ritual, after various wanderings hither and thither in circuitous paths full of danger, did at length attach themselves to the Mo-

But when the Brethren discovered that one of Mr. Whitefield's people had written a very bitter reply to the tract, and when they had in vain attempted to prevent its publica-

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ravian doctors, attended their public teachings, and sought their special guidance; and, that then they, the Moravians, in the presence of a magistrate, in accordance with the laws, notified to him their place of worship, did, at the same time, intimate to him their desire to be distinguished as Protestants, dissenting from the Anglican, and attached to the Moravian Ritual, to this request the magistrate indulgently acceded.

"I can, however, aver with certainty that this denomination was merely tolerated, and that, as it obviously emanated from pious simplicity, in which case, something may with propriety be remitted to the ignorance of brethren.

"But lest it should be wrongly understood, and lead to evil, as well as for other grave reasons, an instrument of protestation in the name of the Bishops of the Brethren, within the realm of Britain, was immediately presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which they profess that they entertain, love, honour, and likewise admit such persons; but yet can, by no means, enroll them with the assemblies of the Moravian churches; because their church being all but the common Mother, it consequently cannot be separated from any other assembly of Protestants, much less from the Anglican, rent into portions, and defamed by the designation of dissent, being, as is asserted in the public documents annexed, "AN ANCIENT, &c." and recognized as such through so many provinces. And inasmuch as, when inquiry was made by the Directors of the Colony of Georgia, it was replied by the illustrious and reverend Archbishop of Canterbury now ruling, that the Moravian Brethren might, and ought to share with the English, the duty of preaching the gospel among the heathen, since they are orthodox, apostolic and episcopalian; and, because of the proximity of their ritual with that of the Anglican church, are all but meriting to be preferred to all other doctors among the Protestants: We, therefore, do not wish to be known in England by any other designation than that of doctors in confederation with the Anglican church, and participators of its sacred ritual in principles and essentials. Moreover, from charity, compassion and theological prudence, we have hitherto conducted the spiritual charge of such as were inclined, perhaps not so much as formerly, to the dogmas of the Methodists; but rather to those of Luther, so that they should not return to the trackless wilds of Methodism, or wander into the devious paths of the multifarious sects into which England is so surprisingly divided.

"We, however, can easily understand that the Moravian ministers should be more acceptable than those of any other denomination, inasmuch as they leave no stone unturned that they may retain pious men in their attachment to the national ritual. Yet they occasionally receive these within their arms, and into their camp, rather than leave souls ransomed by the death of Jesus, exposed to the danger of a pestiferous atmosphere, yet not until their religion is imminently in peril: and those so received, are counselled and enjoined to return to their maternal altars. To the utmost of their power, they prevent, in as far as that can be done without en-

tion, Neisser and another were deputed to wait upon the Bishop, which they did on the 20th of August, and the following correspondence ensued:—

"Whitehall, August 20, 1744.

"GOOD SIR,

"The two Moravian ministers have been with me, and I took notice to them of what Mr. Neisser says in his letter to me, of the great regard of the church of Moravia to the church of England. Upon which I observed, that I thought all churches had a right to make rules of discipline, and administration for themselves, but that it was not fair to endeavour to introduce them into other churches, as we found the Moravians doing, to the great disturbance of the bishops of many dioceses of this church: a conduct which is not the way to cultivate a good correspondence between two churches. I took upon me to affirm in general, that this is complained of by many of our bishops, and their clergy; but as to the entering further into particulars, I absolutely declined it, as being but one of the many who are concerned

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croachment on liberty of conscience, wandering away into any other, either non-orthodox or extravagant sects; dissuade all from the ritual of the Brethren, render reception as difficult as possible; and never permit it until overpowered by a strong and insuperable emergency of conscience.

"That, throughout the British Empire, minds used to the Anglican ritual, should, by every proper means, have their attachment to it retained, is thus decidedly approved of. But when such conservation is no longer practicable, it is certainly better that those moved by maternal affection towards children, should permit them to be assigned to the friendly care of the Moravian Brethren, rather than that, wrested from their charge, they should be permitted to fall, or be precipitated into the bosom of sects less orthodox, less regularly constituted, and less friendly to the Anglican church.

"As to myself, I cannot refrain from advising that in England, an annual effort should be made by the more prudent and more fervent theologians of the national British church and the Moravian Brethren of a kindred spirit, (by this term, the doctors only, and not the laics, are properly designated) to bind pious minds fast to the ancient altars, to bring back such as have been drawn away, and to retain such as are refractory, if not practicable within the fold, if possible, within the fence.

"LOUIS EMERITUS,
Bishop of the Churches of the Unity of the Brethren,
Advocate of the Tropus for Life.

"22nd August, 1744."

in the complaint; and as having had no call from our metropolitan to enter into the consideration of it. I added that many of the bishops would be in town in September and October, when they might be called together, to consider of any proposal or representation that should be laid before our head, on the part of the Moravian synod. As Mr. Neisser did not appear to be a master of the English tongue, and I knew nothing of the German, each of us might easily be misunderstood, which is the reason why I trouble you with the substance of what was said by me; and I wish you could have been present to prevent any mistakes.

"I am, Sir, your assured friend,

"EDMD. LONDON."

"To Mr. Hutton."

Mr. Hutton's answer to the above.

"MY LORD,

"Your letter, which you did me the honour of sending me about the visit of the two gentlemen from the Moravian church, the co-episcopus and Mr. Neisser, the minister of the Moravian church, my wife sent after me by the post into the country, where I am, about some affairs which have necessarily required my absence from London; and which have engaged me so much, that I have not been able to answer the letter which your Lordship vouchsafed to write to me before this miute. I take, with all submission, the freedom to write a few words to your Lordship, occasioned by your Lordship's letter to me. Though it is not properly my business to be the advocate of the Moravian Brethren, being neither called to it, nor qualified enough for it; yet, as I pretty well know their intention, their aim, and matters of fact; I cannot but mention to your Lordship some things, and that the more as your Lordship was pleased to condescend to have some discourse with me, and also favoured me with a letter, an honour I could by no means have expected.

"And here, my Lord, I cannot but with all respect remonstrate against it, that the Moravian Brethren should be mixed with, or reckoned as Methodists; and, in that light, charged with matters which belong to the latter to give account of, and not to the former.

"Your Lordship, in your letter to me, has given me room

to perceive that your Lordship looks on them as persons causing disturbance in the English Church, by setting up their discipline in her. I suppose the gentlemen, when with your Lordship, have explained themselves so fully about this matter, that it is needless for me to add any thing on this point; except that I, as acquainted with matter of fact, beg leave to assure your Lordship, that the Moravian Church has long ago protested against a Moravian Church being raised here, as proposed by some pious people who were born and bred in the Church of England, because of the excellency of the discipline, which they saw, or seemed to see in the Moravian Church; which protest was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, when the Moravian bishops had heard of a license having been taken for the chapel of the English brethren, under the name of "Moravian and Bohemian Brethren."

"Their constant advice to all the English Church-people who have at any time asked for it, has been: "abide in the Church of England," which advice they supposed could be, and should be followed; but to which their English friends could not be persuaded.

"Several of our friends, a very small part indeed of those who were once among those persons called Methodists, wished for, and earnestly desired an entire union with the Moravian Church, to which, to their great grief, she by no means would consent; and on occasion of a late address to the King, wherein those friends call themselves united with the Moravian Church, because that was the name they were distinguished by from others, and because *that* union was what they wished, hoped for, and intended, and was real on their parts; but to which the Moravian Church would by no means consent; she protested solemnly against it;—sending her protest from the very last synod.

"But what single persons here, members of the Moravian Church, have done, in assisting and advising others, they have been so much entreated and desired to it, that they could not but in conscience assist them—seeing that their desire was after their soul's good, more than any other thing besides, and that under such circumstances they would not reap any benefit from their continuing in the English Church. After all their repeated advices to them to abide in the English Church had been in vain, even then, and to this very day, they have absolutely refused to receive them into their unity: and

I think have shewn thereby plainly enough, that they desire to live as good neighbours with the English Church, and are far from raising any disturbances in her. If there is any Protestant church from which one may learn true respect for the magistrates, and for the established religion, I think it is the Moravian Church; at least, I have much reason to say so.

"I think it will be agreeable to your Lordship to add something more of the way and conduct of the Moravians: As to their meddling at all with souls up and down, by giving them advice in matters relating to their souls, and to prevent and guard against all confusion and disorder, they cannot but do it for conscience sake, when earnestly and with tears besought for it, having that calling to serve every man in the Lord; but, undesired and unentreated, they go nowhere, nor give any advice, nor meddle at all, and receive none into the Moravian Church but those who have actually left their respective religions, and will not, at any rate, be persuaded to return to them again; such they receive into their church, if otherwise worthy, according to their ancient custom, to prevent greater confusions, endeavouring to bring all such persons into good order, respect for the magistrates, and quiet and peaceable meek behaviour towards the established churches, being utterly averse from all turbulent proceedings. And in this manner have they dealt with the established Church here; having never persuaded any one soul, but rather as much as possible kept back people from joining themselves to them. Neither are they forward at all to busy themselves with others, being rather, I think, too willing to part with their own friends here, of which I have very lately seen proof enough; and they, as servants of Christ, could not refuse to help and advise their friends here by whom they were solicited with so many tears to begin and continue such assistance. Their Christian love and their conscience could not let them stand out against the tears of those who would not and could not, without scruple, abide in the English Church, and longer refuse to assist them, when, at the same time, they saw that the disturbances would not only not become greater thereby, but rather would be lessened, as in fact they are, since the Moravian Brethren have at all intermeddled in caring for us.

"I perceive, by your Lordship's letter, that you declined

entering far into particulars, for certain reasons mentioned in your letter. I do not apprehend (yet I will not pretend to direct your Lordship) that it would have been improper for your Lordship, with regard to the Archbishop, &c., to have made yourself acquainted, for your own personal information, by means of those two worthy gentlemen, with the doctrine, ways, actions, and the several reasons of the undertakings and proceedings of the Moravian Brethren, especially in England. I cannot say but I am sorry your Lordship has missed that opportunity, because you might from them, who are men of integrity and well-informed, know the bottom of all those things, so as to have been able at once to have formed a clear judgment of them, of which, when I was with your Lordship, you seemed to have been, in some measure, desirous, and which, indeed, is proper for your Lordship: and, I dare say, your Lordship must have been better satisfied with them and their proceedings, and, indeed, all the bishops would be, if they were well acquainted with all circumstances, with their innocence and sister-like fidelity towards the English Church, and would rather praise and thank, than blame and complain against, the Moravian bishops and ministers. I will communicate with them about your Lordship's letter as soon as I come to London, and then will let them know of what your Lordship proposes when the bishops and clergy meet. It is some concern to me that I could not be present, not only for my own sake, but also for the satisfaction it might have been to your Lordship—but, I suppose, the gentlemen acquainted your Lordship with the cause.

"I see I have written at last a long letter to your Lordship. I could not help it. I would fain that your Lordship might know the innocence of the Moravian Church; and I could not let this opportunity pass by, as your Lordship has been pleased to address yourself to me by letter in this matter.

"I am, my Lord, with all respect, &c. &c.

"JAMES HUTTON.

"Redburn, Aug. 25, 1744."

Hutton lost no time in forwarding this correspondence to Count Zinzendorf, who, on the 29th September, addressed the following to the Bishop:—

"My Lord,

"I read a letter your Lordship wrote to Mr. Hutton; I was very glad to see some lines acknowledged to be yours, not being favoured with an answer to a letter some time since given by the bishops of the Moravian Church to your Lordship,* concerning the most important work among the

* "To the most Reverend Father, the Bishop of London, health.

"David (Nitschmann); Nicholas Count Zinzendorf; Polycarp (Müller); Johannes (Nitschmann); Frederick, Marquis de Vadoville (Watteville)—Bishops of the Churches of the Brethren of the Bohemian Unity of the Augsburg Confession:

"We have heartfelt joy in the most blessed work of the conversion of the nations in which our people are labouring with apostolic ardour, not only among the Mauri (Moors), the Lappi (Laplanders), the Grönlandi (Greenlanders), the Caffri (Caffres), the Cineati (Cincinnati?), the Pamulici (Carolinæ), the Pockæ (Guianæ), some southern Indians on the confines of the Batavian Government.—Our people are, moreover, protected by a commendation from the most eminent Archbishop of Canterbury, which, formerly, besides ourselves, the Directors of Georgia rightfully solicited—and among the six nations of Canada; but also in the exceedingly delectable church gathered together three years since by our people to Jesus Christ, our Lord God, from among the Albanenses (Mahikans), and which some of us have visited.

"We ree grievously harassed by two kinds of religious people, and have already before our eyes a great stumbling-block in the way of simple illiterate Christians; for although these two classes of persons are exceedingly hostile towards each other, yet they are entirely unanimous in their persecution of our churches, and for two reasons: We are an Episcopal Church, which has for ages been well known to the English Church, beloved and commended by it, and related to it—a remote cause of strife no doubt, but fundamental. The immediate cause is, though we are most tenacious of reverently acknowledging the mystery of gratuitous election and prevenient grace—most tenacious of the mystery of absolute reprobation and prevenient grace, yet we do not so much dispute as rather avoid the terrible decree of absolute reprobation.

"Words can scarcely express the exceedingly hostile fury with which we are persecuted by the so-called presbyters of New York on the one hand, and on the other by the ambulatory teachers of New England, of Pennsylvania, and of the Raretan (New Jersey) district, distinguished by the name of Methodists—Tennant, Finley, Whitefield, and the rest.

"Our earnest desire is to avoid war; we labour with all our might for peace. We, therefore, pray your reverence to re-affirm, by a venerable *systatica* (commendatory letter) under your own hand, the account of the nature both of our doctrine and of our method, as already known, or if it seem good, as again strictly (ακριβῶς) examined by yourself; likewise to recommend the labours of the Brethren, and protect them from their enemies, these being, in as far as this matter is concerned, enemies of Jesus Christ.

"In the year of the recovery of salvation, 1743."

heathens in America, &c.; nor being convinced, though informed by the public, your Lordship could be the writer of a hot letter against the Methodists, which, at the same time, accuses our church.

"Your Lordship spoke rightly when you said that it is at the pleasure of every church to make their rules and constitutions so as they think fit.

"Your Lordship also conveniently requires, as a part of christian courtesy, that one church break not into another; absolutely denying to any the right of disturbing another. But, if your Lordship should be pleased to enter into a nearer consideration of these points, in respect of which I consent with you willingly, I will prove that:

"1. The Moravian Church, and the English Church, are not two different churches, but two branches of the same church.

"2. That the English Church having, these two hundred years, reckoned the Moravians to be a Protestant Episcopal Church; and everywhere, without distinction, admitted our ministers to every act whatever of the holy ministry, it is not in the power of any particular person to deprive them of that privilege. But, I think it not needful to enlarge more on this subject, finding the full assent of your Lordship, in the above-mentioned letter your Lordship was pleased to send to Mr. Hutton.

"3. That the author of the aforesaid writing is plainly mistaken, confounding Moravians with Methodists; the Methodists themselves being far from allowing it, and it being very difficult to decide whether the Moravians have a greater dislike to the Methodists' plan of salvation, or the Methodists to that of the Moravians. Methodism, as we comprehend it, being a pure means of reintroducing through another door, though more refined, the old *opus operatum*, and *sadduceism* become *phariseism*, and now transmuted into an enlarged *esseneism*.

"4. That it is impossible to change any form of religious condition into a church-state, like that of the Moravian, the constitution of the latter not being possibly to be sustained, for a single year, without real righteousness and true holiness.

"5. That Moravian church-guardians are such practical philosophers, as entirely to refuse receiving among them

any member of another Protestant religion; having made it a fundamental rule in one of their synods that Calvinist, Lutheran, and strict Moravian members are to be governed by such Moravian bishops as originally derive from their respective confessions.

"6. That by a public decree, it is among us established, that Moravian church-orders are not to be introduced to any place where the first inhabitants were not habituated to that religious scheme.

"7. That men of heavenly instinct, well grounded in divinity, moved by cheerfulness in faith, are not to be hindered or stopped in their design of spreading the Gospel of Christ all over the world; but, concerning the method, they are to be restricted to the old Lutheran ideas; and, in regard to outward *cultus*, to let every one continue as they find him; and, when discovering in any one an inclination for change, to reduce him by all means to simplicity and a conforming spirit.

"8. That there is no encouragement for them to gather together a people, the principal design being only, (and at their own charges), to be the voluntary curates of all worthy ministers, by whom they may be called, apart entirely from any design of promotion, salary, succession, &c.

"9. If notwithstanding all our care and caution to hinder all disturbances, and the drawing away of souls from their first innocent way, some are still found whom it is impossible to retain in their old profession; we cannot in such a case be so imperious, as to oppress the fervour of christian love, when souls, scrupulous as to their first way, prefer our ministry to that of a novel, erroneous, or suspected ministry.

"I should be very much comforted if your Lordship would take the pains of narrowly inquiring into the historical state of the designs of our people in England; whether any of the afore-mentioned points have been transgressed by them. If so, I should reckon myself unworthy of the office I hold in the Moravian Church, were I to countenance such disorders. Concerning accidental mistakes, *Homines sunt, nihil humani a se alienum putant.**

"I have thought fit, in order to give your Lordship a means

* "They are men, and think nothing pertaining to humanity foreign to them."—TERENCE.

of entering the deeper into my ideas, to communicate to you a copy of a late decision his Majesty the King of Prussia has come to concerning Moravian converts.*

"My Lord, your Lordship's affectionate humble servant,
"LUDOVICUS, Moraviensis Ecclesiarum Waldensium
"ad vitam Advocatus.

"In the Castle of Marienborn, near Frankfort á Maine,
September 29, 1744."

On the 30th of August, Hutton gave an account of a journey which he and seven others had made to Ockbrook, where Mr. Windall and his wife received and entertained them and their six horses very willingly; and in whose house their conference was held. This visit was occasioned by a Mr. Simpson having turned out of societyship Mr. Rayner, because he would not agree to his ways, nor forsake the Brethren, nor lay aside their Hymn-book; upon which sixteen others had agreed to leave Mr. Simpson, and write to the Brethren, resolving to await their coming among them; "nothing but the sufferings and death of our Saviour satisfying them, and that only making them happy."

It appears that, after this conference, Hutton, with Br. Neisser, visited Lamb's Hill, Fulneck, for on September the 8th, Br. Wm. Holland writes, complaining of no letter having reached him since their return to London, "four posts having passed since."

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* Copy of a late decree of his Majesty the King of Prussia, concerning the Moravian converts:—

"Frederick, King, &c.

"By the enclosed copy of an humble address from the deputy of the evangelical Moravian church of the Brethren, Abraham de Gersdorff, you will see the sum of his submissive petition in the name of the said Brethren to be this: That, (for avoiding further accusations concerning the making of proselytes, &c., whenever any newly join themselves unto them), narrowly might be inquired:

"Whether by persuasion of the Moravian teachers, or by a conviction of their own, and with a considerate mind, they have addicted themselves to this church?

Which petition of theirs, we, without any farther question, have granted them. By this, we command you strictly to follow it, and with all carefulness to endeavour that farther disputes may be stopped and prevented; and we be troubled no more with the like accusations. Berlin, Aug. 31, 1744."

On the 12th of September, Mr. Wesley, on occasion of his "letter-day," had got fixed "a good many bills on the Foundry, of Tennant's book against the Brethren, 'Three Sermons on holding fast the truth, 1743,' which is indeed a very bitter book. But the losung (text) of this day is: 'The man will not be in rest, until he have finished the thing:'

> "Instead of doing ought, I only quiet rest,
> Look to His loving breast, and let Him do what's best."

This book of Tennant's was considered, and the Brethren arrived at the conclusion, "How needful it was to be well grounded, so as to understand what one did, and to stand firm on the Rock, the blood-atonement of the Lamb, and to possess a Philadelphian, and not a Laodicean heart."

Spangenberg arrived on the 7th of October, and in a conference held on the 10th, it was determined by the lot, "that we are not to concern ourselves about answering Gilbert Tennant's books."

On the 17th of September, Hutton was called upon to procure the discharge of one Robins, brother to Christopher Frölick's wife, who, on his voyage with the brethren from Pennsylvania, had been impressed into the king's service.

On the 27th, Br. Larish and his wife left Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, and took apartments in Red Lion Square, Holborn.

On the 20th of October, the Brethren were threatened with the publication in London of Count Zinzendorf's letters to Neumann, which had been printed in New England with Finlay's Sermon, to be prefaced by Mr. Bradbury; whether this threat was ever fulfilled does not appear.

Hutton was at Broad Oaks on the 13th of November with Dober, on the occasion of the baptism of Br. Brogden's child, Hannah, into the death of Jesus, "a solemn, sweet, and blessed meeting." They returned on the 15th.

"On the 27th Br. Browne came to London from Harwich; whence, on the 25th, Br. Hutton had embarked in the packet for Holland.

"On the 4th of December, the little book of 'John the Divine,' for children, was agreed to be printed, for which a collection was then made. This book was completed on the 17th, under the name of the 'Little Book of Salt.'"

On the 12th of August, 1745, the 'Salt Book' was agreed to be reprinted in its original form, to the extent of four thousand copies, and Mr. Bowyer was engaged to print them. In October, 1745, Br. West wrote of this book, that it had been most acceptable in the Isle of Wight, where he was then labouring. It seems to have been in part, if not entirely, in verse.

In the American colonies, (excepting Pennsylvania, where the Legislative Board passed an act in 1743 favourable to the settlements of the Brethren), the congregations and missions of the Brethren experienced many trials, in consequence of the prejudices of the people; and in the colony of New York, even in that year, the meetings of Peter Böhler were much spoken against, which he attributed to the jealousy of the Presbyterian ministers, who, opposed to the spiritual labours of every church but their own, gained over to their cause Governor Clinton; and the war with the French and Indians, here, as in England, raised popular feeling against the Brethren. It was thought that the Indians were easily led by designing foreigners, and the Moravian missions among the Indians in Shekomeko, New York, and Patgatgoch, Connecticut, were looked upon as dangerous stations on the frontiers, and nests of rebellion. This feeling called forth the Acts of Assembly against "disturbers of the peace," in Connecticut and New York; in which it was ruled that all settlers, the Friends excepted, should be required to take the oath of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration; and that no vagrant preachers, whether Moravians, Papists, or others, should be allowed to preach or teach without special license, and previously taking these oaths, under penalty of a fine and imprisonment, or exile from the country, &c. The Act here referred to is entitled "An Act for securing of his Majesty's Government in New York," and the obnoxious clauses were the following:—

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no vagrant preacher, Moravian, or disguised Papist, shall preach or teach either in public or private without first taking the oaths (of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration) appointed by this Act, and obtaining a license from the Governor, or Commander-in-chief for the time being; and every vagrant preacher, Moravian, or disguised Papist, that shall preach without taking such oaths, or obtaining such license

as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of forty pounds, with six months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and for the second offence shall be obliged to leave the colony; and, if they do not leave the colony, or shall return, they shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Justices of the Supreme Court, not extending to life and limb."

"And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that no person or persons whatsoever shall take upon them to reside among the Indians, under the pretence of bringing them over to the Christian faith, but such as shall be duly authorised so to do by license from the Governor or Commander-in-chief for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the council; and every vagrant preacher, Moravian, disguised Papist, or any other person presuming to reside among and teach the Indians, without such license as aforesaid, shall be taken up and treated as a person taking upon him to seduce the Indians from his Majesty's interest, and shall suffer such punishment as shall be inflicted by the Justices of the Supreme Court, not extending to life or limb."

What rendered this Act still more objectionable to the Brethren was, that it included the proviso, that "nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to oblige the ministers of the Dutch and French Protestant Reformed Churches, the Presbyterian ministers, ministers of the Kirk of Scotland, the Lutherans, the Congregational ministers, the Quakers, and the Anabaptists, to obtain certificates for their several places of public worship already erected, or that shall be hereafter erected within this colony, anything in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding."

This Act, which was for the term of one year and no longer, was passed at New York, *die Jovis*, 13th Sept. 1744, Adolph Philipse, speaker, and assented to on the 21st by George Clinton,* Governor of New York, Albany, Long and Stanten Islands, the Highlands, &c.

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* He was the youngest son of Francis, Earl of Lincoln. He was appointed Governor in 1743. His administration of ten years was turbulent. He was engaged in a violent controversy with the General Assembly, instigated by Chief Justice James Delancey, the ruling unprincipled demagogue of that period; and afterwards Governor of Greenwich Hospital.—Allen's American Biog. Dict. Art. Clinton and Delancey.

Hutton, having learned that the Assembly of New York had passed this Act against the Brethren, was filled with indignation, and in the vehemence thereof he addressed a letter on the 20th of December to Count Zinzendorf, at Marienborn, saying, "This is the work of Presbyterian firebrands, of the same stamp as those who, a hundred years ago, disturbed all England. The Act will have to be confirmed in England. We ought to improve this, or some other favourable opportunity, for bringing our cause publicly before Parliament." The Count, however, advocated private negociations rather than a public investigation. It was probably this matter that caused Hutton to visit the continent at so severe a season of the year. The following letter, was addressed to the Count by him :—

"Dec. 23, 1744.

"May it please your Lordship,

"My Lord, it is with sorrow, and vexation, and shame for my countrymen, that I have seen the Governor and Assembly of New York have passed an Act of Assembly there, wherein vagrant preachers, Moravians, and disguised Papists, are mentioned in the same line together, and liable to the same penalties. This incivility and inhuman usage must not be attributed to the whole English nation, who know better how to treat such a venerable body of men as the Moravian Church is represented to be in all Protestant histories of the Reformation. I am sure an English Parliament would never have so done, except under a Popish prince, or in such times of anarchy and confusion as unhappily beset England in the last century, when bigoted and hot-headed Calvinistic preachers, irritating many persons already incensed, and misleading others, turned everything, especially in matters of religion, *topsy turvy*, as we say in England, and tyrannized in a manner little different from the Papists; and I fear the same hot spirit has led those who have represented matters in such a light to the Government in New York, that they have thought proper to pass such an Act.

"My Lord, the conduct of the Moravian Brethren in those parts of America, where they are so diligently and painfully instructing the heathen world, would I am sure be found upon examination to be quite blameless, and not only so, but praiseworthy. I, for one, may judge of the conduct of the

Moravian Brethren there by the conduct of those in England, who have entirely put a stop to all that party spirit among their friends in England, which, from their education and former acquaintance, was yet remaining; and who have made many persons, once otherwise minded, zealous and really sincere subjects and friends of his Majesty King George, and the succession in his house. And I am sure that the Moravian Brethren, which I have met with in different parts of the world, have all one and the same kind of principles so as to be therein truly worthy of the designation —BRETHREN.

"My Lord, I own I cannot but wonder that the Government of New York seems not to have attended to the reasons why those brethren examined by them did refuse to take the oaths; but rashly, as it seems to me, has confounded innocent people who, for wise and harmless reasons, and for scruples of conscience refuse the oaths, with disguised Papists, &c. It is well known to persons versed in ecclesiastical history, that since the Reformation, not only the Quakers but several other Protestants, honest and worthy people of different sects, scruple the taking of an oath on any account whatsoever; of these many are still in Europe, and great numbers in America.

"English governors and assemblies in America, ignorant of this, or not attending to it, may easily be supposed, during a French war, and fearing the well-known restless designs of the French emissaries, to be on their watch, and sometimes to use extraordinary measures to prevent their succeeding in their designs, especially with the Indians, who have been used to be brought over easily to the French interest, and who committed, under French influence, the most horrid cruelties in the last French war—I mean those Indians at the back of New England; yet, as my letters from New York inform me, there was much debate in the Assembly whether that Act should pass; many, when deliberating on the title to the Act, declaring it ought to be called 'the persecuting Act,' yet the hot party carried it for the Act.

"I fain would excuse my countrymen's reputation to your Lordship, if I could, and I cannot be easy till I have assured your Lordship that I firmly believe the Privy Council in England, would do something in this matter, on a fair repre-

sentation of the principles and practices of the Moravian Brethren in general, with regard to governments where they live, and in particular, with regard to their affection towards, and behaviour under his Majesty King George, which they may plainly perceive out of their 'Manual of Doctrines,' and out of the address made lately in England, by the friends of the Moravians, the English brethren, when the *Pretender* intended an invasion.

"My Lord, I well remember the zealous and hearty approbation that address met with, when read to the congregation there, before it was presented to his Majesty; so that I dare to say before all the world, that address was the genuine language of their hearts.

"I think, I hope, and I believe that the Privy Council would soon order that Act to be repealed; that part of it, I mean, which relates to the Moravians, or order an Act to be made there in their favour, or represent to them the indecency of treating so ancient a Protestant church in such a rude manner; or order, some how or other, that the poor Moravian Brethren may not for the future be treated in that manner.

"The Privy Council is composed of some of the most worthy, candid, and unprejudiced men in the kingdom, who all well know that his Majesty is utterly averse, that any of his subjects or persons dwelling in his dominions, should be troubled about their religious opinions; this case in New York *must* be against his mind, especially when as mentioned before, it is so plain, my Lord, that these Moravian Brethren are so well affected to his Majesty king George, his family and government. It is unlucky that this happened during a French war; however, my Lord, I doubt not, on representation of matter of fact, the damage and scandal may be remedied. If I mistake not, the Acts of Assembly must be ratified in England; and, if so, this matter may perhaps be mended before the Act be sent back to New York.

"I am, and will at all times be, ready to serve your Lordship and the Moravian Brethren, and to give them, if it is possible, that testimony which they deserve, and which I have had opportunity of being able to give of them during several years' acquaintance with them, and by whom my own prin-

ciples, as to party-matters, have been quite changed. I therefore will, and shall at all times, and on all occasions, be ready to testify to every one, that magistrates are better loved by the Brethren in any country than is usual to be met with elsewhere. Of that, my Lord, I need not say much to you, who have so often declared your mind publicly and privately on this point.

"I must conclude, and am, with shame and sorrow, and vexation, yet with love, honour and respect for your Lordship,

"My Lord, your Lordship's
deeply, really, and often obliged servant,
"J. HUTTON."

The year 1745 opens with a letter of defence of Count Zinzendorf, addressed by Hutton to the "Universal Spectator," in which some falsehoods had been published against him. In particular he had been accused of forcing away several young women from their parents. In answer to this charge, the Count had called upon the judicial authorities of Pennsylvania to institute the severest legal proceedings against himself for the satisfaction of the public.

Sr. Hutton suggested the employment of the poor in making slopwork, rather than keeping them idle.

Feb. 7th.—A printing press was suggested, inasmuch as several things might be printed which could not be trusted in the hands of strangers.

On the 11th March, Hutton, who had returned from Germany, made his report, giving some account of the Brethren there and in Holland. As the term of the house in Little Wild Street, wherein the conferences of the Brethren had been held, had expired at Midsummer, 1744,* Hutton left it, and on the 12th of March agreed to take one in Fetter Lane, in the Liberty of the Rolls. This was opposite to East Harding Street, and became his dwelling from Lady Day of this year. In this, or the following month, Hutton was present in a conference at Ockbrook, when a proposition to license the chapels of the Brethren as "Dissenters" was opposed and nothing definite concluded.†

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* See before, p. 155. † See before, p. 78-80.

An extract from a letter of Br. Knolton to Hutton, dated 31st March of this year, shews how affectionately he was regarded by his brethren in the Lord. Knolton addresses him: "My very dear brother Hutton, you know I love you, and for ever shall do so, because I know you are my Lord's and His church's, and my very dear heart and faithful correspondent, for which, and for the many thousand blessings I have and do receive from you, and the rest of my dear brethren, I will receive and return those hearty salutations you sent me by letter," &c. In April, Hutton had returned from Lamb's Inn, with the love of the brethren and sisters there.

A few days after he visited a man who had been an Arian, but was now under conviction, and in terror lest he should be damned. Hutton told him of the love of our Saviour, and, by representing to him what a one he himself had been, encouraged him to believe in Him. This is probably the man in relation to whom a very remarkable and well authenticated anecdote of Hutton is related.

One night, in London, he had a dream, in which he imagined that some one shook him by the arm, and urgently besought him to proceed forthwith to a certain house where his help was wanted. He woke up, thought it was only a dream, and fell asleep again. The same impression came over him a second time. Feeling disturbed, he turned himself, and again fell asleep. Now, a still more powerful shaking took place, and a third time he was importuned to comply with the request, or it would be too late. Greatly alarmed, he arose, dressed himself quickly, and, in the darkness of the night, lanthorn in hand, hastened to the street which had been distinctly indicated, and rang the bell of the house pointed out to him in his dream. The door was opened, and, at the inquiry of Hutton, he was told that an old man lived in one of the upper rooms, who was probably the person he sought. Hutton with some trouble ascended, opened the door, and saw a very aged man reading by lamplight in the prophet Isaiah. He had a razor in his right hand, with which he was about to destroy himself. "In the name of Christ Jesus—hold!" Saying this, Hutton sprang forward, seized the arm, and wrenched the murderous weapon from the hand of the victim of despair. He then proclaimed to him, who had lost all hope of salvation, that

for him as well as for himself, the most deserving of wrath, the Son of God had died on the cross. The poor old man was saved; and, amidst a flood of tears, he thanked the Lord, who at the critical moment had sent His angel of peace.

In April, Hutton was called to Bedford, on account of the illness of Br. Rogers, who was minister there. He returned on the 16th.

On his return from a visit in Yorkshire, May the 13th, he conveyed to the congregation the loving salutation of the brethren and sisters there, and spoke of "their sweet and earnest looks, which shewed a thirst after grace."

About the end of this month Hutton and Dober went to Bedford, and were followed by the sisters Hutton and Claggett. On his return, June the 6th, he reported, "matters go on happily and well, and some more are received into the congregation." "They have threatened to press Br. Wade, at Bedford, but we hope our Saviour will prevent it."

This hope was not realized, for, on the 29th, Hutton, in conference at Mile-end, was dispatched instanter to Bedford, in consequence of intelligence received, that the Brn. Heckenwelder and Wade had been arrested He returned on the 2nd of July, well and cheerful; and reported "the good news, that the parish which would trouble Br. Wade, was not so hot, but seemed inclined to give it nearer (over), being ashamed of their conduct; and will now take security (bail) for the Brn. Heckenwelder and Wade." On the 13th, Sr. Hutton writes, "When we came home we found Br. Vowell just arrived from Bedford, where the parish was very troublesome, and threatened to sue Mrs. Okely,* if she did not put away Br. Wade. My husband wrote to Bedford, and told them to take a copy of the certificate before witnesses, and then to give the original to the parish." This seems to have been effective, inasmuch as on the 18th, a letter came from Bedford; "wherein it is mentioned that the mayor has acknowledged the certificate of Br. Wade as good, and signed a copy of it," in order to its being served

* Mother of the Rev. Francis Okely of Northampton, a member of the Church of the Brethren. She was truly a mother in Israel, "a succourer of many," and "a widow indeed."—Rom. xvi. 1; 1 Tim. v. 5-10.

on the parish. Br. Wade thus shewed himself a good soldier of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to the exhortation given him at his reception to fellowship with the Brethren.

On the same day a letter was received from Br. Brown, who had been impressed into the king's military service, stating that he had cleared himself to the satisfaction of the whole court. This impressment took place at Nottingham, where the constable who apprehended him, afterwards summoned some of the brethren for not assisting him in taking up Br. Brown. So arbitrary was the power of the clergy and magistracy of the time, that it became a subject of public complaint, in the "Evening Post," and such other newspapers as could venture to animadvert "on encouragement being given to evil-minded ministers and justices of the peace, to press whom they think proper." Yet it must not be forgotten, that the country was only emerging from a state of rebellion; and our worthy Sr. Hutton saw this, when she spoke to her sisters "of the enemies' malice, which appears in a particular manner all over England, seeking to bring confusion every where, though by different means."

On the 18th of June, Hutton and his wife, accompanied Br. and Sr. Schlicht and Middleton twelve miles on their journey from London; such was their fraternal affection for their brethren in Christ.

On the 23rd, Sr. Hutton writes: "After we had spoken with our Lamb and God, and fed a little, we went to Br. Dober, and had, quite unexpectedly, a little love-feast, it being our wedding day, which was much blessed to us. We felt ourselves great sinners, even during the five years we had passed in the married state; for we found, and I in particular, nothing but what wanted absolution; which our dear Saviour granted me, and my dear husband and brethren the same. We renewed our love, and believed that our Saviour, whose great love and assistance did not leave us, when we were unfaithful and more indifferent, would make us, in time to come, a more happy pair; representing His church and Him, according to the privileges which He has purchased for us. The brethren gave us some verses; so we went away much blessed, and refreshed with love and new faith."

The happy return of peace to the country is thus recorded by Sr. Hutton. June 26, Wednesday: "My husband kept the fourth of an hour upon the losung (text) which suited:

I will make a covenant of peace, and will cause the evil beast to cease out of the land; and they shall dwell safely in the wilderness, and sleep in the wood. All war has now an end."

The following extract from Sr. Hutton's diary is so interesting, that it must not be omitted. "June 28, Friday; My husband went to his father, to desire that the [child] Billy (William) Gambold, which, after nine days illness, went to our Saviour yesterday morning, might be buried in our grave; but the grave being too full, it cannot be."

"July 2nd. We met about five o'clock (p. m.), and then the corpse of our dear Billy Gambold was brought in and put upon the table; and Br. Dober gave out some chosen verses; and Br. Gambold read some which Br. Schlicht had made in Harwich; which suited the circumstances as well, as if he had known that they would be sung on such occasion. Then the musicians sung and played the music, intended for that purpose, which was very sweet; and when the time was come to carry our little brother to the grave, the brethren took him; and his father and mother followed him, with the brethren and sisters, which were to go with them; while we kept singing:

"How willingly I own myself
But dust and ashes vile,
While yet I'm nothing less than this,
The Lamb's triumph and spoil."

"It was a sweet meeting beyond what I can say. The joy was particularly great by Br. Gambold and his wife, who said they had never had so happy a day." As this child was buried in Stepney church-yard, most probably his parents then resided at the house of the Brethren at Mile-end.

At the early part of this month, Hutton was to prepare by next Saturday, the 13th, a catalogue of all the children with their ages, "that could likely come to our intended school." Whether this resulted in any permanent establishment does not appear.

On the 8th, Hutton kept the singing hour for the first time in the chapel at Fetter Lane, many people attended, and the music was very attractive, which gave him occasion to caution them against coming for the music only, and not with the view of seeking the Saviour. He seems to have been very pointed in his addresses, not desiring an increase

of numbers, but rather that all might keep away who were disinclined to an entire surrender of themselves to our Saviour; only welcoming those who were willing to be His, and were fully convinced that the church was the bride of the Lamb. On another occasion, in addressing such as were labourers, or candidates for labour, he expressed an opinion that many had been too hastily brought into the ministerial office, since in thinking on the labour for others, they had forgotten their own hearts. As to the qualification of a labourer; it was, to be very well acquainted with the sufferings of the Lamb, and to love them, and know that in himself is no good; observing further, that labourers were not to be looked upon as better than others; if they were really so, it was a subject for thanksgiving; but, that the being a labourer was not what made him better, for many who were not labourers were really better than labourers.*

On another occasion he spoke of the church becoming strong in the Lord, and being well grounded, which was, and must be her chief concern; observing likewise, that to desire our Saviour to punish our enemies was the Old Testament way, but not the way of the New; and that the Lamb, who was a Lamb indeed, had taught us another way, by praying His Father to forgive His murderers; and, in a measure, excusing them, "they know not what they do;" also when He reproved his disciples, who would pray for fire to fall and consume the people who would not receive him, telling them: "you know not by what spirit you are led." The church did not pray for destruction upon her enemies, but the rather if she did pray, it was that they might be forgiven, or at least, if our Saviour would punish them, that it might be in mercy for their good, and that the punishment might be mixed with the blood of His atonement. The numbers at this time so increased that many were obliged to be sent up into the galleries.

On the 11th of July, Mr. Lewis, the printer of Bartholomew Close, who had published for the Brethren, applied to Hutton, by letter, for permission to put his name in the

* It was the opinion of Neisser that no one should preach in the pulpit who was still in business, and he wished that every brother might not take it into his head to preach, it not being every one's function. "To believe? yes—but not to preach." "To speak of our Saviour, well—but not to preach as a teacher."

"Weekly History,"* which was "refused, it being not consistent in him to lend his name to matters which did not meet his approval."

Hutton received advice, on the 17th, that at Dukinfield the brethren had been forbidden to preach, and that threats of impressment had been held out against the young men who should attend the preachings. He, therefore, wrote to Br. Holland for the names of the Justices of the Peace who had made such threats. A conciliatory letter from Hutton, was, in all probability, effective, as no further proceedings appear to have been taken.

Hutton, having applied for money he had lent a long while ago to the Rev. Mr. Piers of Bexley, received a letter of insult instead of payment; upon which old Mrs. Hutton wrote Mr. Piers a sharp admonition, to which he replied by letter, open under cover, to Mr. Delamotte. On the 3rd of September, Sr. Hutton, meeting Mr. Piers, rebuked him for his late abuse of her husband. It seems this loan was made in the beginning of 1743, and that Hutton had been induced to borrow the money of his mother and advance it, in order to conciliate Piers; who, not having his desires fulfilled at once, had written angrily, accusing him of want of sincerity and heartiness in not doing for him what really was not within his power; and, at the same time, accusing the Germans of discountenancing all who followed not with them.

The Brethren, having been misrepresented in the public newspapers, and foully aspersed, it became a question with the congregation whether some means should not now be adopted to enable them to stand before the public in their true light. Hence, on the 22nd of July, the resolution was taken to print the "Declaration," which Count Zinzendorf had made three years before. This was, accordingly, done on the 2nd of August, in the "Daily Advertiser;" and, as was to be expected, it was approved by some, misunderstood by

* This was published in numbers, under the title "Christian History," and consists of a collection of letters from the early preachers in the Tabernacle connection, relating to the progress of the Gospel in Great Britain and America. It seems to have been set on foot in January, 1746. See Life and Times of the Countess of Huntingdon, vol. ii. p. 372, Note; and Morgan's Life and Times of Howel Harris, Esq., p. 113. There were eight vols. of this work, the first a small folio, the others in 12mo. and they are all extremely rare. The 8th vol. includes the period from January, 1746, to July, 1748.

many, and censured by others. Mr. Wesley, in his diary of the 6th of August, says: "Many of our friends were grieved at the advertisement which James Hutton has just published by order of Count Zinzendorf, declaring that he and his people had no connection with Mr. John and Charles Wesley. But, I believed that declaration would do us no more harm than the prophecy which the Count subjoined to it, 'that we should soon run our heads against the wall.' We will not, if we can help it."—Journal, page 220.

Declaration of the Societies in England joining the Brethren.

"It is now ten or twelve years since we heard of certain great spiritual blessings in the dominions of the British Empire in Europe and America, particularly among certain persons, members of the Episcopal Church.

"At first we reckoned it to have some relation with the foregoing awakenings in Europe, by the ministry of the late Mr. Anthony William Boehm in London; in America, by that of Mr. Coleman in Boston, and Mr. Freylinghausen in New York. But, Mr. Whitefield himself on the one side, and Mr. Wesley on the other, give us a very different account of matters; which we considered with as much regard as the labours of independent servants of the common Lord require, 'till the erroneous principle of the one, and the strange behaviour of the other, taught us that it would be best not to meddle at all with them; at the same time abstaining from dispute.

"In the meantime some persons, well acquainted with both of the aforesaid ways,* having observed that they were directly opposite to our way of doctrine and practice, approved by the Episcopal Church of England, chose rather to join with us and let them alone.

"They conversed frequently with our Brethren, who came to England, in order to go among the heathen; and, having experienced the simplicity of our way, resolved to follow entirely our constitution, but which we declined by a particular instrument for that purpose. However, those worthy persons, notwithstanding that, when they presented an address to his Majesty, called themselves the "United Brethren in England, in union with the Moravian Church."

* *i.e.*, of the procedure of Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield.

"If the title which they use in that case goes no further than to signify the spiritual unity with our (spiritual) body, we like it very well; being fully persuaded of the simplicity of their way in principles and practices; but, they being at the same time a licensed people, and therefore dissenting from the English church way, we persist in declining a church-like or constitutional union with such a corporation.

"Notwithstanding the foregoing declaration, we cannot hinder our ministers there from caring for those souls whom they believe they are in conscience bound to assist, as having given themselves quite over into their care; especially since we have seen the innocence, safety, and possibility of a like case in the Upper Lusatia, where many Moravian Brethren in the year 1727, retaining, however, their ancient discipline, were under the blessed care of a Lutheran minister, who was, at that time, an excellent instrument in the hand of God. Another instance also we have seen, in the year 1736 and 1737, when several good souls of different religions, who, since are returned to their respective religions, gave themselves over to the care of that excellent man, Franco de Bruyn, pastor of the National Church in Amsterdam. Also, in the years 1741 and 1742, several persons in Philadelphia, out of different religions, gave themselves over to the care of the Moravian Church there; by whom, being turned from some errors and unprofitable ways, they were sent back again into their several religions from whence they came; where they now are, a useful and a sober people, under the care of godly men of their own religion.

"We wish for nothing more than that some time or other there might be some bishop or parish minister found of the English Church, to whom, with convenience, and to the good liking of all sides, we could deliver the care of those persons of the English Church who have given themselves to our care; but the way to this desired end will certainly be hindered by the least animosity against such souls, as it will be quite impossible for us to bring about in the hearts of those at present under our care a confidence towards persons of that temper."

The effect of this Declaration in regard to the Brethren themselves, was a large addition to the number of their hearers, which, however, soon died away; but the satisfaction

remained, that they had set before the Church of England, their entire disapproval of the course which Methodism had taken, and with which they would have nothing to do; and that their main desire was to prevent separation from the established church.

On the 19th of August, Hutton suggested that an annual contribution should be made out of the poor box to the Westminster Infirmary, of which his father had been one of the earliest benefactors; for the benefit of the sick among the families of the brethren and sisters.

The following is one out of the few remaining specimens of his epistolary correspondence, which was now extensive, and needed to be short and full.

"My dear Br. Holland, (at Pudsey, near Bradford, Yorkshire.)

"My kind love to you all; I thought on you to-day, and on your general love-feast, and I wished you many blessings, because we have nothing to do but to be happy. My dear heart, I have observed in a letter from Germany, that the Count has expressed a kind of desire to see you and your wife in Germany. How do your little babes? The letter came too late for Backer; I sent it by next ship. I imagine Sr. Schlicht is breeding; I think they will stay there till the middle of September. We had a blessed prayer-day last Monday; Br. Reid (Legrand's man), Sr. Ferne (Garraway that was), and Br. Ahlers' wife, and Molly Carr were received. My kind love to Br. Töltschig, Horne, and Charlesworth. My and my wife's love to you all in general. Br. Dober will go soon, perhaps in a week or ten days.

"I am, your loving brother,

"JEMMY."

"London, August 24, 1745."

"It seems as if the king of Prussia had begun war against the king of Poland."

August 27th. Hutton and Br. Weiss, and Sr. Stonehouse went to Hillington in the work of the Lord.

At the latter part of this month, Br. Gambold is introduced as occupying the pulpit in Fetter Lane; and preaching with power, with order, with eloquence, and with unction; while Hutton kept the church meetings. On the 13th of September Gambold baptized Br. Fell's little boy. He spoke on baptism, and said, "it was a delivering a child

[illegible] Saviour; he spoke very fine, and [illegible] child into his arms, and taking [illegible] him in the name of the [illegible] of the Holy Ghost; then singing [illegible] the child round to the labourers [illegible] him with laying on of hands. [illegible] is James."

[illegible], at Hutton's suggestion, the [illegible] marriages were agreed to, in case [illegible] be required for legal evidence. [illegible] at this time, but the entries [illegible] end of 1751, when the ground at [illegible] used.

[illegible], the day on which Hutton com- [illegible] Br. Stonehouse gave him a love- [illegible] Br. Hutton further relates: "Br. [illegible] Br. Weis and my husband; and they [illegible] together. In the evening we [illegible] with our *familia;* and the brethren [illegible] hearty verses for my husband, who [illegible] meetings."

[illegible] pamphlet was published against the [illegible] also including the Brethren. This, [illegible] "Remarks on the Rev. Mr. John [illegible] wherein he gives an account of the [illegible] of the Moravians; and the divisions [illegible] the Methodists: by the Rev. Thomas [illegible], 1745. 8vo."* Mr. Church pub- [illegible] Remarks on Mr. Wesley's last Jour- [illegible] 8vo."

[illegible] interpreted for Br. Dober at the [illegible] and on the 10th accompanied him and [illegible] on their journey towards Harwich for [illegible] afterwards at the intercessors' meeting, at [illegible] of the Lamb was felt among all present, [illegible] travellers, and all the brethren and sisters [illegible]. At another meeting he assured all of [illegible] readiness to receive them, just as they were; [illegible] instead of making out how matters stand, they

* In the [illegible] of the same month, Mr. Webb published a letter in [illegible] of Mr. Wesley's Journal, in answer to the Rev. Mr. Church.

should rather come to the Lamb, and desire Him to bless them, and to receive them, because he had died for them. On another occasion Sr. Hutton relates: "My husband spoke on the *losung*, and observed, how true the *word of the day* was; '*He is the faithful witness*,' Rev. i. 5; for we had never known God, if God had not been made manifest in the flesh. He said that it was our Saviour that had witnessed of His Father; and that in the old economy the Father had not been manifested in a clear light; and that by that economy we had known Him only in thunder and lightning. But since our Saviour was come into the world, we had seen God in the light of the sun, delivered for our sins; and by that means, the terror which we had of God under the old covenant was taken away; that we know the Father's heart, by the Son. He spoke powerfully and comfortably, and concluded with an anointed prayer, for a further blessing on our plan, and all our Brethren's plans everywhere."

On the 23rd, the news of the Pretender having been proclaimed King at Edinburgh, reached London; and the hope of the Brethren was expressed, that his party would be soon defeated, and that these troublous times would bring many souls nearer to our Saviour; it being observed, that the first awakenings here, were in troublous times of the reign of king James.

On the 3rd of October, Hutton received a letter from Mr. Whitefield, in which he expresses a great love to him and the Brethren.

On the same day, the subject of the Brethren in Yorkshire taking the oath of allegiance, was discussed. Br. Weis thought it best to do so at this time, "as we are for his present Majesty with all our hearts; if we have no scruple against it." This course had been adopted in Livonia, where the taking such oaths was of great service in the cause of our Saviour, who had Himself approved of it.

On the 12th, Saturday, Sr. Hutton writes: "Br. Weis, Hutton and I, went to Mile-end, to receive the brethren from abroad, who arrived there at half-past five, cheerful and well, namely: Br. Leonard Dober, Sr. Anna, Joanna Piesch, her father, Br. and Sr. Schlicht, and Br. Okely. We were exceedingly glad to see them; and after a little love-feast with them, we came to town again." They had returned, by

way of Holland and Harwich, from a synodal conference held at Marienborn.

"October 28th, Monday, after the meeting, the Brethren came to Br. Stonehouse's; where they found a fine love-feast prepared, it being Maria Theresa Stonehouse's mama's birth-day. The room was illuminated very fine, with thirty-seven candles adorned with flowers; and the sisters all dressed in the German ways. We were all very cheerful and happy; some verses were made on the occasion, but none that did express the one-tenth part of what we thought and wished for that dear and much respected mama."

"London, 9th November, [1745 probably].

"My very dear heart, Br. Holland,

"I thank you very heartily for your tender love, and your dear letter to me from two places, from Baldock and Hilton. Your orders are observed, and committed to Br. Lateward.

"After you went from us, we did not forget you, but thought on you in our conference, and sang you several verses. How should we forget our dear Br. and Sr. Holland, on whose hearts we are written so deep? Our Br. Ahlers and some few others gave a love-feast on Saturday night, on occasion of their departure to the elders' conference. We made him a music, and I made him a long hymn, which I will send you. Br. Schlicht and Neisser and Reinické, all made him German verses. He is to be sure in a very dangerous situation; may the Lamb keep him, who has so laid him on our hearts.

"Sunday, our Saviour was with us. Many people were in Fetter Lane, and at the church-meeting too; Br. Schlicht kept the married quarter-hour, and I doubt not but it was blessed; then He is a good husband. Br. Neisser preached with great blessing in German. Matters are going on quietly, and preparing against Br. Piesch comes. To-day we settled the plan of some bands for them; Br. Senff comes into the matter, and little Rhode also is to be their servant; and our Saviour has reserved him from the English Church, for the German. I have a particular joy and insight, seemingly, into what the Lord will do for the Germans.

"Yesterday we had sweet accounts of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel: your dear letter came too late,

yet we remembered you in the Society. I can say for my part with tears, the Lord was amongst us, in our general meeting; there were many persons there, Cennick especially, who is hearty: I would be heartier with him, only I fear to draw him from Mr. Whitefield. The collection was £7. 10*s*. Our hearty love to you all; I am with all my heart, yours, and your dear wife's quite affectionately, so is my wife too; pray bless Isaac for me. Salute all dear brethren and sisters, particularly Br. Bell, if you please, and his wife.

"I am, thy own, JAMES."

November 9th, he wrote to Br. Holland; at the end of the year, he and Leonard Dober visited Lamb's Inn with much blessing, and returning on the 30th December, Hutton closed the year in London.

January 7th, the Watch-words for the year, now ready, were sold at ten-pence each.

Br. Francis Okely agreed to translate Count Zinzendorf's Discourses, delivered in Pennsylvania. The Yorkshire Brethren at the close of the last year were much harassed; and at Pudsey a search had been made for arms and ammunition. On the 3rd of December, Br. Ockershaussen was arrested by a justice Burton, a wicked mischievous person, and by him committed to York castle; depriving him of a discharge dated 12th May 1744, which had been given him from the Earl of Stair on a previous imprisonment, also of the letter of the Justices directing such discharge. Töltschig applied to Hutton for help, who sent him instructions how to give bail; and on the 17th of this month, his case was brought before the session of the magistrates, composed in part of those who had maliciously imprisoned him; but all ended well, no one appearing against him, so that he was released in open court, without an opposing voice. This induced the Brethren to license their place of meeting at Osset, whence he was taken, and where they afterwards enjoyed peace.

In consequence of the disorderly behaviour of the auditory at Fetter Lane, especially of the young people, several good regulations were adopted; and the fashion then in vogue, of women wearing hoops, is thus noticed. "As the sisters are apt to throw down the forms by their hoops, it

... quite clear of the
... going out; and
... between the forms."
... endeavoured to inculcate
... opportunity presented itself, be-
... reconciliation to God by
... notice on one occasion
... of Doctrine,' for the pur-
... upon all to *submit to*
... they are ordained of God.
... can thrive where the
... tended to with watchful care,
... them, early recommended
... labourers; and, about this
... necessity of visitation, not
... sisters who were in more close
... who were Society members only.
... Yorkshire, stated on the 18th
... his journey. He informed
... the preaching places had been
... better attended, and that the
... for building the chapel at Ful-

... 1745, the Brethren at the Taber-
... applied to by a Society at Chatham,
... Heatley, and the application, which
... brought into connection with Mr.
... referred to the Brethren at Fetter
... Hutton replied as follows:—

... *and Sisters and Friends at Chatham.*

... letter which you sent to me to be con-
... taken, before them, and we have con-
... serious manner, and what we have to

... Mr. Heatley should continue some time
... amongst you; you who desire fellow-
... us still, and can let us know from time
... letter, &c. how you go on. We shall
... health in the Lord; and that His blood
... streams your souls, comforting your
... them from all sin, enabling you to

walk in the light, and to have fellowship with Him, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, that ye may be as children, happy and redeemed children of light and peace; and wherein we can assist Br. Heatley to be more serviceable to you than hitherto, I do not perceive any unwillingness in the Brethren. May the Lord bless and refresh you all, and be near to you in all your meetings, and in all your families and hearts.

"My particular love to as many as are known to me.

"I am, your servant and brother,

"JAMES HUTTON."

"London, Feb. 27, 1745-6."

It appears that an answer was made to this letter by a Mr. Franklin, testifying his displeasure at the conduct of Heatley, and saying they were much scattered, and he (Franklin) being no longer with them, could not read the letter of Hutton to the Society.

The Tabernacle people at this time seem to have been desirous of uniting with the Brethren, but that could not be done; for, "of all the crowds of the Tabernacle people that offered to come amongst us, we have found scarce two or three that are good for anything."

The following correspondence, which took place in the month of March, shews the severity with which the Brethren treated such as were not faithful in their dealings:—

"Bristol, March 7, 1745-6.

"*To the Brethren at Fetter Lane.*

"Grace, mercy and truth be multiplied unto you by Christ Jesus our Lord and God, now and evermore, Amen!

"We, the Brethren, now met in Association in the presence of our Saviour, do jointly send you these lines, greeting. We, having calls into Wilts, by several of our former friends in the name of our Lord Jesus, think our call clear. But not being willing to break into your labours, and those Societies that are willing to receive any of you, we thought proper to acquaint you of this, and desire your answer, whether you have anything against our so doing forthwith.

"It is true, one of our young Brethren has been in some of those parts without our approbation, for we would not act by you, our dear Brethren, as you have done by us in Chat-

ham, &c. to take your people into our hands without your knowledge.

"We verily believe our Saviour has called you to one branch of His glorious work, and us to another; so we would not, as much as in us lies, mar the Lord's work in your hands, no more than we are willing you should hurt it and weaken it in ours.

"O dear Brethren, though we do not see eye to eye in all things, yet if all the workmen but agree in the work, and have their eyes single to the Master-builder, how gloriously would the work go on! What, though we cannot all agree in all things, yet for our dear Lord and Saviour's sake, let us agree, as far as we can. We agree not to admit any into our Societies that we should know have been in yours, without first acquainting you. We shall expect the same of you, as we look on you as children of God, and dear friends of the Bride-chamber. We did receive two of yours without acting thus, which we do confess was wrong. We now hope to act more uprightly to the Lord, to you, and all the Lamb's company, in whose righteousness, blood, and death, we subscribe ourselves,

"Your affectionate Brethren,

"HOWELL HARRIS, &c. &c.

"Direct to Mr. Adams, at Mr. Reynolds's, a barber, in Minchinghampton, Gloucestershire."

Hutton's Answer.

"To Mr. Howell Harris, &c.

"In answer to your letter, wherein you ask whether we have anything against your preaching in Wiltshire? you not being willing to break into our labour, we say: That we cannot at all consent to any one going there that belongs to your Association. Your business would chiefly be to confound poor souls, as you do wherever you come, as well by preaching strange doctrine, as by spreading scandalous lies. Even in your letter, you say that you believe us to be children of God, and look upon us as dear friends of the Bride-chamber, and yet some of you have given the blackest character of us they well could, and reproached us as very dangerous, erroneous, wicked people, of which we have, very lately, a clear proof.

"That we have broken in upon your labour any where, is utterly false. Chatham you refused, and sent Mr. Heatley, with the letter of the people there to us, and two of our Brethren have just seen them; but Br. Heatley alone goes to them now. The '&c.' we do not understand; and as for Wiltshire, you know very well that in the Association, where Mr. Cennick left you, you judged it wrong, and determined that it was not fair for any of you to go into Wilts. You have acknowledged it wrong, even in your letter; and asked pardon, because one of you had been there without our leave, and you have promised to do so no more.

"Should, therefore, any one of you have gone thither before you receive this, or go after you have received it, you will act contrary to all honesty. It is for the sake of Mr. Howell Harris, that we answer you at all. For him we have regard, and can remember him in love, but with the rest of you of whom we have knowledge, we cannot possibly have any kind of fellowship at all; for the rest of you are vainly puffed up, they are bitter enemies of Christ, and of His blood and atonement, which some of you blaspheme, and talk of in a very wicked manner.

"To say therefore that we believed such of you to be fellow-labourers in the vineyard of Christ, would be dissimulation in us. We look upon them as the destroyers of that vineyard, what good pretence soever they may have. And we are much grieved to see Mr. Whitefield's labours and blessings so spoiled and ruined by such evil labourers. We are, however,

"Sincerely, your well-wishers,

"THE BRETHREN IN FETTER LANE."

On the 1st of April, 1746, Hutton set out with Br. and Sr. Horne for Buttermere, in Wiltshire, accompanied some miles on their way by the Brn. Edmonds and Lane. This visit appears to have been made on account of the removal from Basingstoke of the Society there, rendered necessary by the death of Br. Allen, who had appointed Hutton to be his executor.

On the 24th, the Brn. West, Gross, Stonehouse, and Sr. Hutton set out for Holland; Hutton accompanied them to Harwich. During their absence, Br. Gambold attended to Hutton's band and class, and Sr. Hutton's place was supplied by the Srs. West and Stonehouse.

On the 29th of April, Hutton was present in London, but on the morning of the 6th of May he left for Holland by way of Harwich; his passport was sent after him by that night's post. On the 13th, a letter was received from him at Zeist, saying, that after a four days journey, he reached that place in good health, and found all the English brethren and sisters there, well and happy.

On the 2nd of June, having been summoned on a jury in the Lord Mayor's Court of the City of London, he appeared personally before his Lordship, Sir Richard Hoare, at Goldsmith's Hall, who indorsed his summons with the words, "the said James Hutton is excused on account of his deafness." This is the first time that mention is made of his defective hearing, under which infirmity he laboured until the end of his pilgrimage.

On the 14th of June, he received instructions from abroad, to hire, if possible, Montague House; but he ascertained that the Duke of Montague declined letting it.

On the 1st of July, he received a letter from "one Mr. La Trobe, at Dublin, who writeth an epistle concerning his whole life;" he had been a preacher, and desired advice of the Brethren, whether he should come to London.*

On the 5th of August, Hutton and his wife were bereaved of their little daughter, Maria-Theresa. She was buried on the 8th, at St. Margaret's, Westminster. A note of her departure is thus penned: "Mary Theresa is just gone to the Lamb.

"Where is Theresa? She is gone—
To whom?—To Jesus who redeem'd her.
What does He for her? He goes on,
As He hath done, to kiss and bless her."

Their son, John Christian Lewis, born on the 21st of August, and baptized by the grandfather on the same day at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, was "kissed home by His and our Saviour," this year; and he was laid beside his little sister, at the same place.

On the 13th of October, Br. Cossart, who had arrived from Harwich, reported the brethren and sisters there all

* This was the well known and faithful Br. Benjamin La Trobe, a Baptist, who, when student of theology, had established a Religious Society in Dublin, according to the plan of the Methodists, and who afterwards became an instrument of much good in the Christian church in England.

well, neither company having gone from them, some brethren would go on the morrow.

In this month the Brethren, after the restoration of peace, joined, as a church, in the general day of thanksgiving for the complete overthrow of the Pretender, at the battle of Culloden, on the 16th of April.

On the 10th of November an example occurs of the strange views some men have of religion, as if it were merely a uniting with a visible church; and of the straightforward denial given to such by Hutton. A Mr. Multon desired to come into society fellowship, "which," said Hutton, "cannot be while you are a seller of spirituous liquors, against the laws."

On the 13th of December, all letters, addressed to brethren not in town, were agreed to be sent to Hutton; such was the confidence which the brethren reposed in him.

On the 29th the price of the "Lamb's texts" for the next year was fixed at ten-pence. On the same day it was agreed to advertise for a meeting-place for the Brethren.

Jan. 19, 1747. Hutton was instructed to write to Dublin, warning Mr. La Trobe to have nothing more to do with William Reed, who had played the rogue.

It was expected that Cudworth would take up his pen against the Brethren, as he had already done against the Friends, (Quakers).

As very few memorials remain of Sr. Hutton, the following letter is given as a specimen of her writing, shewing how her mind entirely agreed with that of her husband. It is adressed from London, Feb. 7th, 1746-7, to Mr. W. Holland, at Mr. James Lewis's, Haverfordwest, and was written on the same sheet with a letter from his wife Elizabeth Holland.

"My very dear Brother,

"I salute you heartily and kiss your hand with all my heart, my husband is so busy that he cannot write to you. I have received the two letters which Mrs. Veisey did write to me; pray salute her from me, I have forgot to write to her in time. I wish with my whole heart, that she would become a good simple child, who loves the Lamb tenderly and

abides by the wounds of the Lamb, then all the confusion and darkness would have an end. Now, my dear brother, may the Lamb prosper you, and let you always feel the power of His dear wounds. From your poor sister,

"HUTTON."

The following List of "public and private opportunities of the Brethren at London, throughout the whole week," as they were in February 1746-7, exhibits in a striking manner the way in which their labour was distributed, and shews how fully their time was devoted to the service of the Lord.

☉ *Sonntag—Sunday.*

9—10. English preaching.
10—10½. Single brethren's quarter-hour, at Bowes's.
Widows' band, by Bowes, at his room.
Married men's bands, by Müller and Bell, at Wheeler's house.
Married men's band, by Schmid and Edmonds, at Wheeler's.
10½—11½. German preaching.
12—12½. German single brethren's class, by Marshall, at his room.
German married men's band, by Schmid, at his house.
12—1. Poor's conference, at Bowes's.
1½—2½. Servants' conference, at Br. Böhler's room.
2—2½. Married men's class, by Bowes, at his house.
2½—3. Married choir's quarter-hour, at Bowes's.
Widows' class, Sr. Claggett, at Bowes's.
3—4. English preaching.
4—4½. Married men's band, by Hutton, at his house.
Married women's band, Stonehouse and Holland at Hutton's.
Single sisters' quarter-hour, at their meeting room.
Widows' quarter-hour, at Wheeler's room.
English single brethren's class, by Marshall and Brandt, at Bowes's.
—5½. German preaching.
4½—6. Liturgy, at Bowes's.

6—7. Congregation's meeting.
7—7½. Single sisters' class, by Sr. Anna Johanna Piesch, at her room.
Single brethren's classes of the received and the sacrament brethren, kept by turns, by Marshall.
Married people's class, by Hutton, at Bowes's.
7—8. The conclusion of the day at Br. Böhler's room.

☾ *Montag—Monday.*

9—10½. Helpers' conference, at Hutton's.
10½—12. Warden's conference, at Hutton's.
5—6. Committee for outward affairs, at Br. Böhler's.
6—7. Congregation's quarter-hour.
7—8½. Visitors' conference, at Hutton's.
9—10. Single brethren's band, at their house, by Marshall.

♂ *Dienstag—Tuesday.*

4—5. Married sisters' class, Stonehouse and Müller, at Hutton's.
6—6½. Congregation's quarter-hour.
6½—7. Liturgy.
7—8. English preaching.
8—9. Band of married brethren, by Gambold and Edmonds, at Bowes's.
Single brethren's band, Tommy Knight, at Hutton's.
German preaching.

☿ *Mittwoch—Wednesday.*

9—12. Elders' conference, at Böhler's room.
4½—5. Married sisters' band, Stonehouse and Müller, at Bell's.
Single brethren's band, Brandt, in his room.
5—6. Married brethren's band, Br. Müller, at Bowes's.
Married sisters' band, Stonehouse and Müller.
6—7. A married class, kept by Br. and Sr. Müller, at Bowes's.
5—6. Widows' band, by Claggett, at Bowes's.
6—7. Widows' class, by Sr. Claggett, at Bowes's.
Single sisters' band, by Sr. Anna Johanna Piesch, at her room.

Single sisters' class, by Sr. Anna Johanna Piesch, at her room.
Single brethren's conference, at their house.
7—8. Society's and Congregation's quarter-hour.
8—9. Single brethren's house love-feast.

♃ *Donnerstag—Thursday.*

4—5. Married sisters' class, by Stonehouse and Müller, at Hutton's.
5—6. Married sisters' band, Stonehouse and Holland, at Hutton's.
Committee of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.
6—6½. Congregation's quarter-hour.
6½—7. Liturgy.
Single sisters' band, Anna Johanna Piesch, at her room.
7—8. English preaching.
8—9. Married brethren's class, by Hutton and Bell, at Wheeler's.
8½—9½. German singing-hour, at the chapel.
English single brethren's band, by Griffith, at their house.

♀ *Freytag—Friday.*

6—7. Congregation's quarter-hour.
6½—7. Married sisters' band, by Srs. Hutton and Hodges, at Hutton's.
Married brethren's band, by Br. Cossart.
7—8. Married brethren's class, by Br. Schmid.
9—10. Single brethren's band, by Brandt, at their house.

♄ *Sonnabend—Saturday.*

9—12. Conference Mile-end.
2—3. Children's meeting.
7—10. Sabbath love feast.
Besides the single brethren's house quarter-hours in the morning, and at night.
The children's bands at Mile-end.
Monthly General Meetings. Prayer days.
Children's prayer days and Sacraments.

As the term of the Nevill Court meeting-house would expire at Midsummer of this year, the Brethren, after due inquiry and advertizing in the public papers, had among other proposals, an offer made them of a large Baptist meeting-house in White's Alley, near Little Moor Fields, capable of holding between seven and eight hundred people. It belonged to the Merchant Taylors' Company, and was taken on the 9th of March, apparently of a Mr. Abbot, perhaps their lessee or tenant, by Br. Peter Boehler, who thought there might be preaching in it once of a Sunday, and once in the week, until the Brethren should quit Nevill's Alley.

On the 19th of April, servants were appointed to stand, one at the end of Fore Street and another at the end of a passage leading into Finsbury, to direct the brethren and sisters to the chapel. The Brethren occupied it for the first time on the morning of the 26th of April, the services beginning at 9 o'clock.

In 1748 it was taken for another year, and in November of that year there were Sunday evening services, and the concourse of people attending them was so great and clamorous as to induce the Brethren to consider whether it might not be prudent to discontinue them for a short time. On the 20th of June Br. Böhler proposed a service in Welch here, perhaps as an alternative. In 1749 it was again engaged for a year, and in August a proposal was made to take it for two years longer. The pulpit was occupied in January by Br. F. Okely, and in May by Br. Cennick, during whose absence in October Br. La Trobe preached. In February 1750, Br. Cennick began a Society fellowship there, and kept the meetings; the society being called his own; but in December a decrease in the attendance was complained of as having commenced before he went away; yet many of the new comers attended pretty constantly. In June 1751 Br. Rogers of Bedford was minister here, and Br. LaTrobe in April, 1752, when it had become too wet and unwholesome for people to sit in with safety. In March, 1753, Br. Caries preached in White's Alley, and Br. Cennick in June and July. After this Br. and Sr. Greening served the Society here, until the 19th of June, 1757, when they left for Bristol, and were succeeded by Br. Owen Price, on the 24th of the same month. In December, 1756, the affairs of the chapel were considered at an evening love-feast, held in

kept on the 19th of June,
same year, it was resolved
Brethren in this place
Foster Lane.
lowing memorandum of
"A dissenting congregation
Alley chapel. If they could
seat, they would take it off
Company to whom it belongs
year longer. Br. Finden
and let the dissenters have
half year's rent in advance,
to do with it. The organ
to an auction room." It was
The dissenting congregation
have been that of the General
under Mr. Bulkeley, removed,
to a place in Worship Street,
ciation of four of their London
been greatly reduced in numbers.†
and his wife visited Yorkshire; the
threatened to pull down the Brethren's
This evil was averted by a visitation
whom the whole establishment was
to their entire satisfaction.
Hutton's letter to Holland, of the 9th
pected to go to Germany for a long sea-
having made the necessary arrange-
left London on Saturday the 3rd of
the morning. The Brn. Ingham and
of their company.

a single notice of either Hutton or his
the 7th of November 1748, when he ad-

History of the English Baptists, vol. iv. p. 244-
this place, which, he says, "the Baptists used at
eenth century, and perhaps much earlier." He
house in White Street was standing in 1739
1789), and was used by the Baptists, but is now

and Antiq. of Dissenting Churches, &c., in London,

dressed a letter to Count Zinzendorf, from Schaffhausen in Switzerland, reporting his labours there, on which he had entered but a short time.* On the 11th of the next month he again wrote to the Count a report of his further progress, dating his letter from Neufchatel.

These letters shew the zeal of Hutton and his wife, and are as follows :—

"Schaffhausen, November 7th, 1748.

"My dearest Papa,

"I have already visited Schaffhausen, Stein, and St. Gall. At Schaffhausen I found that the pamphlets written against us had made a deeper impression upon the Rev. Mr. Meyer than upon any one else. At the instance of several well-meaning persons I had an 'eclaircissement' with him, but it ended unfavourably. He had so much to say against you that I became warm, and asked him how he could dare to have the effrontry to speak thus of you. In short, I left him abruptly, without shaking hands, or giving him a good word ; for, knowing him to be a slave of sin, I was too angry even to bid him good-night. I afterwards sent to ask his pardon for my unbecoming behaviour, informing him if he would only preach Christ, I should be reconciled. He took it well and apologized for having gone too far.

"I have succeeded much better with Mr. Ott, the Rev. Mr. Stöcker, and the wife of Br. Brün, who have altered their minds and wish us God-speed. The night before we left, Mrs. Brün, of her own accord prepared a little love-feast, at which, on first singing a few verses, the Peace-maker so perceptibly came into our midst, that we fell prostrate and worshipped Him, who, saluting us with His humbling embrace, we were melted before Him. I and my wife, with Gillers, Ott, and his wife and sister, the candidates (theological students), Stöcker, Amman, Provisor Schmidt of Stein and Madame Brün, were present—many tears were shed and the whole ended well—for the Lord loves Switzerland, and will save many who might not be suitable for the congregation ; hence I have told them often that they can be saved apart from uniting with it, unless they had a special call to do so.

* He had a letter of introduction to Lyons from Mons. de Tournes.

"At Stein there is a small society of dear people. The town-clerk, his daughter, the Provisor and his wife and servant, with some others; the magistrates here moreover are not opposed to us. Provost Harder, a resident of the neighbourhood, loves us, having read several of our congregation writings.

"In St. Galle the controversial writings of Fresenius, and your translation of the New Testament, as well as several of our hymns have made some stir. But the objectors were polite and suggested that after due reflection you might have omitted the passage of the three witnesses in heaven—1 John v. 7.—and the passage "*besides* these there is not one," that is, instead of, "*without* Him." On that account they make you a disciple of Spinoza, inasmuch as Spinoza is reported to have taught that every thing emanated from God and returned to Him; and, in the book of Revelation you have omitted "for ever and ever," as though you did not believe that Christ is from everlasting. I laughed, and said, prejudiced people, personally unknown to you had published these charges, and infected honest minds with their deadly poison; whereas they might know your zeal for the orthodox faith, and especially the divinity of Christ from many other passages. They asked whether you were *Semper tui similis?* I answered No, but that you were every year more in love with the subject of the divinity as well as of the humanity of Christ, and that you had never in your life thought in accordance with the doctrine either of Spinoza, or the Arians, or the Papists. That I had known you these ten years, and would declare every one to be false, who should attempt to put such a stigma upon you, or say he certainly knew you to be a bad man. They believed me, were convinced, and now love you more than ever. I dived to the very bottom of this matter, and they began to praise the purity of our principles, and promised to defend publicly our orthodoxy in the principal point. But they are so orthodox in regard to the enjoyment of the Lord's supper, as to entrench themselves within the narrow limits of mere "figure." Yet now and then they were brought to the ground, and were very near being in love with our Saviour; a hook has been cast into their hearts. A young minister, who wanted to talk about our marriage regulations before females, I took so severely to task as to make him smart under the

castigation. Br. Giller and Dean Huber also raised sundry objections to your version of the New Testament, which they may, perhaps, send you some day in writing. They are honest characters, and their affection for me, and mine for them, make so early a separation from them painful to me, but the circumstances of my wife compel me to shorten my stay. So much is certain, that the enmity against us at St. Gall has received a strong check. Yet at the last Frankfort fair, as is the case at every Frankfort fair, a wicked book has been published against us. The enmity of Abbot Steinmetz against us, has also raised the question, why others, who are children of God do not agree with us? How is this? I replied, that such are those children of God who are not of our circle, and that there are children of God who misapprehending our cause, even think it doing God service to become our enemies; adding that the inquiry should not stop with the question who we are? but the inquirers should ask what they themselves are? inasmuch as neither Count Zinzendorf, nor the Abbot Steinmetz had died for us, but Christ, in whom whoever believeth not with the whole heart must be lost, whether black or white. This argument has often effected silence "in the court" (of conscience) and smitten the heart. I have fought with the close weapon, and aimed at the core with success, and for all this, we all reciprocally love each other.

"To-morrow we shall proceed to Winterthur, Zurich, Aarau, Berne, Neufchatel, Geneva, Lyons, and Paris. *There* is a full stop. In Paris, hoping to find entrance, I purpose remaining as long as the circumstances of my wife and our plan permit.

"Dear papa, should you be disposed to take up pen and paper, and hastily despatch a salutation to us we should be very glad indeed, and the same would be the case if our mother (Anna Nitschmann) or such dear ones would do the same. The address is, "Mr. Fisher of St. Blaise, intendant des postes, à Berne." My wife and myself kiss your hands, and we are, with all the heart, your faithful and dear people, who are always abashed when they think and look upon themselves.

"JAMES HUTTON."

"Neufchatel, December 11th, 1748.

"MY DEAR PAPA,

"I have been a long time without writing because nothing extraordinary has passed. I now write chiefly to bring myself into thy dear remembrance.

"At Winterthur I found three friendly men, two physicians and a merchant, who love the Brethren and our Saviour in their degree and manner. In Zurich I found the Schneiders, an excellent pair of dear hearts. I found also both Herr Ott and his wife, friends. He is a philosopher, merchant, and great musician, at the Grosse rath (great council.) He brought me to the young professor Zimmermann, with whom I spoke about a plan for church history. He knew not that I was a brother, but an English bookseller. I found him against persecution *comme Le Clerc peut etre partout.* He told me that the grosse rath in Zurich was *summus episcopus*, or at least had acted as such lately in the *formula consensus* affair; and I learnt that affairs of religion belonged to the grosse rath, which, in its majority, is against persecution. He, in a dissertation, has censured in six or eight lines the *Hymns* and the *wunden-litany* discourses, because of some high and chymical-like expressions, as being therefore contrary to the simplicity of Christ and His Apostles, *sed stilo critico et moderato.*

"In Aarau I found dear hearts. With Br. and Sr. Wallis we went to Berne, at which place, and at Basle are the best souls in Switzerland. Fisher is a noble heart, and his whole house belongs to our Saviour: and sister Susan Hugo is really much blessed in that family, as I perceive; and beloved too.

"In Neufchatel I found my wife's father, mother, and sister loving and hearty, but very poor indeed; the mother is a very good natured cheerful woman, who loves the Brethren dearly, and, when her heart becomes more warm, is an excellent character. When I see thee I will tell thee more. Watteville (Nicholas, Frederick's brother) makes haste to come away. Him you know, and what a dear heart he is, Kuhns and Futter are very dear hearts too, and Jeuner, &c., also.

"The magistrates of Aarau make a sort of noise, because Hechler's children are at the congregation, but I suppose it will go over. Br. and Sr. Wallis are at Aarau hitherto, in all peace and quiet without being perceived, and can go

from place to place in Switzerland without giving umbrage, visiting the souls from time to time, and Wallis loves them and they him; his wife too does very well there; and if one visits from time to time, without staying too long in one place, and in a sort according to your *anachoreten* plan one can be in Switzerland *bon grè malgre* every bodies doings. In Berne, Basle and Zurich they formerly made those orders against the Herrnhuters of which they are partly ashamed; and so, with good management, one can be there now in peace, as I believe.

"I think, God willing, to set out from here to-morrow for Geneva and thence to France. I will write again from Geneva. I hope to find my dear papa in England.

"I will write to thee from France in general terms as to Mons. Blinkenbourg, and thou wilt answer me perhaps, but papa! wilt thou be quite an *anachoret?* I lay my head also on thy dear breast as thy old and faithful loving little

JEMMY.

"P.S —Some imagine here, if one had not desired to establish a Moravian church in these parts exclusive of *the compagnie* here, nobody would have hindered an establishment. Perhaps one would have granted a separate parish; but, who knows? the ministers are generally sad fellows, and say: 'we would have done it, if you had not been so or so.' A certain Mr. Cartier here, a minister, loves the Brethren as I hear, as do his brother too, and Stadler the minister. Those souls here which are said to be awakened and which some call Moravians, are not good for a great deal. I have found here a certain marchand, Daniel Cartier, a friendly man. I know not if it is good *rebus sic stantibus* respecting Montmirail to visit many people here, lest they should think we want to fill Montmirail again. They are jealous of Frederick (II. King of Prussia) and he of them. Therefore I visit nobody but such as invite us, the friends of my wife's father and relations, and say not a word about Montmirail, except what my father tells me the people say; with him only I speak about the former condition of Montmirail. I do not hear that they are much in enmity against us in these parts, but have in a sort forgotten us. Some say, it is a bad thing to drive away such good people; others say, 'what have they to do here?" but it seems, as I hear, buried at present.

My wife kisses thy dear hands many times, and I am at all times, thy loving little JEMMY.

"Address: A mons.

"Mons. S. de Blickenbourg."

It may be well to introduce here the negociations entered into by the Brethren in behalf of their congregations in England and America.

A letter from Br. Hutton relating to Parliamentary negociations, in the first instance for North America, was received by Count Zinzendorf in January 1745, at the Synod of Marienborn, and introduced by him as a subject for consideration. It was thought better at first to appeal to those officers of state to whose jurisdiction the cause of the Brethren belonged, namely Lord Granville the Prime Minister, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Board of Trade and Plantations. Several documents were prepared relative to the constitution of the Moravian Episcopal Church, the settlements in America, and the present state of the affairs of the Church, together with an appeal for protection to the Board of Trade. These papers, signed by the elders (antistes) of the Bohemian and Moravian Church, among whom were the names of Zinzendorf, and their secretary Layritz, were forwarded to Martin Dober and Neisser for presentation to the respective authorities. Abraham de Gersdorff the so-called "deputatus ad reges," having finished certain labours at the Court of Berlin in March, was sent to England to further the object in view, more especially as news had just reached Europe of some of the missionaries to the Indians having been imprisoned. From the reports of Gersdorff, it appears that, accompanied by Neisser, he visited the societies and congregations in England in April and May, the parties he wished to see not being in town in those months. Towards the end of May and in June, he had several interviews with Lord Granville, and two with the Lords of the Board of Trade, relating to two memorials concerning the act of New York, and the recent oppressive measures against the missionaries. At the latter interview the brethren Neisser and Schlicht were present. Gersdorff speaks in high terms of the kindness and the courteous demeanour of the Lords Manson and Dublin. The memorials asked chiefly

"for protection against arbitrary interference." The reply was that the obnoxious act could not be rescinded at once, even by an Order in Council, as it would be contrary to the constitution of the realm; but that the Board of Trade would, from a full conviction of the excellence of the cause of the Brethren, recommend its recission to the government of New York. At the end of June, Gersdorff, having fulfilled his mission, returned to the continent.

After the restoration of peace these negociations were followed by applications to Parliament, for which Count Zinzendorf in the year 1746, had taken preparatory steps.

It appears that one chief reason of Zinzendorf's visit to England, was to acquaint himself with the state of affairs in respect of Parliamentary negociations. This is evident from his desire to renew some of his former acquaintances, and to form new connections with persons of high standing, both in Church and State. The Archbishop of Canterbury, who highly esteemed the "*Sancta et illustris sedes episcopalis Moravica,*" entertained the same friendly feelings towards the Brethren as he did in 1737; and expressed a hope, that no Episcopalian acquainted with Church History,* would ever call their Episcopal Ordination in question; but doubted whether it would be publicly acknowledged by the Episcopal bench in Parliament, he was, therefore, not for a public investigation. The Bishop of London, "unwilling freely to enter into conversation on this subject, appeared rather opposed to such acknowledgment." Zinzendorf found the Americans more willing, especially Thomas Penn, the Proprietor of Pennsylvania, and General Oglethorpe, Governor of Georgia, who at this time was under arrest in London, on account of his conduct at the battle of Culloden, till his cause should be tried. He felt very much drawn towards Count Zinzendorf, because of his sympathy with his trying situation, from which, however, he was very soon most honourably released.

Both these men knew the Brethren very well from long personal experience and observation, and were equally familiar with the constitution of the mother country, as with that of

* Zinzendorf somewhere remarks, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the few prelates in Great Britain really acquainted with the Universal History of the world.

the colonies. Zinzendorf consulted them on the important question, How could the congregations of the Brethren at home, and their missionaries abroad, procure a legal standing and protection in the British empire, and the Church of the Brethren be legally acknowledged? They advised him to apply for the sanction of Parliament. Zinzendorf endeavoured to obtain connections and an introduction at Court, through the Princess of Wales, sister to the Duke of Gotha, and by the aid of a lady in the household of Countess Zinzendorf, named Esther Naverowsky, the wife of Br. Grunbeck (subsequently married to Br. Kirchhof) who in early life had been a playmate of the Duchess. A friend of his youth, Chevalier Chaub, whose acquaintance he had formed in Paris, was also of great service to him in this respect. Zinzendorf after his return from England referred the agent of the Church of the Brethren, Henry Cossart, to these and other influential personages. Cossart, whose agency continued from Nov. 1746, to the year 1755, did make use of the introductions to the above-named parties, and the two American friends, in particular, urged a public Parliamentary inquiry. The first step to be taken was to bring the cause of the Brethren before the King's Privy Council. For this purpose the Pennsylvanian Act of February the 3rd, 1743, was referred to, according to which "Foreign Protestants, who, like the Quakers, refused to take an oath, should be permitted like them to be naturalized in the North American colonies, on certain conditions." This Penn explained as follows: "None else are meant in these words, but the Moravian Brethren, who also enjoyed the benefits of this Act, shewing themselves truly worthy of these Privileges. They ought, therefore, to be specified by name in the Act, as a peaceful and sober people." But neither the Board of Trade nor the Privy Council felt themselves competent to make an addition to an Act sent by the colony for confirmation. The inquiries, however, which at that time were made by General Oglethorpe, and Mr. Penn, whether the Moravian Brethren were deserving of such a favour, proved of great value; and Zinzendorf, in writing, expressed his sincere gratitude to both gentlemen for their kind recommendations. While Cossart was securing the support of many new friends, these two men, in January 1747, openly

declared their intention of bringing the matter before Parliament during the Spring sessions. In a former Act, of the year 1740, for the whole of British North America, it was enacted "that all Foreign Protestants after a residence of seven years should, upon taking the Oath of Allegiance, be considered as naturalized, free of any expence. The Quakers alone being exempted from taking the oath." On April 6th, 1747, General Oglethorpe on the strength of the above-named Pennsylvanian Act of 1743, moved in the House of Commons, "That a clause be inserted in the Act of 1740, in favour of the *Moravian, or United Brethren*, exempting them from the taking of an oath." A Lord of the Board of Trade, and Sydenham, a much respected member of the House of Commons, spoke in favour of the motion. On the question being put to the House by the Speaker Onslow, some answered in the affirmative, none in the negative. In the House of Lords, the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Lord Chancellor Lord Hardwicke of the ministerial bench, and, among other Lords, more especially Lord Baltimore, Proprietor of Maryland, spoke in favour of the clause. The latter wished for a colony of the Brethren on his estates. No opposition was raised in the House of Lords. The royal sanction of this modified Act of Parliament was given soon after, on June the 28th. Cossart, an eye-witness, writes, "The chief benefit to us is, that we, as *United Moravian Brethren*, are *exempt from taking the oath*, because we are a *quiet*, *sober* and *peaceful* people, whose presence in the colonies may become *very useful* to the country." Oglethorpe remarks, "The Act contains a *legal proof* for the future, that the *Moravian Church is a Protestant Church, acknowledged by Parliament*, for otherwise we should not have been permitted to insert this clause in the Act. We have now obtained at least *something* from Parliament, whereas, heretofore, we had nothing."

In Zinzendorf's opinion the main thing was still wanting, namely, *a public inquiry*, without which every other acknowledgment appeared to him of comparatively little use. But in this Act there was only a *tacit* and very *indefinite* acknowledgment of our Church. Nevertheless even this was of use, for the Brethren in England and in the Colonies obtained by it a certain standing, at least in *public opinion*, which also had first to be gained. The news of the passing

of this Act forwarded by Cossart, belonged to the encouraging subjects which formed matter for discussion at the Synod of Herrnhaag, in 1747. Hence their letters of thanks, dated June 13, 1747, addressed to all in both Houses, who had taken an active part in these matters.

We must insert a few other particulars concerning both earlier and subsequent events, in 1747-48, as gleaned from the minutes of the Synod and the reports of Cossart. When Cossart called upon Archbishop Potter, in January, 1747, he, "very unexpectedly, found him to be rather lukewarm in our cause, not exactly opposed to us, but very little inclined to occasion himself any uneasiness on our account." Subsequently he learned, from Dr. Wilson, chaplain of the King and son of his old friend (since 1744), the Bishop of Sodor and Man, "that Potter's view regarding the Moravian Brethren had undergone a change; the Bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock, on the other hand, though at present not yet for us, and a man of very vehement disposition, if once convinced of the truth of a thing, would most distinctly give his opinion in its favour." During the Parliamentary negociations in April, neither of them had opposed the Brethren, and Archbishop Potter, "a few days before his death* accepted of Zinzendorf's letter of thanks for his services in a very gracious manner, and expressing at the same time his unchanged friendship for the Count." His successor, Archbishop Herring, of York, knew the Brethren well, and as Primate shewed himself very friendly towards them in word and deed. Cossart, on a journey to Ireland, found that the Primate of Ireland, Stone, entertained the same friendly feelings, though at that very time the preaching of Cennick met with much opposition in the north of Ireland. Shortly before his visit to Ireland, in May and June, 1748, Cossart saw Johannes and Benigna de Watteville, who were passing through England on their way to North America. He introduced them to his own and Zinzendorf's friends, all of whom spoke of the desirableness of the Count's visit to England for the purpose of "furthering the main thing."

The Synodal Conferences held at Herrnhaag and Zeist in September and October, 1748, after the termination of the so-called Hennersdorf Commission,† were chiefly engaged with

* He died in October, 1747. † See Crantz, Hist. p. 339—343.

deliberations about the second Parliamentary negociations, though the financial embarrassments of the general diacony occupied their attention in part. The appointment of Zinzendorf as "*Advocatus Fratrum*," which was conferred upon him against his will—(for "he would rather as the Disciple have remained in his hermitage,")—but with full powers from the Synod, dated September 16th, 1748, had reference to both these subjects. And in the capacities of Advocate and Disciple he acted and suffered much in England from the beginning of the year 1749 to 1755.

The negociations with the British Government terminated in the early part of 1749, about the same time that some other negociations of a similar character, with many continental Governments, especially in Germany, which had been carried on from the year 1741, first by the General Conference, and after 1743 by Zinzendorf himself, with varied fortune, were at last crowned with marked and unexpected success in Saxony, in the year 1747-48. Zinzendorf now entered upon his labours in England; on the 13th December, 1748, five brethren, Abraham de Gersdorf, Schrautenbach, de Schachmann, (the former as "*Senior*" and the two latter as his "*Assessors*") *Syndicus* Nitschmann, and Cossart, the agent, received a commission (letter of attorney) from the Synod, signed by Zinzendorf as the *Advocatus Fratrum*, empowering them to transact all necessary business in England in the name of the Church; whereupon they prepared for their departure for England. The voyage was to be made in the *Irene*, Captain Garrison, from Amsterdam, in company of 150 brethren and sisters, destined for Pennsylvania, and some Greenlanders on their return homewards. But as the *Irene* lay wind-bound in Amsterdam, Zinzendorf and his company set sail on December 31st, from Helvoetsluys. After a passage of eighteen hours they landed at Harwich, on January 1st, 1749, and on the 4th, arrived in London, where they took up their quarters in a house in Bloomsbury hired for three years.*

The brethren had scarcely landed on the British soil, when they read in the newspapers of an Hanoverian Edict, (dated November 22, 1748), "expelling the brethren from Hano-

* A country seat, *Ingatestonehall*, about twenty miles from London, had also been hired. For it appears, that Zinzendorf judged it prudent to sustain, in a suitable manner, the dignity of *Lord Advocate*.

ver,"—(N.B. there were no brethren in Hanover,) "and proscribing all their writings." Schrautenbach attributes this to the Wernigerode* party, saying, that they took their measures at a distance. The sentiments at Court could be plainly gathered from this procedure at Hanover, which yet operated rather favourably for the Brethren especially among the opposition members. Zinzendorf consulted his friends Oglethorpe and De Schaub on this subject; the latter endeavoured in a correspondence with the Prime Minister (of Hanover) De Munchhausen, to change his views; who however, referring to the writings of the enemies of the Brethren, declared "that he would listen to no other source of information." This at once enjoined silence on Count Zinzendorf, who withheld some plans for memorials to the King. His two friends and Cossart communicated to him the still more unfavourable news, of the coldness of Lord Baltimore, the doubts of the Bishop of Lincoln as to whether the Brethren were the genuine descendants of the ancient Moravian Church; and the intention of the Bishop of London to oppose our request for Church liberty, etc. The arrival of the *Irene*, on January 11th, broke in upon these anxious considerations in a welcome manner. Her passengers took up their quarters in Zinzendorf's house. Their abode in London was probably not without design. Penn looked upon them with wonder and astonishment as the future colonists of Pennsylvania, while the Prince of Wales and many noblemen saw the Greenlanders with evident interest. It was now fulfilled what Zinzendorf had once said (at the Synod of Zeyst, 1746) "the reasoning Dutch and English find our doctrine very paradoxical; yet, they say, the *people ought to be seen.*" And what was best of all, the friends of Zinzendorf took occasion from the presence of this sea-congregation to introduce the parliamentary negociations in a manner congenial to the national interest in the colonies.

Zinzendorf remarks on this subject: "It was found that the Act in our favour of 1747 had passed the Houses of Parliament with the passive consent of many; but now it appeared, that the whole Episcopal Bench would be active against us. Herein lay the necessity for us of constraining Parliament and the Bishops to make a thorough inquiry, which we all most earnestly desired, as it would give the

* See before, p. 20.

public in general a more correct view of our cause. Our friends saw but one way to obtain this object, namely to put forth a petition for *something*. The *Irene* in the Thames and her passengers, suggested the nature of the petition, namely, to ask for our American colonists, exemption from taking Oaths and bearing Arms, which at the same time might be requested for all the Brethren in England. This petition would naturally call forth other subjects leading to an investigation of our whole case.

Zinzendorf very unwillingly consented to this circuitous way, and was with difficulty prevailed upon to sign a special power for the Deputies to prepare such a petition. Nevertheless things went forward, and the petition was presented to the House of Commons. General Oglethorpe, although he had been requested by the Bishop of Lincoln, at the instigation of parties high in office, to have nothing to do in the matter, moved on February the 20th, that the House should co-operate with the Brethren to encourage their settling in the Colonies; Cornwall seconded the motion. The Treasurer, Plumtree, under the influence of higher parties, strongly opposed the motion, in a speech, which Zinzendorf terms a short extract from all the libellous publications against us, concluding with an amendment, that the Moravians be entirely repelled. Horatio Walpole, brother to the Prime Minister, Lord Pelham, opposed him in favour of the Brethren, and was followed by four other members of influence in the House, who urged inquiry. On the motion being put by Onslow, the Speaker, Plumtree's was the only opposing vote; and a Committee of Inquiry, consisting of from forty to fifty persons, was agreed upon. Zinzendorf, on hearing this from Abraham de Gersdorf, at once perceived the great importance of such a commencement. The delay occasioned by the intrigues of certain parties—from February the 20th to March the 6th—he diligently employed, with the assistance of his friends and his legal adviser, White, in preparing certain points for investigation, and in collecting from the archives the requisite documental proofs. In these preparatory steps for the Committee, we may clearly perceive a gradual progression in the path now entered upon. The petition itself, in the first instance, had reference merely to the *colonies of the Brethren*. "The Moravian Brethren have such colonies, and would have commenced many more in the

British territories, if they had met with more support, not as regards pecuniary aid, but as regards granting of religious liberty, more especially concerning the taking of oaths, and bearing of arms, against which, many brethren entertain scruples of conscience. We hope to obtain this privilege for the *ancient Protestant Church of the Brethren*, which already in former ages had repeatedly been supported by the British Government." This *Church* was now specially kept in view. Zinzendorf remarks, "All now depended upon the evidence; 1st, that the Church of the Brethren, was of ancient Oriental origin, and as such acknowledged by the present Greek Orthodox Church (in 1740); 2ndly, that the present Church was well known every where, since the year 1730; 3rdly, that she was descended from the Ancient Bohemian and Moravian Church; 4thly, that in her Doctrinal views, she followed the Augsburg Confession of 1530, and the Synod of Berne, in 1532; and 5thly, that she consisted of the *threefold* union of Moravians, Lutherans and Reformed, or in other words the three principal sections of the Protestant Church. Moreover, 6thly, that she had been publicly recognized in Great Britain,* under Edward VI.; although, 7thly, she possesses at present only one chapel in Fetter Lane, London. This Church had been, however, 8thly, acknowledged as an *episcopal* Church during the reign of King George I. in 1715, and accredited as such, under George II. by the testimony of the Primate of England, given to the present Church of the Brethren (1737). Furthermore, 9thly, that our proper Ecclesiastical title is—"Unitas Fratrum" (Unity or Congregation of the Brethren,) which we now claim for ourselves; and this too, 10thly, on behalf of our Church in all parts of the world. All this we can prove from documents in our own possession, and partly

* All this was a new discovery of Cossart, who had ascertained, "that the Church of St. Austin had been presented by King Edward VI. to the *Protestant Congregation* of John de Lasco, and hence was a Legacy to the *Unitas Fratrum*, although he himself was not quite sure whether Lasco had been a member of the same. Moreover, that during the reigns of Charles II. (1683), and George I. (1715), several decrees had been issued by the Cabinet Council in favour of the Brethren's Congregations in Poland." He actually saw the very minutes of these Cabinet Councils, and was able to take copies of them, which he forwarded to Count Zinzendorf. The latter made use of these Documents without entering into a historical research concerning them. Those days were probably too early for a *critical* investigation of the historical facts here referred to.

from public documents in Great Britain, especially the 6th, 7th, and 8th points. Of such documents we know 135 in all."

The Committee of the House of Commons, on its first session, March the 6th, elected General Oglethorpe, Chairman. Plumtree, the opponent of Oglethorpe, was on the Committee. In the list of names, that of Mr. Pitt, afterwards the celebrated Earl of Chatham, is mentioned. As there are no minutes of this Committee in the Unity's Archives we do not know the exact course of investigation and debate. The report of two sessions of March 6th and 10th, which Oglethorpe read in the third session on March the 25th, shews which subjects were investigated, and what documents were made use of at the several inquiries, of which there were 17 points, taken partly from the petition itself, and partly from the documents prepared by Zinzendorf. "The Petitioners are, 1. Deputies of the United Moravian Congregations, with whom, 2. Members of other Protestant communities are conjoined. These United Brethren, 3. have settlements in British America, where they are much esteemed. 4. These settlements or colonies are numerous (about 20); 5. Not without means of supporting themselves; (Zinzendorf's expenditure was here made mention of.) 6. The inhabitants are very industrious. (Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf, etc. were not named). 7. They ask for no pecuniary aid; but, 8. for the withdrawal of certain restrictions, hitherto laid upon them. 9. They are acknowledged as an ancient Protestant Church, both in former and in modern times, and particularly in England regarded as such, under Edward VI., Charles II., George I.; and 10. likewise in other countries, and by men of other Churches; 11 and 12. they have received assistance from England both in former and in recent days. They are, 13, a peaceful people everywhere, and ask for nothing but liberty of conscience. Their petitions for exemption from, 14. taking the oath; and 15, bearing arms, are not ununreasonable, and have been granted to them in other countries. 16, 17. They enjoy liberty of conscience, and of religious worship elsewhere, and if they are to maintain and increase their settlements in the colonies, cannot do so without obtaining the same privileges there."

The Report was read and ordered to be printed, whereupon the Speaker proposed the drawing up of a bill, to be brought

[redacted]

[redacted] Moravian [redacted] Episcopal [redacted] Brethren [redacted] Bishop [redacted] Bishop [redacted] Bishop

doxy of the Brethren in doctrine; and not without success. At the same time it was agreed in a meeting of Bishops (April 8th), at the residence of the Primate, not to oppose the bill in the House of Lords. On the bill being brought into that House on April the 21st, by Oglethorpe, and fourteen other members of the House of Commons, and its immediate reading being moved by Lord Halifax, President of the Board of Trade, in the interests of the Colonies, no opposition was raised, but, on the contrary, the bench of Bishops was in its favour. The ministerial party, in the interest of the Crown, was taken by surprise. From this party a proposal was made at the time of the second reading, April the 23rd, that the case should be referred to a Committee of the whole House of Lords for renewed inquiry. This was agreed upon. The Bishop of Worcester told the Deputies, that they must now be prepared for quite another result than that which the report of the House of Commons had naturally led them to expect, which report had greatly influenced the Bishop of London in the change of his sentiments. On the very next day, April the 24th, the influence of the Court party was exercised against us, and the issue became doubtful. Friends were not wanting amongst the nobility, for, besides Lord Halifax, Lord Carteret, or Earl Granville, President of the Privy Council, and the well-known Lord Chesterfield, and several others were in our favour. The Bishops of Worcester and of London used their influence with Prince Frederic of Wales, through whose instrumentality the Duke of Argyle and the Lords of the Scotch Presbyterian Church were won over to our cause. Thus a combination was formed of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, which, as Zinzendorf remarks, was indeed an unheard of thing before, and may be considered as a fruit of our "*Tropus.*" But the ministerial bench was against us. According to the account of Counsellor White, the Lord Chancellor, Hardwicke, and the Secretary of State, Newcastle, intended to limit the act to the German emigrants in North America. Oglethorpe ascertained that, even after the Bishop of London had prepossessed his Majesty the King in our favour, the Duke of Cumberland was still against us. Lord Halifax himself, upon whom Schrautenbach called, on April 28th, gave up our cause as lost. He even allowed the matter to be adjourned, on the motion of the Duke of

Newcastle, from April 29th, first to the 2nd, and then to the 7th of May. "All these things (Zinzendorf said) are the forebodings of a lost cause." Nevertheless *he* (Count Zinzendorf) did not change his views. "Against the will of the King, I would not like to press the matter, but rather give in. But a *limitation of the act* (he said to Lord Halifax) I will not accept. Everything or nothing! no modifications!" Several days passed away, during which Mr. White negociated with the Ministers in the spirit of this resolution. "We on our part could not see how to get through, unless the Elder of His own people* specially aided us. The unexpected support from the Bishops appeared to have raised suspicions against us in the minds of the laity, and fifty friends in the House of Lords would have been of no use to us against one hundred Lords on the other side." Under these circumstances, the General Committee of the House of Lords was held on May the 7th; when, the Act being read, the Lord Chancellor objected to almost every line, especially against the apparent power of jurisdiction vested in the *Advocatus Fratrum*, in ecclesiastical matters; that he, though a foreigner, should have power to enjoin upon the Bishops and Ministers of our Church to give certificates to parties proving them to be members of it, which certificates British authorities were to accept as legal; a privilege which the constitution of no Church or corporation had ever granted. He likewise objected to our being exempt from military service. Nevertheless he admitted the inquiry of the House of Commons to be thorough and careful. Lord Granville rose and said: "The Quakers are exempt from military service; and as to the Brethren, what fault have you to find? Do you wish for Presbyterians, Bishops, industry, property, honest and peaceable men? with the Brethren you have it all. And as to their oath, it is a declaration in the presence of their God, on whom they believe." The Duke of Argyle added: "As convinced as I am of the purity of the doctrines of our Scotch Church, so convinced am I that the constitution of the Church of the Brethren is preferable to our own in all points." Several Lords and Bishops then spoke in favour of our Church, when to the surprise of all, the Lord Chancellor, not seeing his own scruples removed,

* See the Daily word of May 4, 1749.

adjourned the meeting of Committee to the 12th of May. Zinzendorf was not among the Deputies on this occasion, yet was present, as was known to all. He formerly had insisted on the point regarding the certificates, in conversation with Lord Halifax, but clearly understood the objection of the Lord Chancellor, and therefore proposed, "that the *verbal declaration* of the individual, together with the certificate, of a bishop or minister of the Brethren, shall be sufficient to prove their membership." This amendment was satisfactory to the Lord Chancellor, who accepted the proposal, and the alteration was accordingly made in the Act in this place. "At last the hour arrived, the like of which the congregation had never had before in public, the same hour, in which twenty-five years ago, the five Moravian Brethren arrived at Herrnhut, to be witnesses of the laying of the foundation stone of the first chapel (May 12, 1724)." Zinzendorf again was present. Halifax delivered an important speech, in which he first spoke *against* the Act, repeating all the arguments of the opponents; much to the surprise* of all present, especially that of the Bishop of London, whose countenance and restless movements, plainly indicated his intention to oppose him. Lord Halifax then himself refuted every argument. His speech removed all objections. The Bishop of Worcester then added: "The United Brethren gladly consent to the amendment of the Lord Chancellor and its insertion in the Act. It will be an edification to myself, and the whole Episcopal Bench, and all true Protestants of England, if the British nation expresses itself in favour of the Brethren, for whatever benefit England confers upon this ancient confessor-Church, must be an encouragement to all Evangelical Christians throughout the world, to expect nothing but good from this country." At these words, "*Content*" was called out throughout the House: that is, the House is content to let the Act pass. The Bishop now told the Lord Chancellor the history of May 12th, 1724.†

During the following days the Deputies received the congratulations of many peers of the realm, both lay and clerical, and were admitted to an audience with the Prince and Princess of Wales, which lasted more than an hour, during which the conversation turned upon our "*Realia*." In-

* See Schrautenbach, chap. 24. † See Crantz, Hist. p. 105, &c.

Brethren to come to Eng-
North Carolina (Granville),
even to Hudson's Bay. Many
should be granted to the Bre-

the Act was still wanting. After
in vain in the Houses of Parliament
it was brought to them, along with some
6th, by a deputation, consisting of the
the Duke of Cumberland, the Lord Primate,
signed by his Majesty the King. We
a sentiment of Count Zinzendorf, penned
the Act being brought into the House of
is a miracle of God, that our petition, in spite
speech against it, was accepted; that all our
were gone through in a committee of fifty persons;
valuable document was prepared and publicly
that all our propositions were satisfactorily
Episcopalians and Presbyterians and all Ame-
without exception, were of one opinion;
the negociations several bishops were con-
the truth of our cause, and charmed with the
J. Wesley's extract from our hymn-book has
injury; that within the last two months, during
has been, day after day, under the notice
only one single vote was against us. I,
have done my best to protect my people
before the British Parliament; but now,
has taken up their cause, *I* have done.
word for to-day comes to my mind. (2 Cor. iii.
more honour our Saviour confers upon us in the
the more anxious should we be to be up-
These remarks, made on April 21st, receive
through the subsequent events, especially
the House of Lords, and those on the 12th of May.
in after years, always gratefully remembered this
friend of high rank (George II.?) called the una-
of both Houses, "*an enthusiastic rapture.*"
the Disciples' House.)

Parliamentary transactions were succeeded by
negociations of Count Zinzendorf, as the *Ordinarius*
several Bishops on ecclesiastical matters. The

Bishop of Lincoln arranged an interview between Zinzendorf and the Bishop of London, Sherlock, whose opinions had already undergone a great change. His demeanour was so noble and straightforward, that Zinzendorf felt quite ashamed of his Lutheran friends. Sherlock expressed himself fully convinced of the genuineness of our Episcopal constitution, but owned, that he could not understand our doctrine. This afforded an opportunity for setting it forth clearly, more especially the chief points of the "real *Deity of Christ*," and our, (to others often unintelligible), *fondness* of the doctrine of *our Saviour's true humanity*. Sherlock remarked, "On these subjects, there are expressions in many of your hymns, which, though not erroneous, yet presuppose a continual absence from all earthly things and enraptured love to Christ, which to me seem quite impossible." The conversation then turned upon true conversion, and the limits of predestination, and at last upon our ideas of the union of Christian Churches. The Bishop seemed to be pretty well satisfied with the different explanations. The operations of our Saviour in the Unity he compared to electricity. As regards the *plain preaching of the Cross*, he fully agreed with us, and expressed his approbation with the Synod of Berne. Several conversations were held of a similar nature previous to the end of July. Dr. Wilson and others observed that "the Documents, together with the Augsburg Confession, the Synod of Berne, our Church Litany and Statutes, were well deserving of every attention. Perhaps the Lord intended to assist the English Church through the instrumentality of her Moravian Episcopal sister. For Bishop Tillotson had set aside the Cross of Christ, and reduced all religion to a system of dry morality, so that the present generation had scarcely ever heard of the Gospel. Our steadfast adherence to the doctrine of the cross would, probably, break through all impediments and find imitation in the Church of England." The aged Bishop of Sodor and Man, father of Dr. Wilson, in writing, explained his sentiments in the spirit of Simeon in a very affectionate manner. After the death of Cochius (Sept. 23), he gladly accepted the appointment as President of the Reformed Tropus (Oct. 2). We have to mention one other subject in connection with the foregoing remarks. During the latter part of the year, the publication (in folio) of the *Acta Fratrum in Anglia*, a monument

England, was completed
the Count. They contain
Parliament, Reports of
propositions and proofs,
appendix, that is: the most
published in full (p. 59).
Matters (set forth according
Solve and Man*), containing
Liturgy, and Constitution
tions." 1st. (p. 59.) The
Confession of Augsburg, or rather
2nd. The Brethren's method of
that is, the Synod of Berne, 1532,
Church Litany. 4th. Synodal Resolu-
1739. 5th. Zinzendorf's "*Rationale* of
tenets" (p. 93), being an exposition of
nature, very important, yea, almost in-
ing a right judgment of the ideas and
days. 6th. (p. 121.) "Enchiridion
ad intelligendum idioma doctoribus
familiare," containing original passages
of the early fathers of the Church, and of
middle ages of the Church, extracted by
who was in attendance on the Count.
work was the justification of the language
a country in which Christian antiquity
Then follows, 7th. An Appendix, or
supplementary notices to the foregoing
except part 2, section 6, was in Eng-
J. Gambold.
was being printed, two events occurred,
be mentioned: the execution of the powers
diocesus, for granting certificates to
of the Brethren, and the presentation
Board of Trade, on Aug. the 14th, by
ly, the preparing of letters of thanks
in the name of the Church of the Brethren,
members of both Houses of Parlia-

* the Bishop of London, who visited Zinzendorf
himself in the same spirit as Dr. Wilson.
Zinzendorf, p. 1805.)

ment, the Speaker Onslow, and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. This was the conclusion of the transactions of Zinzendorf on this subject.

Internal course of the Congregations in England during the Negociations with Parliament.—1747-49.

During the first visit of Zinzendorf in the year 1746, Petrus Boehler had been appointed the chief man in England, where he had been in 1738 the most active promoter of the cause of the Brethren. Since then he had been active in Georgia and Pennsylvania, in conjunction with, and as successor to, his old friend from Jena, Br. Spangenberg. After the two Dobers had been in office for about two years, from 1744 to 1746, Boehler resumed his former activity in England, from the end of 1746 to 1752, under very different circumstances than during his first abode.

Making London the centre, he was to superintend the whole English work, as the two Dobers had done before him, and to keep up the connection with the Pilgrim Congregation. Several circumstances assisted to render this twofold object attainable. The Provincial Conferences of English Labourers, which Neisser had recommended as early as the year 1743, and which the Dobers had held from time to time in 1745 and 1746, Boehler convened again in 1747 in London. Zinzendorf visited England in 1746; the chief labourers attended the Synods in Germany during 1746 and 1747; by these means a constant intercourse was maintained. The Synod at Herrnhaag in 1747 was attended by Gambold and Hutton from London, Okely from Bedford, Ingham from Yorkshire, and J. Cennick. Many English affairs were carefully considered. The history of the English congregations since 1737, and the gradual separation of the Brethren's labours, from those of the Methodists, formed a principal object of Zinzendorf's attention in the English Committees. Perhaps the work of Hutton, in the archives of the Unity, of which we have already made mention, is a result of these deliberations. The personal acquaintance between German and English labourers, was the best preservative against the recurrence of disturbances like those of Viney, and the minds of all became more familiar with the principles of the congregation. The peculiar choir regulations, and the care of souls in their respective choirs were gradually introduced

into England. The translation of the Discourses of Count Zinzendorf, of the Church Litany, the Liturgies, the Common Prayers of the Brethren, and the Hymns of the Day, rendered the introduction of our Liturgical services and peculiar doctrines, as well as the phraseology of the German Brethren, practicable in England. The more intimate the acquaintance of the English Brethren became with Germany, the more the Methodistical element was banished from among them. The Brethren and Methodists moved *alongside* of each other. Each party had its own peculiar field of labour. What the Methodists had been to the colliers and miners around Bristol and in Cornwall, Cennick and his coadjutors became to the poor Protestant population in the north of Ireland, powerful preachers in cottages, and in the open fields, to thousands of hearers, many of whom were awakened to spiritual life by their testimony of Jesus. This created much sensation among the clergy, but was approved of by the Primate, who had been made acquainted with our cause by Cossart, and afterwards by Schlicht, who with his fellow labourer Pryselius, became minister in Dublin. Cennick and the Brethren who were sent out to assist him were anxiously concerned, that the large crowds of people collected from among the destitute and neglected population of that country (who heard the pure Gospel for the very first time in their lives), should at once be led into the peaceful walk of true children of God, instead of being misled by certain systems of conversion, as too often set forth in the field preachings of the Methodists. Cennick freely conversed with Zinzendorf on this subject during a visit to London in 1749, on which occasion he was ordained a Deacon of the Church of the Brethren. Societies were at this time formed in the north of Ireland, which subsequently became congregations of the Church of the Brethren. Gloonen was the centre, where every four weeks, all the Labourers met together for consultation; and, from whence they set out to their stations, where an abundance of labour and frequent privations, were their portion. This may clearly be seen from the diaries, as also from occasional references in the Diary of the Pilgrim's congregation. Many members of the congregations in after years, testified in their memoirs, that they date their first religious impressions to the preach-

ings of Cennick. From Ireland Cennick went to Wales, where he laboured in much blessing.

In February 1748, Toeltschig went to Ireland as Superintendent of the congregations, and societies of the Brethren in that country.

The first society, at Leominster, was begun in 1749. A religious society had existed there since 1739, edifying itself by reading the writings of the Puritans. Wesley visited them; and in 1749 Cennick went thither. Subsequently this society was formed into a congregation of the Brethren. Peter Boehler visited in the West of England and in Yorkshire in 1747, and Johannes de Watteville, on his journey to North America, visited the same localities from April to June 1748. This was his second residence in England, having accompanied Zinzendorf in 1746. He organized a congregation at Buttermere; and on June 2, 1748, consecrated the congregation-house near Pudsey, which was begun in 1746, on the side of the hill called Lamb's Hill, to which the name of Grace Hall was given. This was the beginning of the future congregation-settlement called Fulneck.

As Hutton was greatly instrumental in the settlement of the congregations in Yorkshire, and the document is in itself a precious historical record, the reader will be gratified to find in the note below a detailed account of proceedings which took place on occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone of Grace Hall at Lamb's Hill, now Fulneck, on the 10th of May, in the year 1746.*

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* *Lamb's Hill, Saturday, May the 10th*, 1746, when our Watch-word was, "He is the Saviour of his body," Ephes. v. 23.

"That so the church his bride,—Invincible abide,
And that she all her children in Him graft indeed!"

We had a very blessed day. At six in the afternoon the whole congregation came together. After having sung part of the hymn

"May Jesu's blood and righteousness
Fill and adorn our house and place," &c. till the 6th verse, and

"House and church-hall around
With free electing grace may sound," &c.

Br. Töltschig discoursed on the word for this day very blessedly; he spoke of the particular tender love of the Lamb towards his church; and of the oneness with her, through His blood and death; and how she is in Him and is His body; and how she is invincible in Him; and

Schlicht, as ordinary or pastor, and the other labourers, since March, had taken up their residence in the new congregation-house at Lamb's Hill. Its consecration as a meet-

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how her invincibleness consists in His victory; and how He is her Head and spouse and she His bride for whom He died, &c.

A letter was read from Lady Margaret,* in answer to Br. Töltschig's letter which he had written to her this morning, expressing therein her great satisfaction in regard to the building of our house and laying the foundation and corner-stone on this day, and wishing many blessings to those who are called to the fellowship with us. We sung:

"We wish to Jesu's flock, so us'd to smart," &c.

Then Br. Töltschig shewed, at some length, how this place had been designed by our Saviour as a place for the pilgrims, and afterwards it had been made out before the Lamb, that a congregation-house should be built there, &c. After having sung another verse, the whole of the congregation went to the spot where the foundation of the house was dug, the brethren on one side and the sisters on the other; and, at the corner, where the foundation-stone was to be laid, the brethren and sisters met. As we stood there we sung:

"Here, as we are, our hearts to Thee we give," &c.;—and then

"Oh! that above this chosen ground
The opening heavens may flame around," &c.

In singing the verse—"Most worthy Spirit, Thee we know,
And at Thy footstool lowly bow," &c.

Br. Töltschig, kneeling down upon the stone, and the whole congregation falling down likewise upon their knees, poured out his heart before the Lamb. A particular nearness and presence of the Lamb was felt, so that many tears were shed, and a solemn awe was upon all the strangers that were present.

In rising up from our knees a verse was sung, and then Br. Töltschig read the writing, standing upon the stone; Br. Hauptman and Br. Ockershaussen holding the parchment on each side. After having read it and put it in the box, Br. Hauptman fastened the box; and then, singing the verse, "How is my heart with rapture moved," under the words "We are his body's living members," Br. Töltschig put the box with the writings into the stone; and after having done so, and several strokes had been given by Br. Töltschig, with a great wooden hammer upon the stone, in the name of the Lamb and his church, we sung:

"O Lord preserve and bless," &c.

Then the whole congregation went in a very sweet manner from the spot; and, the morrow being Sunday, and likewise our congregational or prayer-day, they stayed with us all night. The manufactory cloth was very serviceable to the brethren and sisters for beds. After 10 o'clock the whole choir of the single brethren came from their house with singing; went to the place where the corner-stone had been laid; and having spent some time in singing before our houses, they returned home with great satisfaction.

* Mr. Ingham's lady.

ing-house took place during the visit of Boehler and Johannes de Watteville, on June 2nd, with prayer and singing, a love-feast and public preaching. On the 8th, thirty-two

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Br. Töltschig, who had gone to bed, but could not sleep, got up at 10 o'clock, went again upon the corner-stone, and spent there some time before the Lamb. He then sung these verses before the sisters' house:

"What shall I say now to my gracious Lord"—repeating the last four words three times: "Bright round the Lamb." While singing the second time "Bright round the Lamb," a star, shooting forth towards the place where we are building our house, affected him very much. He afterwards went to the single brethren's house, then to Sammy Hillase's, John Naylor's, James Naylor's, and sung several verses; and on his return he sung before our house. Then Br. Hauptman got up, and they both went again to the building-place and sung together. The single sisters now rose, went to the place with singing, and afterwards sung before our house. They were in number about forty. After this the whole congregation came together at 6 o'clock to the usual singing hour, which we have every Sunday morning. At 9 o'clock our quarter-hours began, and after 10 o'clock the prayer-day commenced. First, the copy of the writing which was placed in the foundation-stone was read again, because there were some not present when the stone was laid. Then the blessings we had enjoyed yesterday and all the night through, were spoken of; and some letters from several places in England were read. After having been together for about two hours, we separated for a little while, and then met again; when letters were read from the Brethren in London, viz. Br. Hutton, Br. Schlicht, &c.; and then some from Br. Leonhard and Br. Böhler in Germany, which had just been received. After this Sr. Heldt came into the congregation with our little Anna-Johanna. Br. Töltschig, having a great regard for Br. and Sr. Heldt, as father and mother of the children, and as elder and eldress of all the children's parents; then got up and wished Br. and Sr. Heldt many thousand blessings, with our little Anna-Johanna. He also laid his hand upon Anna-Johanna's head, and blessed her in the name of the Lamb and his congregation, and some verses out of the "Wounds-litany" were sung for her. After having spoken on the word of the day, we concluded with prayers; our hearts being melted and thankful for the Lamb's showers of blessings we had received, particularly within these two days.

Thursday, May 15th, the Watchword was, "Satan hath desired to have you."

"But the sweat of our dear Lamb this forbids—
O praise His Name!"

The whole congregation came together at 6 o'clock in the evening. The labourers, who work on our building; of whom there are now every day betwixt fifty and sixty in number, seeing so many brethren and sisters go into the meeting, wanted to attend also, out of curiosity; but, since it was so hot, and the room already filled, they were pretty well satisfied about it, and went afterwards to their lodgings. The first hymn we sung was, "Blest church, so venerable," &c. After this Br. Töltschig told the brethren and sisters how glad we were to see them all together again,

brethren and sisters were received into the congregation, and in the evening of the same day, the congregation partook of the Lord's supper. About a year after the visit of Jo-

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although we had not expected so many, because of their great distance from this place. Yet we were exceeding glad that almost every member of the congregation was present, shewing thereby their heartiness in the cause. Then the reason of our meeting together was mentioned. First, it was Count Zinzendorf's 47th birthday, that was one reason, of whom and of the office which he held for this year, Br. Töltschig spoke with great respect, and a melted heart; observing, at the same time, the faithfulness and tenderness he has and always had towards the Lamb and his brethren and sisters. For several reasons he was particularly glad it so happened that the Count was Vice-elder at the present time; for of his office, prayers, and blessings we shall share with the rest of our congregations; and how many of our troubles had ceased, so that we may now go on peaceably in building our house, which we durst not begin last year. The whole congregation sung for him

"Give him an inward listening ear,
Which may Thy voice distinctly hear;
Give hands to bless incessantly."

The second reason was, on account of our congregation's fifth birth-day; which was settled this day four years ago in London, and came afterwards altogether to Yorkshire; then, all the names of that congregation were read. Remembered every one with great satisfaction, except Viney's name, which was not mentioned at all. What the Lamb had done since that time was then declared, and how the blessing from Him upon His apostles, and so throughout by the Holy Ghost, had been conferred, from time to time, upon the Lamb's people and His servants. Having a little enlarged upon that point, we sung—

"We too believe, we also feel
We can with full assurance
To this truth set our seal."

Then some verses were read and sung, made by the brethren, on account of our general Vice-Elder's birth-day; and on account of our congregation birth-day. After this, the Watchword was read, and having spoken a few words upon it; and how the Lamb is and has been in our midst with His five holy wounds, we sung:

"Welcome among thy chosen flock," &c.;—then
"Thanks, praises, adoration," &c.;—then
"Think on each flock, where'er dispersed," &c.;—and
"Bless the venerable train
Of elders whom Thou dost ordain;
Give to our bishops watchful eyes," &c.;—and
"All the worthy offices," &c.;—and
"Bring each soul to know Thy death," &c.

After this the whole congregation went out to the building, and placed themselves upon the foundation-wall, which was already raised above the ground. The brethren stood on the right hand towards the east, and the

hannes, Zinzendorf made the same journey. Of his activity in congregational matters, we must here say a few words. Soon after his arrival in England he convened a Provincial

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sisters towards the west; in a row, quite round as far as the foundation was built up: and there we had a very blessed love-feast; Br. Töltschig serving each of the brethren with a little white bread, and a glass of wine, and Sr. Töltschig, in like manner serving the sisters. We concluded with that verse—

"How is my heart with rapture moved;"

and after this we sung—

"Bless our going out, O God!"

and so, in the very singing of this verse, the whole congregation went its way. But with such cheerful looks, that it refreshed one's heart very much. It was past 9 o'clock when they went home.

P.S.—Some strangers were present as spectators, and stood during the whole time we were upon the foundation-wall.

Writing inserted in a box, and put in the Foundation-stone of Grace Hall.

In the name of the Holy Three, one God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, through whose invisible Being, Eternal power, and Godhead, all things visible and invisible are made created and upholden; and especially, in the name of our blessed Redeemer and Reconciler, the Lamb of God; the Father's only-begotten Son, in whom He is well pleased; of whose sufferings and bloody atonement the Holy Ghost powerfully bears witness, and applies it effectually to the hearts of poor sinners; and in the name of Him who is appointed Lord and Heir of all things; whom all the angels of God worship and adore; and who is not ashamed to call us His brethren, and acknowledges us as the members of His body, His chosen congregation, the fulness of Him, who filleth all in all.

Yea, in the name of this Man of smart, (with so many wounds and stripes and blows, as our offered Lamb, in whom we have redemption through His blood, even the forgiveness of sins; and who is the whole foundation of our salvation and happiness in time and in eternity,)—do we lay the following lines, before the hearts and eyes of our posterity and offspring, as a short compendium and account of the work of our dear Lamb and Saviour, which He is carrying on among the congregations of the Brethren in these our happy days; as also of its rise and beginning, since the years 1722-23 and 24: at which time the Lamb already had raised up witnesses of His sufferings and death in Saxony; some of which, particularly one Christian David, who was a Moravian himself, went unto Moravia, and preached the Gospel there to a remnant of the ancient Protestant church of the Brethren, with great blessing and success; the Lamb having already prepared their hearts for the reception thereof; so that some of them soon after became exiles, and gladly forsook their estates and fortunes for our Saviour's sake and His gospel's, and for their liberty; and fled to Saxony, where the Count Lewis of Zinzendorf embraced and received them in the tenderest manner, and gave himself the greatest trouble with them, to train them up for the

Conference in London, from Jan. 16 to 20, 1749. Among other things the establishment of choir-houses of the brethren, and of sisters'-houses in the English congregations, was

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Lamb; and gave them a parcel of ground; where, afterwards, several houses were built by the Count (as our dearest brother and witness of the Lamb's sufferings and bloody atonement), and by the rest of the Brethren which arrived there; and which place was then called Herrnhuth, where the Gospel was then powerfully preached; and many souls resorted thither from many different parts in Saxony in the year 1727, in which year it pleased the Lord, upon a gracious day, after He had collected many souls together from Moravia, Saxony, and some other parts of Germany, to join them together all in one, and to pour out the Holy Ghost upon them; baptizing them into one body by one spirit: so, from that time they became a glorious, happy, and blessed congregation, in which many witnesses were trained up by the Lamb and for the Lamb and His work and Gospel: so that they afterwards were sent into many different parts of the world, as messengers of peace, to testify of the word of reconciliation. Soon after that, the Count was obliged by the government of Saxony to forsake his estate, which he willingly did; and became gladly a pilgrim with his whole family for Christ's and His gospel's sake—who took up their abode at Marienborn, near Frankfort-on-the-Maine, with his lady the Countess Erdmuth-Dorothy and his son Christian-Renatus, and his daughters Benigna and Anna and Elizabeth of Zinzendorf; where there is now a congregation of many hundred brethren and sisters, which are all pilgrims, and therefore called "the pilgrim congregation," and where also the bishops reside; from which place, all the congregations of the Brethren are supplied with labourers; and to which place also, all the pilgrims take their refuge. This is a congregation which may properly be called "a cloud of witnesses of the Lamb's blood and cross." There does likewise reside a great congregation near Marienborn, at a place called Herrnhaag, which is built by the Brethren. So that there are not only, now at this present time, many congregations in Germany, Holland, Livonia, and in other places in Europe; but in other places of the world, as among the Negroes, Indians, savages, Greenlanders and Hottentots; by which means, through the travelling of the pilgrims here and there among the Indians, &c. England was also made partaker of the blessings of the Gospel and the privileges of His congregation; which had at that time sent some of their brethren to Georgia, Carolina, Pennsylvania, and other places in America, to see if anything could be done for the poor Indians there: where they happened to meet with the Rev. Mr. Ingham, a minister of the Church of England (in Georgia), who also was gone there through a zeal which he had for the Lord and for the conversion of the Indians; and the acquaintance which he had got with the Brethren, gave him a clearer insight into the Gospel—so that he afterwards returned to England and preached the Gospel with much blessing, particularly in Yorkshire; whereby many souls were stirred up and brought into a concern for their salvation and happiness; and the knowledge and love which he had of and for the Brethren in general, induced him at Br. Töltschig's return from Georgia to London, to accompany him to Holland and Germany, to visit the congregations of the Brethren there: namely, Herrndyke in Holland; Marienborn and Herrnhaag in the

agreed upon; a very important step towards uniformity with the German congregations. It was truly a trying time, not only on account of the preparations for the Parliamentary

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county of Ysenburg Büdengen, and Herrnhuth in Lusatia, &c.; and at his return, he desired the congregation to let Br. Töltschig go to assist him in the work in Yorkshire. So, in a year after, Br. Töltschig accordingly followed him, which was in the year 1739; and, as the work increased, Br. Böhler, who had been in London, with Br. Wenceslaus Neisser in the year 1738; who both of them had preached the Gospel there successfully, came here to Yorkshire in the year 1741, and preached the Gospel with great blessing. Several other brethren also preaching the Gospel in London, till the year 1742, at which time, on the 10th of May, a congregation,* was solemnly settled in the Brethren's chapel in London by Br. Spangenberg, who was general deacon of all the congregations of the Brethren and Sr. Spangenberg, his wife, general deaconess. This congregation was designed for and afterwards went with Br. and Sr. Spangenberg to Yorkshire: the names, the offices, and members of which are as follows:—

Brethren.

J. Töltschig, Elder.
George Piesch, Vorestäer; but is now father of the children in Buttermere.
George Marshall, Diener.
John Ockershausen, Sick-waiter.
Charles Metcalfe, Admonitor; but now Vorstäer and father of the children's congregation in Lamb's Inn.
James Hutton, who is now Vorsteher of the congregation in London.
Ernest Ludolph Schlicht, who is now minister in the congregation in London.
Abraham Reineke, now minister of the Swedish congregation in Pennsylvania.
Lüberkühn, Minister.
George Bowes, Vorsteher of the married brethren in London.
Frederick Marshall, Elder of the single brethren in London.
Thomas Knight, Vorsteher of the single brethren in London.
David Heckenwälder, Labourer in Bedford.
William Horne, now labourer in Wiltshire.
William Holland, Gottlob Hauptman.
William Oxlee, with the children in Buttermere.
Stonehouse, Gussenbauer, Edmonds, Verding, Brown.
Hornburg, Neubart, Oestrum, Peter Knolton. The three last now in Pennsylvania.
William Delamotte, who also preached the Gospel with great blessings, and went soon after to the Lamb.

Sisters.

Rosina Piesch, Eldress, now mother of the children in Buttermere.
Anna Gussenbauer, Vice-eldress, but now in London.
Judith Töltschig, Sick-waiter.

* This was a congregation of the Pilgrim House in London, consisting of such as had entirely devoted themselves to the Lord's service as labourers, and was quite distinct from the London congregation as settled on the 30th October, 1742 (O. S.), in which Hutton and his wife also held office. See p. 88, ss.

negociations, but also in an especial manner to Zinzendorf and his more immediate friends, on account of the great tendency to silly extravagancies in the German congrega-

Mary Stonehouse, now Deaconess of the congregation in Germany.
Esther Schlicht, now Vice-Eldress of the congregation in London.
Louisa Hutton, now Vorsteher of the congregation in London.
Elizabeth Ockershausen.
Bibiana de Marschall, now gone to the Lamb.
Hannah Hauptman.
Elizabeth Metcalfe at Lamb's Inn.
Verding.
Regina Heckenwälder.
Brown.
Neubart.
Margaret Moore.
S. Greening, now in Pennsylvania, in America.

This congregation, together with Br. and Sr. Spangenberg, came to Yorkshire, and settled for some time at a place called New-house, near Halifax, where they went in and out preaching the Gospel in many towns and villages around, to many thousand souls, with great blessing and success; the Holy Ghost powerfully applying the word of reconciliation, so that it was in truth a particularly gracious time, in which the Lamb was painted to the life in His bloody form, and did appear indeed to many a heart with blessed effect; and thus, by the hearing of the Gospel and by seeing and feeling the love and fellowship, the life and spirit which was amongst this little congregation, such an impression was made as created an unconquerable desire in many hearts to be partakers of the same privileges; and to come into a nearer connexion with her, and to be admitted as members thereof; and their hearts being so particularly attached unto her, they made this their desire known, and repeated it from time to time, which favour afterwards was granted to some, and they were admitted and received as members of this congregation very solemnly and with great blessing, so that the work went on in a very sweet and blessed manner.

The Gospel being powerfully preached all around, the congregation increased from time to time till the year 1743, when Count Zinzendorf, a faithful and blessed witness and servant of the Lamb, arrived, with his daughter Benigna and his Anna Charitas, and several others, in London, from their pilgrimage among the heathen in America, and came to visit us here in Yorkshire. They continued some days with us, and visited the congregation and other places around; one of which was Bank-house near Pudsey, where the Count went upon the hill, and had such a sweet feeling and deep impression of the place, that he called it Lamb's Hill, though we at that time had no settlement there, but believed that it would come to pass; and soon after it was made known that this place was to be sold, at which time Mr. Ingham with his wife, Lady Margaret, had gone to Germany, in order to visit the congregation there. It was then resolved at the Synod, that Mr. Ingham with his wife, Lady Margaret, should buy this place for a settlement for the pilgrims. This they very gladly agreed to, and purchased it for that purpose in the year 1744; from which time it has always been impressed upon our hearts to build a congregation house, where the pilgrims might live, and fly in and out. This matter was then, according to our Saviour's directions, taken in hand, especially

tions, of which he was now fully convinced. To stop the progress of these he was prompted to address his second epistle to the congregations, dated Feb. 10, 1749, the first

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upon a day when Br. Wenceslaus Neisser, who was at that time general visitor of all the congregations, was with us here in Yorkshire, when it was fully concluded and agreed upon that such a house should be built. Then the pilgrims and labourers, who were the first that made a collection, immediately, with great satisfaction of their hearts, threw in their mites.

The second collection was made by the congregation and the brethren in Norway, who made a present of all the timber and boards. Also Mr. Ingham and Lady Margaret contributed thereunto, besides making a present of the land. And many other brethren and sisters, besides the congregation, were likewise very hearty in the matter. So that, on the 1st day of May, the congregation came together upon the place where the house is to be built, and consecrated it with many prayers and tears; which congregation the Lamb has joined together by one spirit,—consisting at present of the following members:

Married Brethren.

1. John Töltschig, Elder.
2. Gottlob Hauptman, vice-elder.
3. William Holland, vorsteher, but now upon his visit to the pilgrim's congregation in Marienborn.
4. John Ockershausen, Minister.
5. Charles Gat. Held, father of all the children in the congregation.
6. George Prusky, vorteher, and diener in Lightcliffe plan.
7. Samuel Hillas, diener.
8. John Brown, witness of the Gospel at Ockbrook, in Derbyshire.
9. Thomas Moor.
10. Peter Mortimer, now at Buttermere.
11. John Rhoods.
12. James Naylor.
13. Mathias Scorfield.
14. Thomas Rainforth.
15. William Scorfield.
16. William Mallinson.
17. John Render.
18. William Windley } Ockbrook.
19. Robert Eden } Ockbrook.
20. Joseph Harrimon } Ockbrook.
21. John How, Nottingham.
22. John Wood, Chinley.
23. John Hutchings.
24. Joseph Oates.
25. John Smith.
26. Thomas Finley.
27. John Waide, now at Bedford.
28. Richard Atley, now in Pennsylvania.

William Horne, labourer, now in Wiltshire.

Married Sisters.

1. Judith Töltschig, Eldress.
2. Hannah Hauptman, vorsteher.
3. Elizabeth Holland, eldress of the married sisters, is with her husband at Marienborn.
4. A. B. Held, mother of all the children in the congregation.
5. Elizabeth Ockershausen.
6. Mary Horn.
7. Jane Prusky.
8. Jane Brown.
9. Margaret Moore.
10. Hannah Mortimer.
11. Hannah Rhoods.

having been sent on January 12th, 1747. On June 22nd, Zinzendorf set out for Yorkshire, with his son Christian Renatus, who had arrived in London on the 23rd of May.

12. Martha Naylor.
13. Judith Scorfield.
14. Hannah Rainforth.
15. Mary Scorfield.
16. Mary Mallinson.
17. Ann Render.
18. Ann Windley, Ockbrook.
19. Martha Herd.
20. Sarah Robinson } Widows.
21. Susan Wright } Widows.
22. Alice Tennant } Widows.

Labourers' Children.

Boys.	*Girls.*
Ignatius Töltschig.	Mary Hauptman.
Isaac Holland.	Mary Ockershausen.
John Moore.	Mary Salome Prusky.
Ignatius Ingham.	Anna Johanna Held.

Single Brethren.

1. Samuel Utley, Elder of the single brethren.
2. James Charlesworth, vorsteher.
3. Thomas Hunt.
4. Samuel Isles.
5. Abraham Taylor.
6. John Longbotthem.
7. Samuel Sumerskill, now in Buttermere.
8. Samuel Hunt.
9. Robert Craven.
10. John Frankleton.
11. Abraham Hunt.
12. Jeremiah Smith.
13. John Hurst.
14. William Dixon.
15. James Stansfield.
16. Charles Clark.
17. Joseph Rouse.
18. William Balmforth.
19. Joseph Haley.
20. John Sumerskill, now gone to the Lamb.
21. Joseph Sumerskill.
22. John Nayler.
23. James Foss } now at Buttermere.
24. John Townend } now at Buttermere.
25. William Charlesworth.
26. Joseph Fernley.
27. John Taylor.
28. Timothy Starkey.
29. William Rayner } Ockbrook.
30. Samuel Burrows } Ockbrook.
31. Joshua Cook } Duckenfield.
32. John Brown } Duckenfield.
33. Michael Sherd, widower.
34. Richard Popplewell.
35. Benjamin Brockshaw.

Single Sisters.

1. Elizabeth Claggett, Eldress of the single sisters.
2. Jane Chambers, vorsteher.
3. Anna Birkby.
4. Martha Gray.
5. Susan Turner.
6. Sarah Ripley.
7. Elizabeth Gray.
8. Nancy Wilby.
9. Mary Stocks.
10. Hannah Basty.
11. Elizabeth Clark.
12. Hannah Iles.
13. Elizabeth Hemingway.
14. Hannah Wiring.
15. Anna Wiring.
16. Sarah Wiring.
17. Martha Haley.
18. Hannah Craven.
19. Mary Peat.
20. Susan Brook.
21. Susan Rouse.

They were accompanied by Anna Nitschmann, Anna Johanna Piesch, and others. After a short visit to Lady Ingham, at Aberford, who for a time had taken offence at

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22. Phœbe Rouse.
23. Esther Preston.
24. Rose Mortimer.
25. Mary Brighouse.
26. Phœbe Bateman.
27. Sarah Brook.
28. Phœbe Craven.
29. Elizabeth Holdsworth.
30. Mary Waide.
31. Susan Lyly.
32. Hannah Simpson.
33. Betty Clark.
34. Grace Clark.
35. Martha Sherd.
36. Mary Peell.
37. Mary Rhodes.

Great Girls.

38. Eunice Brook
39. Isabel Naylor
40. Sarah Stocks
41. Mary Fernley
42. Sarah Holdsworth
43. Rachel Brook
44. Martha Dickons
45. Hannah Hall.
46. Grace Brook.
47. Sally Hubanck.

These are the names of the brethren and sisters which are received as members of the congregation, besides several hundred souls formed in societies like little congregations, and are taken care of according to their state and circumstances; but yet are not admitted and received as members of the congregation, but have entirely given themselves over unto the care of the Brethren. And that souls may yet be better cared for, it is that we, in the name of the Holy Blessed Trinity and in the name of our bleeding Lamb and Head, for His congregations and pilgrims, and also for the good of His work and kingdom in general, that we do build this house, which house is to be called the Congregation House. May the dear Lamb of God adorn and fill it with love and unity, with thousands of Lamb's blood-besprinkled hearts; and may every one that goes in and out there feed and hide in the Lamb's blood and wounds; yea, may He be and abide the whole congregation's only Shepherd, High Priest, and Saviour. May He preserve her teachers and messengers in purity of doctrine and holiness of life. May He preserve amongst her the word of His patience and sufferings until the end of days, and may He manifest unto His flock His wounds and merits by His Spirit daily. May He keep us in love and unity with all His congregations and in everlasting fellowship with the Church triumphant. May He bless our Sovereign Lord King George the Second, under whose mild government we have and do enjoy many privileges and liberties in preaching the Gospel. May the blessed Lamb of God be gracious to us all, and to all our posterity and offspring, and His blessing on us pour, and may His countenance most dear, shine on us evermore, that we may know what is His will, what glorifies His name, and that all people soon may feel salvation in the Lamb, and be brought home to Him. Amen! Amen! Amen!

Done at Lamb's Hill, on the 10th day of May, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1746; being the nineteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King George the Second, whom God preserve.

the congregation, but was soon afterwards reconciled, Zinzendorf and his company arrived at Lamb's Hill on June 30th, and remained there for about four weeks. He was much pleased with the beautiful house, round which a congregation-settlement was beginning to be established, numerous connections having been formed in the neighbourhood. Every Sunday, preachings were held in seven licensed places of worship, and band-meetings were kept in eleven places. The number of those who usually attended the various preachings was about 3000. The congregation at Lamb's Hill consisted of 170 members. They welcomed their visitors at a general congregation love-feast on July 11th, after which choir love-feasts were held in the different choir-houses, on which occasions the table was spread with cloths of the choir colour, which had been presented by the brethren, employed in the cloth manufactory begun by Charlesworth, in April 1745. It is evident from this fact, and from the manner of ornamenting the walls of the chapel with pictures, representing scenes of our Saviour's life, that the spirit then prevailing in the German congregations, was diffusing itself throughout the English. Zinzendorf ventured here, for the first time, to deliver an address in English, which greatly rejoiced the brethren. He was much pleased with the congregations in Yorkshire. About this time the burial ground was consecrated, with a prayer by Br. Schlicht, on occasion of the first interment, after the manner of the Established Church. The laying of the foundation stone of the choir-house of the single brethren by Christian Renatus, took place on July 26th, that of the sisters'-house, by Anna Nitschmann; this was on the eastern side of the chapel, while the single brethren's house was built on the western. All these buildings were erected in rather a grand style, on the side of a hill, called *Fall-neck* by the common people, which probably gave rise to the future appellation *Fulneck*, more especially in remembrance of the ancient town and castle in the native country of the Moravians. But the English Fulneck was built on the brow of the hill; not, as Fulnek in Moravia, in the valley.* The private houses were of smaller dimensions.

* It was known, at the time of the purchase in 1744, as the Falneck or Fallneck estate; perhaps the Fal'n-ake or Fallen-oak estate. Its present name was not permanently applied to it until 1763.

Ingham at that time was the proprietor of the soil; the inhabitants were plain Yorkshire peasants. By means of the Choir-Houses and *Boarding Schools*, the English settlements, like those in Germany, rose in respectability in their external and social character. This was specially the case with Fulneck, after the establishment of the Girls' School in October 1749, and the Boys' School, in 1753. Here, preparatory steps were at once taken for these objects, in the laying out of the plan for building, which had not been the case in the more recently established German congregations. In the erection of new buildings, as in other things, the spirit seemed to soar higher *then* than at the first. Of this, the Diary of the Pilgrims' congregation, from 1747 to 1749, bears ample testimony. Into whatever part of the world we follow the Brethren in their undertakings, the tenor of all the Reports from the year 1740, is of a youthful, cheerful nature.

The visitors returned from Yorkshire as they had gone, on horseback, in carriages, and on foot. From August 28th to September 26th, they undertook a second journey into the West of England, to Marystone, and other places, returning to London by way of Bedford, where choir-houses were in course of erection. Then a Synodal Conference was held, which was numerously attended by German labourers; Leonhard Dober having come from Livonia. England, and especially London, began to be the centre of the whole *Unitas fratrum*, which it continued to be until about the year 1755. This was not without influence upon the spirit and external character of the Unity. The characteristic name of *Unitas fratrum*, which had been adopted in England, obtained still greater importance, when, in the same year in which the Church of the Brethren had been acknowledged in Great Britain, a decree was issued by the Saxon Government (dated September 20th, 1749,) preparatively granting Church liberty to the Brethren. The news of this event arrived in London previous to the close of the above-named conference.

Among other events of interest to the congregation in Bloomsbury House, we may mention the return of the ship *Irene* from America, to the Thames, on November the 19th. She brought the brethren Johannes and Joseph (that is, Spangenberg) with their wives, who took up their quarters

with the brethren and sisters, at least for a short time: for after a continuation of the Synodal conference in December, both proceeded to Germany, in February, 1750. The Diary contains many accounts of festivities among the inmates of Bloomsbury House, similar to those in Wetteravia; all was done in a very cheerful and munificent manner. Spangenberg mentions in Zinzendorf's life, (p. 1804), that every thing was carried on upon a higher scale, both in diet and clothing, with a view to the benevolent but impracticable design of abolishing the distinction between the different stations in life. This, however, only tended to make persons of low degree exalt themselves above their station in society, which, in more respects than one, was really injurious. This result, with many other things in Germany, both in doctrine and in practice, caused him much sorrow; and was followed by a season of trial, which is known in the Brethren's Church, under the name of "*the great sifting*,"—(or *the time of sifting*)—especially from 1745 to 1749; the effects of which were perceptible in England also. It may suffice to quote here the following sentiments from the Yorkshire diary, 1747-49. "We say, in general, that the *light and trifling spirit*, which had crept into almost all the congregations, both in doctrine and practice, was also perceived here, and this congregation joins the rest in thanksgiving to the Head of the Church of the Brethren, Who caused a deep shame and sincere contrition to take place in the hearts of the true brethren and sisters."

On Tuesday the 4th of April, Hutton and his wife, who had written from Paris on the 16th of January, arrived in England cheerful and well. What share he took in the subject of the bill in Parliament which, as we have seen, passed the Commons on the 18th of April, the Lords on the 12th of May, (the day according to Count Zinzendorf, of the restitution of the Church of the Brethren,) and received the Royal assent on the 6th of June, does not appear; but, entering the Pilgrim congregation of Count Zinzendorf then in London, he resumed his office, as we find from his reading to the congregation the Pilgrim Diaries.

On the 29th of May, he introduced one Thomas Bennett, whom he had been the means of awakening to a consideration of his state before God. Bennett was born, November 21st, 1700, at Slough, Bucks. He was a staymaker by trade, and

belonged to the Church of England; he does not appear to have proceeded further in his union with the Brethren.

On the 11th of June, the Ordinary (Count Zinzendorf) having finished much important business, and spoken with Heckenwelder, and others about their plans, went from Bloomsbury on his journey to Yorkshire, accompanied by Christel, Anna Nitschmann, Anna-Joanna, and Agnes von Zinzendorf; Hutton and his wife, Br. Franke, and several others followed.

In this month the Count addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, giving him a catalogue of the Bishops, &c. of the Church of the Brethren, and in a postscript he makes some animadversions on the conduct of the Bishop of London. This document was in Latin; the translation is as follows:

"We Lewis, by Divine Providence, Bishop, Liturgus,* and Ordinary of the Churches known by the name of the Brethren; and, under the auspices of the same, Advocate during life, with full power over the hierarchy of the Slavonic Unity; Custos rotulorum (*keeper of the records*), and Prolocutor (*speaker* or *chairman*) both of the general Synod and of the Tropus of instruction; by these presents declare that the following persons now living were, after the manner of the ancients, duly consecrated Prelates or Bishops of the aforesaid Churches united in the Augsburg Confession.

"A. In the order of Slavonic succession:

"*David Nitschmann*, a Moravian, consecrated at Berlin in the month of March, 1735.

"*Lewis Zinzendorf*, an Austrian, consecrated at Berlin on the 20th of May, 1737.

"*John Nitschmann*, a Moravian, consecrated at Herrnhaag, near Frankfort on the Maine, at an extraordinary Synod in the month of July 1741, in the face of the Church, in presence of the most serene Duke of Wirtemburg now reigning at Oels, in Silesia; of the illustrious Count Yssenburg Büdingen, as supreme lord of the domain; and of the excellent Lord of Heynitz, Senator in the supreme tribunal of the Germanic empire which is held at Wetzlaria.

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* This term is used in the Greek Church only; and signifies one who superintends the liturgical services. Its origin; a service that every free Athenian, possessed of three talents and upwards, rendered to the state in his turn, or when chosen by the members of his tribe.

"*Frederick*, senior Lord Baron of *Watteville*, consecrated in the chapel of the citadel of Burau in Silesia, in the month of September, 1743, who afterwards presided over the Reformed tropus; and, since the year 1745, holds the presidency of the political senate.

"*John*, Lord Baron of *Watteville*, now director of the Evangelical or Lutheran tropus, A. C. Dean of the theological seminary, primary reader of the Word of Christ the Lord at Hypomone, preacher in the church of the citadel of Marienborn, pastor of the church at Herrnhaag, ordinary visitor of the Churches of the Unity; and during seven years, rural bishop of the single brethren, that is, those not yet admitted to the service of the married, was consecrated at Herrnhaag in a general Synod in the month of June, 1747.

"*Leonhard Dober*, a Bohemian, was likewise consecrated in the same Synod.

"RURAL BISHOPS.

"*Augustus Theophilus Spangenberg*, formerly assistant in the theological faculty at Halle, vicar in British America, administrator of the tropus for the Church of the Brethren recovered from the sects of Arius and Socinus, was consecrated at Marienburg in the month of June, 1744.

"*David Nitschmann*, syndic of the Unity of the Brethren.

"*Wencelaus Neisser*, Oeconomus generalis (general manager, warden) of the Churches; and

"*M. Frederic Christopher Steinhofer* of Tubingen were consecrated in a Synod held at Sestum (Zeist) near Utrecht, in the month of May, 1746.

"*Frederick Cammerhoff*, formerly collegiate of the S. R. I. (Sacred Roman Empire) abbot of Bergen, now ordinary pastor of the churches in Pennsylvania, and visitor of the churches which have been gathered together for Christ among the Indians, was consecrated in the month of August, 1746.

"*Albert Anton Vierord* (Vieroth) formerly ecclesiastical counsellor at Augusta Russorum (Petersburgh), pastor of the metropolitan church of the duchy of Esthonia, and associate of the Society in England for the promotion of Christian Knowledge, was consecrated in the month of June, 1747.

"*Frederick Martin*, a proselyte, first apostle of the Moors (negroes) who inhabit the Antilles that belong to the state of Denmark (St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix); and,

"*Peter Böhler*, pastor of the Church of the Brethren in London, and Vicar throughout Great Britain and Ireland, were consecrated in the month of January, 1748.

"B. Administrators of tropuses, in accordance with the manner of the presbytery so designated.

"I. In the Calvinian tropus, called the German Reformed.

"*Christian John Cochius*, ecclesiastical Counsellor to the most serene King of Prussia, both in the consistory and in the care of the academies, Dean of the general assembly of the Churches, Primary of the theological hall and of the Brandenburg district, called to the presidency of the Reformed in the Synod of the Brethren in the month of April, 1746, confirmed in the month of September of the same year, installed in the provincial Synod of Silesia, held at Krauscha in the month of June, 1748. Appointed administrator in the year 1748.

"*David Bruinings*, rector of the German Church at Amsterdam, and assessor of the city ecclesiastical council, called in the month of June, 1749.

"II. For the guidance and protection of the Lutheran party, or in accordance with the language of the empire,—the Evangelics.

"*John Gothofred Herman*, Saxon electorial D. counsellor of theology, consultor of the most serene directory among the evangelics; Assessor of the supreme consistory; Visitor of the academies; Orator and antecessor of the theologians of Saxony, called to be administrator in the month of December, 1748.

"*Henry Gerner*, pastor of Neusalz, appertaining to the metropolitan church of Copenhagen, of which he was minister, superintendent of the Killebunden diocese, nay of the whole island of Cimbrica (Jutland) proto-notary or principal Registar of the Danish Synod, cited in the spring of 1747, released by the King in the month of June in the same year; and introduced in the same year, day, and place as the reverend Lord Cochius.

"*Candidate for the Episcopate:—Matthew Stach*, a Moravian, evangelist among the rude inhabitants of Davis' Strait, (Greenland.)

"The other primary ministers are in the following places:

"In London, John Gambold, consecrated at Oxford, by the Most Reverend Jo. Potter.

"In the county of Bedford, Francis Okely.

"In the county of Wilts, at present there is a vacancy.

"In the county of York, Lewis Ernest Schlicht.

"In Ireland, John Adam Schmidt.

(L. S.)

"P. S.—The Bishop of London* has acted wrongfully and most injudiciously for the interest of his own Church; inasmuch as he has not only declined intercourse with the Brethren, but likewise communicated a private decision to a certain deacon of our Church. He has sinned against the first principles of uprightness, equity, and prudence; and, by doing so, has done dishonour to the ecclesiastical order. It is not your part to threaten and to act insolently, but cautiously; for your interest, and not ours, is concerned.

"Lewis, Bishop, with his own hand.

"To his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth."

On the 8th of July, James Hutton returned from Darnford, with Srs. Stonehouse and Benzein, where they appear to have been from the month of April; and on the 21st, about noon, the Count and his party returned to London. During their visit to Yorkshire, "the first week they spent in stillness; then there were love-feasts for all the choirs apart; after that, a general Lord's supper of two hundred communicants, at which the dear Ordinary officiated, for the first time that he had done so in an English congregation; who also just before he came away held a long discourse in English, with such command of language, as exceeded all preceding expectations, but now raises some. It was mentioned that at the communion, all the sisters had on the cap, usual in the congregations. This was the first time that among us, a whole assembly had been so attired, but which soon encouraged a second, for at this present solemn meeting, the sisters in London did the same; the Lamb letting us so feel his protection and presence that we neither need nor can remember the large town we live in, but only our liturgy.

* Dr. Sherlock.

There were also the foundation-stones laid in Yorkshire for two choir-houses: one for the single brethren, the other for the single sisters; and lastly, a burying-ground was consecrated, by laying therein the remains of a single sister, newly deceased."

About noon of Thursday, the 17th of August, the Ordinary; Christel;* the 'mother;' Anna Joanna, Hutton, Marshall, &c., set out for Wiltshire. They returned, after visiting Bedford, on the 26th, with which latter quiet little congregation the Count was much pleased. There he had kept two services in English. The number of members of the several congregations, and the names of those who served them, were read, and regulations were made for their enrolment in a register of the members.

On Friday, the 1st of September, a synodal meeting was held, in which the reprinting of the past congregation writings was discoursed of, which might be available to impartial inquirers into the principles and plan of the Brethren, and so prove a blessing to them. It was also considered what labourers should be in the several English places. In the afternoon, at another session, was shewn chiefly, the desirableness of being subject to the magistrate in civil cases; and, if complaints of that nature should arise, of referring them soon and frankly to his decision.†

On Tuesday, the 19th of September, Hutton was ordained a deacon of the Church of the Brethren. The particulars of the whole services on this occasion are thus recorded: "The brethren and sisters belonging to the 'hourly intercession' (stunden-gebet) being seated below in the chapel and the English Lord's supper brethren and sisters in the gallery, there was first sung and prayed the Litany of the Brethren, in English, by the Ordinary, the other labourers and congregation making the responses; and at the clause thereto relating, the following brethren and sisters received the right hand of fellowship from the labourers, as acoluths, viz.: Brn. Verbeck; Ludwig Frederick Böhler; Robert Syms; Joseph Hodges; Nicholas Watteville: Buntebart;‡ Haberland; Wollin; Smith; George Moore; Samuel Par-

* *i.e.* Christian Renatus, the Count's son.
† This refers to the interference of the mobs.
‡ Afterwards a labourer in Livonia.

minter; Carrie. Srs. Verbeck; Böhler; Syms; Hodges; Holland; Jane Chambers; Howorth; Newman; Hertzern; Hantzin; Baumgarten; Vogelsouzin. In the second meeting, the Ordinary held a discourse as a conclusion to the Synod; wherein he observed, among other things, that the Church of the Brethren had been, through our Saviour's special Providence, a peculiar independent flock, both formerly and still (now); and should likewise remain so, and maintain her rights, though no rights are the main point for our hearts, but the enamoured cleaving to the Lamb. He also spoke of the decorum necessary in ecclesiastical offices and functions, even in respect of the dress, &c.; of the great and blessed consideration, that our Saviour is Elder and Head of our religion (Whom, on that account, we may well call our Lord and Master), as well as (what otherwise is apt to touch our hearts) our Bridegroom, &c. In the third and last meeting, he took notice that our congregation was now openly in the eye of the world acknowledged to be a Church (and in an inward view also, he would not withhold that title), and the first remarkable church act, after this event, should be the ordaining or consecrating of two ordinaries or priests, to whom all present should wish that grace and blessing in their function, which might be to their own happiness and to the happiness of those committed to their charge. Then the two candidates, Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, and Jonas Paulus Weiss, being placed; their consecrators, Leonhard Dober, Peter Böhler, John Töltschig, John and Henry Nitschmann, as Bishop, Co-episcopus, and Presbyters, conferred on them the abovesaid order by imposition of hands, with a sweet and awful stirring of that same breath, wherewith our Lord once replenished and consecrated his disciples.

"After a short pause, the Ordinary began singing that hymn:

'Most worthy Spirit, Guide of Jesus' train,' &c.

during which the Brn. Leonhard and Christel and Böhler, on the one side, and Mother Anna and Anna Joanna, on the other, rose up and conferred the order of Deacon and Deaconess on the following candidates: Brn. Gross, James Hutton, John Cennick, Beé, Buntebart, Meyer, Seydel, Thomas Knight, Lemké, Gneuss; Srs. Maria Theresa Stonehouse, Gross, Benzein, Hauptman, Mary Gambold, Cossart, Grubner, Baumgarten, Gneuss.

"Then followed the love-feast, wherein we took leave of several of the company, who set out the same night for Germany, viz.: Brn. Weiss, Abraham Gersdorff, from Trebus,* young Count Maximilian, J. Nitschmann, Br. Töltschig and his wife, Molther, and Gneuss."

At this Synod, the subject of an English tropus was considered, in relation to which Br. Gambold addressed a letter to Count Zinzendorf, pointing out the manner in which it ought to be effected, the object being to prevent defection from the Church of England;† and at this synod, also, the Most Rev. Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, was chosen for life into the order of Antecessors of the General Synod of the Church of the Brethren, in place of the Very Rev. Christian John Cochius, Chief Theologian and Royal Counseller of Prussia, lately deceased; with full liberty, in case of urgent need, to employ as his substitute, the Rev. Thomas Wilson, Royal Almoner, Doctor of Theology, and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Westminster. The official documents relating to this appointment are given in the notes below.‡ The Bishop's acknowledgment, signifying his willingness to accept the vocation to be President of the English tropus, did not reach the Count until the 8th of December. In his letter the Bishop also desired to have the papers sent him to sign, though otherwise all reading and writing were laborious to him on account of his great age.§

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* About 30 miles from Herrnhut.

† *Br. John Gambold's letter to Count Zinzendorf for the Synod at London, Sept.* 1749.

Most dear and paternal heart,

A certain reflection has this day arisen in my mind, which, such as it is, I wish to communicate to you. I perceive that you and your faithful colleagues are earnestly labouring to bring it about, that those who flee from the fold of the Anglican religion, may not be completely cut off from the said religion; but still continue in ecclesiastical bond with it; and, therefore, you purpose to constitute an Anglican tropus among the Brethren —an object most dear to us, and with the greatest propriety recommended; inasmuch as it is beginning, as I imagine, to be thought desirable by the clergy of this country also. I greatly fear, however, that there are, in their hierarchy, certain deficiencies which may occasion some obstruction to the consent of the majority; moreover, other considerations may oppose the arrangement, that one prelate, the others being unconsulted (except, perhaps, synodically), should be able to concede this privilege.

Two special means or symbols of union are contained, as I understand, under the word tropus: *one requisite* is, that some prelate of the Anglican

There are various notices at the end of the year of Hutton reading the home and foreign correspondence from brethren employed in the Lord's service. On one occasion, Nov. 26,

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Church should be invested with the office of examining into such matters as the Brethren agitate, and on the part of his Church and with the seal of the same, assisting at their ordinations; the *other requisite* is, that the Liturgy or Prayers of the Anglican Church should be admitted in our assembly. The *former*, involves the appointment of prudent political men; the *latter*, provides for the security of religious, pious persons against sustaining any injury from us, tending, moreover, to the abatement of disaffection as respects both communities, and to their mutual benefit and salvation. I therefore earnestly desire the accomplishment of the design.

What evil, in the mean time, could ensue if the whole Book of Prayers of the Anglican Church should occasionally be used in public: not, at this time, as prayers, but as text; and an explanation occasionally given as to the passages which, with us, may seem to require some explanation? Certain exceedingly grand portions of sacred Scripture, which are intermingled with these, may, in this service, be omitted; as being beyond all dispute; and so, in six or eight prelections or short discourses, the whole may be finished. The service may with propriety be preceded by some such introduction as the following:—

"Inasmuch as we and some other nurslings of the Anglican Church, who have embraced the spiritual aid of the Moravian Brethren, yet certainly with no design, by so doing, of departing from our own proper religion; being, however, in such situation, it manifestly follows that we constitute an assembly which is extraordinary and extra-parochial, being *eclectically* made up out of various parishes; and that we, moreover, have a sacred place of meeting, which certainly is not a parish church; consequently many will immediately conclude that we are now of a different mind, and that we have altogether forsaken the Anglican Church. Such, however, would be an erroneous opinion.

"That we constitute such a society or assembly as we have mentioned, arises from our desire to exercise that salutary and vigorous discipline which the Anglican Church pants for; but, by reason of its exceeding magnitude, cannot maintain; that we have a place in which we assemble, and a pulpit, arises from our delight in hearing the principal doctrine respecting the death and grace of our Redeemer more clearly and more fully enunciated there, than can, in these times, be expected elsewhere; notwithstanding the same doctrine is maintained in the primary article of the Anglican Church.

"There is, therefore, no reason why we should be offended with the Church of our fatherland; and let it not so tenaciously disallow to us those superadded aids for our benefit and edification which we now enjoy, and nothing will be more agreeable to us, than (provided these be preserved with a good conscience) henceforward still to preserve, with it, the bond of unity. For we are able to do so both openly and sincerely. In testimony of this, we are prepared to adopt, in our assemblies, the Liturgy or Common Prayers of the Anglican Church.

"But, as we are informed, that the use of the Anglican Liturgy, beyond

he preached in the morning, "and poured out his heart with great emotion and tenderness, and therefore in few words, on the undeserved advancement of poor sinful man to be the darling and bride of his Creator and Redeemer."

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the ordinary churches, will either be unlawful; or, at least, exceedingly offensive; and as a kind of secret disaffection, rather than amity, might arise therefrom with those whom, from the most sincere respect, we would not injure even in the least; we, therefore, must defer the adoption of this Liturgy in our *proseucha* or house of prayer, until full liberty of using it be granted to us by those who have the authority.

"In the meantime, however, in order to its being made manifest that what we have asserted is true, that union with the Church of our fatherland is possible; since no violence is thereby done to our conscience (provided there be left to us discipline and evangelization, neither the one nor the other of which being opposed to the Anglican Church, nay, perhaps, more closely allied to it than some imagine), let us proceed to examine in due order the whole Liturgy of the Anglican Church.

"As to what others, who, diverging into sects, have departed from the Anglican fold, may have to object to this Liturgy, I shall take no notice: for they and we are neither affected nor aggrieved by the same things. But throughout this examination, I shall make it my special care to omit nothing which can, in accordance with our light and principles, or indeed ever can, occasion any obstacle to any one of us. To such passages, I shall assign that sense and exposition which I judge to have been, and to be, the true meaning; and, unless I am deceived, such will be found neither grievous nor unreasonable to the mind which is imbued with the clearer knowledge and love of the Saviour."

I have run out further than is suitable for an introduction; but, as if carefully reviewing the whole matter in question, I have been imagining what effect would result from this procedure: the same that you also desire through the means of a tropus, only more feebly and less constant. But why, in any degree, less constant? Because it is sufficiently constant, considering the novelty of the measure. Such a declaration would sink into the memory, and would be preserved by all as a memorial of the true mind and will of the Brethren.

Your most respectful son, and deserving to be excused,
though some should prate beyond their measure,
JOHN GAMBOLD.

To Papa, *i.e.* Count Zinzendorf.

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‡ *Appointment of Dr. Wilson as antecessor of the General Synod.*

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, of Jesus Christ, the omnipotent God of our salvation, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be sovereignty and power and glory for ages of ages. Amen!

In the General Synod of the Brethren of the Anatolic (*oriental*) Unity, wherever dispersed, held in the autumn of the 1749th year since the recovery of salvation: The Synod having been addressed by the Lord Advo-

In the morning conference at Bloomsbury, of the 4th of December, the question was considered, whether any answer should be given to the controversial writings against the

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cate, acting as *pro tempore* Ordinary of the Churches; the same being likewise *entrusted* with the suffrage of John Nitschmann, the Most Reverend Bishop of the Occidental Churches, who had not yet returned from British America: the Very Reverend Leonhard Dober, Bishop of the Oriental Churches, extending to the limits of the Greater Asia, acting as Moderator of the present Synod; and likewise the Most Noble Abraham Gersdorff, *pro tempore* Director of the Political Senate of our Churches, having been consulted, and the Church having approved: It was decreed:

That the Most Reverend Thomas Wilson, brother in Christ and Bishop of Sodor and Man, be chosen into the order and number of the Antecessors of the General Synod; and indeed into the place and office of the Very Reverend Christian John Cochius, Chief Theologian and Royal Counsellor of Prussia, *pro tempore* Senior of the Antecessors of the General Synod of the Brethren, and lately deceased.

It was further decreed, that the aforesaid Most Reverend Prelate ought to be offered the administration of the Reformed tropus in our hierarchy for life, with full liberty, in case of *emergency*, to employ as his substitute, the Reverend Thomas Wilson, Royal Almoner, Doctor of Theology, and Prebendary of St. Peter's, Westminster.

In testimony of these resolutions, in obedience to a commission from the Chancellor, acting as Master of the Rolls, who within these few days has gone to Germany on most important business, these documents, attested by the episcopal seal, have been subscribed by

HENRY COSSART, and
JOHN FR. FRANKE, *Secretary*.

Dr. Wilson's letter, accepting the Synodal appointment.

Thomas, Bishop of Sodor and Man, wisheth all health to the Most Illustrious and Reverend Lord Nicholas Lewis, Advocate with full power of the Constitution of the Unity of the Brethren, and *pro tempore* Ordinary of the Churches; to the Most Reverend and Most Noble Lord John, Bishop of the Occidental Churches; and likewise to the Very Reverend Lord Leonhard, Bishop of the Oriental Churches, extending to the limits of Greater Asia; likewise to the Most Noble Lord Abraham de Gersdorff, *pro tempore* Director of the Political Senate; likewise to the other very reverend bishops, political seniors, rural bishops, pastors, and deacons;—brethren in Christ Jesus and dearly beloved, constituting the General Synod of the Anatolic Church, denominated the Unity of the Brethren.

I have received the decree of your most reverend Synod, held at London, in the autumn of the year 1749 in which I find, unqualified though I be, that I am chosen into the number and order of the Antecessors of the General Synod, and indeed into the place and office of the Most Reverend John Cochius, Chief Theologian and Royal Counsellor, and senior of the General Synod of the Brethren, lately deceased. How much joy I

Brethren, inasmuch as their authors, possessing something of religion and Christian theology, were only put forward by naturalists and infidels, as their tools: and it was concluded

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have received from being thus honourably called to have a part in such a work, may easily be conceived from the fact, that now for forty years and more I have been a member of the Society which labours to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. One thing only occasions me anxiety,—whether I can hope to fulfil satisfactorily and profitably, in accordance with your desire, the proffered duty; this my solicitude I have more explicitly declared in a letter adressed to your archdeacon, my beloved brother, the Very Reverend Henry Cossart.

I would have soon testified to you by letter that I had embraced the office, and in truth most willingly, had I not been prevented by protracted illness and a rather severe attack of gout in the hand. Having now a little recovered from my illness, I cannot refrain from declaring my gratitude towards the very reverend Synod, in the most respectful manner for the honour they have conferred upon me, by adopting me, feeble though I be, as an assistant in such a labour, which seems likely to issue in an ample spiritual harvest, especially among the American nations. This only I am able to promise; that whereas, by reason of infirmities of increasing age and distance of place, my efforts can be but of little avail, I will the more earnestly solicit in prayer from the Lord to favour your attempts for the propagation of the Gospel. Since it is determined by your decree, that I am called to the office, relying upon the saying of the Apostle, 2 Corinthians viii. 12, I will endeavour to the best of my power, to render myself useful to your Church (which, because of its Apostolic doctrine, its genuine faith and discipline, its ancient φιλαδελφιαν, *brotherly love*, and at the same time universal charity, I esteem and greatly admire) in promoting the work of the Lord, which He has committed to you, namely, to announce even to the most remote nations, the tidings of His passion,—the only source of unfading joy.

Finally, I pray the Blessed Redeemer, God hallowed above all for ever, that He Himself, who devised and perfected so great salvation, would unceasingly aid you, supply you with increases from His fulness; and grant you to bear fruit until he come. Farewell, Brethren, dearly beloved in the bowels of Jesus Christ. Support, in your turn, by your prayers, the brother whom you have deemed not unworthy of estimation and love among you, that the great Shepherd of the flock may grant to me grace and strength to accomplish, felicitously, the ministry of the Church, and to preserve the faith until the hour of my departure, which is rapidly approaching.

(L. S.) THOMAS, Bishop of Sodor and Man,
with my own hand.

Sent, on the 4th day of February, 1750,
from the Episcopal Mansion,
Bishop's Court,
Isle of Man.

that if, by a general and full explanation, a nexus (binding union) could be maintained with such as among all parties remained in the old path, and retained a respect for the doctrine of the Gospel, so as to be serviceable to them, it would be worth the while.

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§ The letter which accompanied the above instrument was as follows:—

My kind and worthy Friend,

The darkness of the day, the weakness of my eyes, and the hurry I am in (the vessel being to sail), must be my apology for this short incorrect letter.

By this vessel I send you my answer on the diploma, finished as well as I could possibly do; but if anything be wanting, and the instrument be returned, I will be at all the charge of setting it right. The great honour the most reverend Synod has done me will make any trouble I shall have more easy to me; and my daily prayers are for God's gracious blessing upon this most glorious undertaking, that it may be more and more prosperous. I am not a stranger altogether to what you mention, that this affair has been spoken against; but if Christ be preached, and many souls be taken out of the dominion of Satan, I shall rejoice and will rejoice.

I shall expect to know how I shall empower my son to act for me, &c. I have no time to add more, but to tell you that, God willing, you shall very soon hear from me more fully, and I hope that I shall hear from you when these things are come to your hands.

May our gracious God and Saviour bless all our endeavours for His glory, and the enlargement of His kingdom upon earth.

I am, with all truth and sincerity,

Kind Sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

THO. SODOR AND MAN.

Feb. 7th, 1750.

To the Rev. Mr. Henry Cossart,
At his house in Fetter Lane,
London.

The Instrument under which Dr. Thomas Wilson was empowered to act for his father, the Bishop.

To all persons, to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas we have, by an authentic instrument under our hand and seal, dated February the third, in the year of our Lord 1750, accepted the office of a President of the Reformed tropus of the Protestant Episcopal Church known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum, and whereas we are by our distance and very advanced age disabled from a personal attendance upon the aforesaid office, and being at the same time desirous to forward and assist, as much as in us lies, the great and good design carrying on by the Church of the said Unitas Fratrum; We do, by these

Jan. 6th. 1750. There was read a noble Litany, composed by the Ordinary, at the suggestion of some of the English bishops, in the words of Scripture, and containing only such general and indispensably necessary ideas as every Christian man of whatever denomination must have, and which therefore every stranger to the further blessings of the congregation might properly join in, at the times when, for that end, it should be solemnly used.

On Thursday the 11th, Hutton, after reading the Pilgrim congregation's diary, kept the diaconate love-feast in the new Hall* with several brethren, able to contribute towards the chapel expenses; for the liquidation of which, he pleaded on the ground that the chapel was serviceable to souls and for our Saviour's purposes. The liquidation of the debt ought not to be withheld through alarm at its largeness, or of our individual inability to meet it; but whatever ought to be done should be set on-foot at the moment when called for, and in entire dependence upon our Saviour therein. It was hinted, as very desirable, that those who could not be of one heart and mind with the Brethren, would part in a friendly way. They were assured that they should always find an open door when they had a mind to be *wholly* our Saviour's.

On the 5th of February, Hutton accompanied Sr. Stonehouse, Agnes von Zinzendorf, Leisel (Elizabeth) and Schweinitz, to Durnford in Wiltshire. They were followed on the 7th, by the Count, his son Christian Renatus, the mother, Anna Joanna, and Br. Böhler. They all returned on the 14th.

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presents, authorize and appoint our only and well-beloved son, Thomas Wilson, D.D. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Most Gracious Majesty, and Prebendary of Westminster, for us and in our stead, to do all acts, and sign and seal all such papers, as we ourselves could or would do, if we were actually present; he the said Thomas Wilson, sending to us attested copies from time to time of all such so done, signed, and sealed by him.

Given under our hand and Episcopal seal, at Bishop's Court in the Isle of Man, this 8th day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1751, and in the 54th year of our consecration,

(L. S.) THO. SODOR AND MAN, manu propriâ.

* The hall of the Goldsmith's company, immediately behind the east wall of the chapel in Fetter Lane, to the pulpit of which an entrance was made so that the minister might enter it from the hall direct.

March 5th, the Brn. Böhler and Benzein went to take a view of Ingatestone Hall.

March 12th. Hutton read the Berbice Journal, and spoke on the Lamb's text, "In Him was life, &c." describing, very feelingly, the great necessity of keeping always near Him, in and through whom we live.

April 16th, Monday. Hutton read two letters from Br. Cammerhoff, and a journal from Herrnhaag, before the whole congregation and society, in the chapel.

April 17th, Tuesday. Captain Garrison's son came with the news of the ship *Irene* having arrived with about eighty single brethren from Germany, who were going to Pennsylvania. A deputation was sent to bring them from Dover to London. The Brn. Parminter and G. Moore conducted two companies; and the Brn. F. Böhler, Wollin, Abraham Taylor, and Hutton, conducted three others. They reached London on the 20th, and were lodged in the rooms connected with the Hall, in which they had their meals together. Next day they were seated in the centre of the chapel with the other single brethren, the other members of the congregation being on either side of them during a love-feast, which was kept by the Count. The chapel was simply and neatly adorned with green leaves, &c. it being the single brethren's choir festival. On the 25th, after they were reviewed by General Oglethorpe, the brethren designed for Pennsylvania returned to Dover to the ship *Irene*, in order to sail.

During the observance of the festival of the 1st of May (old style) there were present from Ingatestone the Countess Zinzendorf, the young Countesses Benigna and Elizabeth; Count Reuss (Henry the xxviiith) and his lady. Count Zinzendorf, addressing the communicant members at a love-feast, spoke as follows: "My dear brethren and sisters, the memoranda of this day are great and many, and I could scarce forbear to speak much of it. This day is the anniversary of that great event which occurred in respect to the Church of the Brethren a year ago. This day is the jubilee of the first coming from Egypt of the old Brethren, the first inhabiters and planters of Herrnhuth. This day is the anniversary of the first settling, twelve years ago, of the congregation in England. It is the day now of the arrival of beloved guests, and of a race very remarkable among us; because the family which hath the happiness to see now the English congrega-

tion before it are the descendants both of the Lutheran and Reformed branches at the same time. My wife and her family descend from the first patrons of the Brethren, who, three hundred years ago, built the first city and the first villages of their communion; they are also descended from the Reformed branch of the dukes of Silesia. My daughter-in-law is an immediate descendant from duke Henry of Saxony, who was the first reformer in that country, and was deprived of his duchy by duke George, that great enemy to the cause, who died, and not only left him his dominions, but the family of Henry subsists to this day; there being, as I said, some here present of the posterity of that first reformer, who lost all his possessions for the sake of the gospel. He lived in the time of Henry VIIIth of England. These are things worthy of observation. But we must recall something relating to the great benefit we may derive from our establishment in this land. It will be, in two months time, two hundred years since we began here; but we must confess that our beginning was a very little thing in comparison of our present situation. Our forefathers indeed were great, they were the superintendents of all foreign Protestants; but, though they acknowledged the same head of the Church, the same Saviour, the same Jesus, I am sorry that they knew not so much of Him, as, by his free grace, we can say; and if we did not, it would be our own fault because He is nearer to us than He was at any time to any prophet or teacher of the old times, or of the middle ones. He is our daily, our perpetual object, and He ought to be so. He has not a mind to leave us alone; but He is very glad to be always in our company, and to prevent us with His coming, with His embraces, with His peace, with His benediction, with all the endowments He brings naturally with Him, and with all the pleasures that His presence cannot fail to afford. Therefore we commend ourselves to His everlasting nearness and presence."

On the 9th the Count related some particulars respecting the Litany lately revised, and printed in folio, to suit the views of the English clergy, and which had undergone the correction of the bishop of London.

On the 1st of June in the morning, the first session of the synod was held in the chapel, the second session was in the afternoon. On Tuesday the 5th was another meeting of synod. On the 6th, in the afternoon, another, and again on

the 7th. On Saturday the 9th was a sabbath love-feast for all the members of the synod.

At this synod the dissolution, and entire dispersion of the congregation of the Brethren from Herrnhaag in the early part of this year, engaged the attention of Count Zinzendorf and his colleagues. This was an event of great consequence, as it led to the return of the Church from its aberrations, both in doctrine and in practice. With regard to this, the Count took notice of some puerilities, which had much more to do with the head than the heart, and arose out of slight deviations from what was, otherwise, the present happy path of the congregation; and he seriously reproved the prating about the "side-wound" in a light manner, and making a groundless antithesis between that and the doctrine of the wounds, &c.; he also condemned the crude way of treating our marriage-relation to our Saviour, wherein it seemed to be forgotten that we are, as to our general state, only humble candidates for that great dignity, the highest present realizing of it being in the holy supper. He likewise lamented some improprieties in outward behaviour, which savoured more of levity than of Christian cheerfulness. Notwithstanding these things, he hoped, that when the Brethren should have wept and repented before our Saviour, they would be able to answer affirmatively that question put to Peter, "Lovest thou Me?"

With respect to the abandonment of Herrnhaag; the Ordinary had given instructions, at its first settlement, that no departure should be made from the religion of the country, except as to any matter which was inconsistent with the claims of conscience; but, in this and other respects, the settlers had not exactly fulfilled his mind. Yet he could, upon good ground, write a long and close expostulatory letter to the lord of that country, proving that his treatment of them at Herrnhaag was unfair, that they were indeed a people of Christ, who held the great necessary articles which all Christendom must allow, and, moreover, they had never injured him. Even their Hymn-book, so much spoken against, had been approved by him at the first; and the step which he now complained of, as the reason of parting with them, namely, their having a peculiar Church Government, &c. was taken with his or his predecessor's encouragement, though without his (the Count's) approbation.

On another occasion, as the breaking up of the settlement at Herrnhaag was greatly agitating many of the English Brethren, the Count, addressing them, said: "The reason why troubles affect the spirits of the congregation more now than formerly, is, because the members in general never were made sensible of the old difficulties, which the labourers surmounted without telling them thereof; but now, to remove the appearance that only a few were in the secret, and ruled all, every thing has been more openly communicated, though to his great anxiety, lest even some good hearts should be puzzled, when they could not see through troublesome events. That for his part he looked upon the present leaving of Herrnhaag as no essential harm or loss; since we have often left places before now, and that with more fear of a bad consequence; princes being usually in some rage that we, out of our own scruples, would depart. We know what we are, a people of the Saviour: (if, among a thousand, fifteen false-hearted persons should be found, who went off and abused the regulations, this would yield no just inference against the body, who are faithfully the Saviour's; and, though obliged to deduct such, we are still sufficiently distinguished from a worldly society; nor would we perhaps have had even this clog, but for the hurry of proselyte-making, against which I always protested, since people properly should not be drawn to us, but come when other parties cast them out). The adversaries, moreover, are sensible, that we are His people; they having seen, by a continued chain, His protection of us; and that they may despair of hurting us, which is the very reason why they persist in making so much empty ineffectual noise." He added, "that he did not remove out of Germany to avoid the spite now prevailing there, for when he removed all was quiet, and he had taken care to settle everything on a good and clear footing; the exception which the Count of Budingen now makes, being so far-fetched and inconsistent with the compact that it could not be foreseen. For the rest, the Brethren may not only regard the present turn as no misfortune in the whole, but rather think that, perhaps, our Saviour is going to bless the congregation more completely; to enrich her with His plentiful body's stream; and to win many souls—which, when He will do, none can resist Him;—and what has been above-mentioned is only like an insignificant tumult passed through in a street, which one neither thinks nor speaks of, when it is

over. We will, perhaps only this once, publish an apology, for our business is to rest, and converse with our Saviour."

On the 10th of June, Br. Spangenberg's treatise on Christian Doctrine was read at a meeting at Bloomsbury. Next day there was a conference about printing it; and the sincere, noble, and justly theological manner in which a member of the Church of the Brethren should make such statements, when necessary, was clearly pointed out.

June 15th, the agreement was made with Sir Hans Sloane, and signed, for the ground in Chelsea.

Hutton most likely shared in all the above transactions, and on the 7th of July he declared who were the 'disciples' for the month.

On Tuesday the 10th, Hutton, Kohn, &c. accompanied Benigna, and Agnes, and Count Reuss and his lady to Germany. Ingatestone Hall appears to have been taken for them, as on the 2nd of August Br. and Sr. Piesch, who had charge of it, returned from Ingatestone, the house being given up.

On the 16th July, "Br. Schlicht read the memorable Herrnhaag diary of February, 1750." It appears the Count had addressed a farewell discourse to the 500 brethren and sisters at Herrnhaag before they left. It was read in London on the 20th of October.

On the 6th of August it was mentioned, that the people in connection and visited, were about 617 in number, and that many more came constantly to hear the preachings.

On Wednesday the 14th of November, Br. and Sr. Benzein, Sr. Müller and Hutton went to Portsmouth to visit those on board the *Irene*, and returned on the 18th, Sunday. Hutton, at the end of the year 1750, was at Leipsic.

In the month of October, or November, Hutton's venerated father departed this life. He appears to have been an excellent Christian man, and ever most affectionately disposed towards his son; for, though he always deplored his separation from the Church of England, yet to his connection with the Brethren, he was never opposed. On several occasions he heartily sympathized with them in their missionary efforts. His will, dated 26th July, 1750, and proved in Doctors Commons, 2nd January, 1751, declares him to have been a faithful member of the Church of England, looking for a joyful resurrection to eternal life through the merits and mediation of his blessed Saviour Jesus Christ.

As to his personal history, from information obtained, since the notice of him at p. 8 was printed, we learn, that he was son of Joseph Hutton, and was baptized in the parish of Harefield, in Middlesex, on the 19th of August, 1676. In December, 1689, he was admitted a scholar of Eton College, vacant by the death of Benjamin Wrightson. From Eton he passed, in 1694, to King's College, Cambridge, where in 1698 he became A.B., and in 1702, M.A. The fellowship of his College he resigned in November 1705, within twelve months of his marriage. He was vicar of Stanford in the Vale, Berkshire, before April 1709; which, from a conscientious principle, he resigned, on the death of Queen Ann in 1714, though at that time he had four children. After this, taking up his abode in College Street, Westminster, where he continued till his death, he received young gentlemen as boarders during their education at Westminster School. He left, besides his son and heir Br. Hutton, two grand-children by his daughter Catherine, who was born on the 20th October, 1711, at Stanford, namely, William and Catherine Astley. He was a learned man; and, as we have seen, a great favourer of religious societies, and for a considerable time held one weekly in his own house. He wrote two hymns which were first published in 1746, in the collection of Hymns of the Brethren; they are Nos. 246 p. 411, and 325 p. 576. They are also inserted in the edition of the Hymn-book of 1754, 2nd part, No. 135 at p. 90, and 136 p. 91.

In the month of February, 1751, Br. Wurtz, who with his wife afterwards resided in Lindsey House, and appears to have been appointed printer to the Brethren, was engaged to print the new Litany. On the 7th, Br. Böhler had a love-feast with those brethren and sisters who had been acquainted with him when he first came to England, which was on the same day nine years before.

April 21st, Sr. Hutton, who did not accompany her husband to the continent, was appointed 'disciple for the month,' with Br. and Sr. Gambold.

In May, a pamphlet having lately appeared against the Brethren, written in a better temper than such usually were, Br. P. Böhler wrote a free and friendly letter to be sent to the author (in case he could be found out), clearing up and removing the misunderstanding about several particulars.

In this month the proceedings of Synod were read.

On the 28th, Br. and Sr. Garrison set out for Dover, where their ship then lay, in order to sail from thence for America.

July 16th, Hutton arrived from Germany, with the brethren Franke and Thomas Rhode; and resumed his labours in London. He kept meetings on the 19th and 25th, when, in addressing his auditory, he represented how impossible it is that the faithful Saviour should forsake or let any real harm happen to His people, who perpetually trust in, and magnify His sufferings for them; and that now, we know who God is, and can address ourselves to Him as a man—an unspeakable privilege arising out of His incarnation.

On the 10th of August the brethren Böhler and Hutton went to meet the Ordinary and his company, who had arrived from abroad. They reached Bloomsbury on the 13th, having among them the 'Mother,' &c. and Br. Henry Count Reuss and his lady; Br. Cossart, with Anna Joanna Piesch, Br. and Sr. Lawatsch; and the brethren Hocker, Cranz, and Hasse.

On the 25th, Hutton set forth the tender and steady love of the Saviour to sinful human souls.

"The congregation house" of Count Zinzendorf was organized about this time, with a view to its becoming a permanent residence. Instead of hired lodgings in Bloomsbury Square, premises were taken at Westminster, consisting of Hutton's house in College Street, opposite the Abbey, where the Count took up his abode; a house adjoining, which overlooked the Abbey gardens, inhabited by Christian Renatus and other single brethren, and connected with the other by a covered passage; another adjoining house tenanted by Abraham de Gersdorff, Chancellor of the Advocate, and Syndic Nitschmann. These premises were designed to be the office of the new Collegiate Board of Direction, or the Chancery of the Unity; and appear to have been thus occupied until the completion of Lindsey House in Chelsea, in regard to which the Count had adopted measures for establishing in it a congregation house and settlement.

In 1750 this house, subsequently well known from important events in the history of the Brethren, formerly the property of the ducal family of Ancaster, with the adjoining Beaufort grounds, was offered for public sale. The Count inspected the locality, (on the banks of the Thames a few miles above London Bridge,) and on the 20th of April at once formed his plans. On the 28th of June, the contract was drawn up

with Sir Hans Sloane; and, in order to obviate the legal difficulties with regard to the right of property for foreigners, the mansion and ground were taken on lease for ninety-nine years on payment of £750.

Upon the return of the Count from Germany in 1751, he, aided by Gersdorff and Cossart, inspected the premises, with the view of turning the old mansion into a congregation-house, of fitting up a chapel, and of laying out a burial ground, and gardens, and a terrace towards the river. The estimate was given from £7000 to £7,500; but by much too low, for nearly £11,250 were laid out upon the premises, without any intention of making a display of greatness—and Hutton remarked on this house, at the synod of 1769, that during the critical time of their financial embarrassments, it helped to preserve the public credit of the Brethren. The architect, Sigismund de Gersdorff, executed his commission within a year's time; and a comparison between the old and the new buildings shewed his skill and taste as an architect; and, also indicated an abundance of pecuniary means.

The establishment at Westminster was given up at Lady-day, 1753, and early in April the whole establishment, which included Hutton and his wife as part of the household of the Count, removed into their new dwelling. Thus the new building was completed, and "the Disciple-house," a name previously given to the residence at Westminster, was henceforward transferred to Lindsey House.

At the end of November, the number of children of the brethren and sisters present at the married choir, was reckoned up, and found to have been four hundred and thirteen, of which the Saviour had taken to himself two hundred and sixty-five.

On the 19th of December was the funeral remembrance of Sr. Maria Theresa Stonehouse.

December 26th, the Litany of the life and death of the Man Jesus was solemnly sung. That, and some other of the Litanies of the Brethren had been lately reprinted with the Ordinary's corrections, after he had conferred with the Bishop of London respecting them.

The year 1752 opens with a call to Ockbrook, occasioned by a disturbance made by the parish officers, which Hutton

happily appeased by going there. He went on the 8th, and returned on the 23rd of January.

On the 1st of April, he proceeded to Harwich to meet the Syndic, David Nitschmann, and his wife, who had arrived from Germany; and returned with them on the 3rd.

On the 14th, the Ordinary and company went to Ingatestone Hall, which was continued in his occupation until December. A synod was held there between the 5th and 9th of May, and concluded on the 11th in the chapel at Fetter Lane. At this synod, Hutton, who had hitherto been recognized as the "Referendary" of the Brethren in England, was appointed "Secretary of the Unity," which office he held during life.*

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* In order to present a correct view of the office of Secretary of the Unity, to which Hutton was appointed in the spring of 1752, it is necessary to relate; that, although, during the residence of Count Zinzendorf in England, no general synod of the Church was held, yet its constitution and general organization, were developed in numerous local councils and provincial synods, held for the most part in London, between August, 1751, and November, 1754, at which, invited by the Count, a larger and larger number, chiefly of English congregation-labourers, attended.

A two-fold result followed the labours of these deliberative meetings; first, the uniting of the British congregations, mainly by the provincial synods; and secondly, chiefly at the councils, the further development of the constitution of the Unity, whose spirit and character were altogether under the influence of British views and the national and social institutions, both in public and private life.

In this development, a gradual transition was made from the direction of Count Zinzendorf, or a monarchical form of government, to a collegiate board of direction; at first, in conjunction with the Count. Preparation for this had been made as early as the years 1741 and 1742; but its execution was interfered with by the unexpected extension of the congregations; and, perhaps, by an undue dependence upon the idea of a theocracy, which eventually devolved the entire government of the Church, both internal and external, upon the Count, as "the Ordinary and Advocate," a power, which, to use his own words, might be described as "*dictatura perpetua incertis reipublicæ temporibus*," (*i.e.* a perpetual dictatorship during troublous times.) The connection between the government of the Church and the episcopal office was entirely dissolved; but the episcopate was retained for the regulation of the Church services, in connection with the other degrees of ecclesiastical order. All bishops and elders were subordinate to the Count, who, under the name "Papa," was exclusively the ruler of the Church; and from 1747, as Sub-senior, or "the Disciple," he became, as it were, the visible representative of the invisible Head of the Church—which was, certainly, not self-sought; but arose out of circumstances.

The history of events from 1743 to 1755 shews what was effected under

In the course of this month, Hutton officiated at many of the meetings; and on the 12th, in applying the texts of the day, he observed "how happy it is for us human creatures, that we have a God who is present, and who has sealed His love to us by dying for us; by which means we have a certain fixed and very tender and affecting image of our God; and we will know of no other than the wounded One; who is also well-known not only to the Church in general, but, likewise, to particular members, by that memorable interview which such have had with Him, when He first appeared in grace to them, where the perception was rather an inward sight than a mere believing; this is occasionally repeated, particularly at the holy communion, in order to inflict a wholesome death, as well as to infuse life and cheerfulness into us whilst we continue here."

To the married choir he spoke, on the 26th, "of the communication of blessing from our Saviour to each soul, immediately and through another, and that we should be solicitous not to obstruct or neglect His grace." Also, at a public meeting, he spoke "of the revelation of the Father and of a Holy Trinity, which our Saviour has made to his Church, as a seal of His love, and of the close relation we now stand in to Him." He was appointed "Disciple for the

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this form of government, both in the inward and outward course of the Church, through the instrumentality of the "Ordinary and Advocatus Fratrum." No collegiate board could have effected what the Count, contrary to all expectation, did effect in the years 1748 and 1749 in Great Britain and Saxony; for which the dictatorial power of one man was requisite, and of such an one as the Parliament of England could take cognizance, as the "Lord Advocate;" it appearing that the Unity of the Brethren could only exist under this form of Government. But the sequel of the history of the Brethren, from the year 1750, clearly proves that this was not the will of the Lord. Neither was it consistent with the design of the Count, who, in 1751, observed, "If *one* man has all the power, and is expected both to propose and execute plans, no one else will do anything, for everyone thinks *that* one man will do it. This leads to confusion, and if things are to proceed in this way as regards myself, I cannot but contemplate my departure from this world with sorrow of heart." Facts still more distinctly declare his intentions in the spring of 1752; when, after local matters had been disposed of, a commissariat committee of the Advocate's office was appointed, consisting of Abraham de Gersdorff, as Chancellor, James Hutton, as Secretary, Henry Cossart, as agent for England, David Nitchmann (3), Sigismund de Gersdorff, and Frederick de Marschall, as assistants.

month" with Sr. Agnes Zinzendorf, which office he resigned on the 20th of May.

Hutton had to condole with the Count and Countess Zinzendorf and their family, and indeed with the whole Church, on occasion of the removal to eternal life of the young Count Christian Renatus Zinzendorf, which happened on the 28th of this month.

On the 9th of June, being called to service in Holland, he left England; Br. Abraham Gersdorff and Br. Charlesworth accompanying him. The object of this journey appears to have been to facilitate arrangements for the embarkation of sixteen single sisters, who were designed for Pennsylvania; and he returned with them, on the 29th of August, in the ship *Irene*, which shortly after proceeded on her voyage. The sisters were conducted under the care of Sr. Anna Joanna and Br. Toeltschig. On his return, he was called to mourn the loss of his excellent mother, who had exchanged this mortal life for a better on the 6th of July. Both she and her lately deceased husband, were religious and sincerely pious persons, and had also a love for the Brethren. In her will, dated the 1st of February, 1752, she left Hutton her sole executor, commending "her soul and body into the hands of her most merciful Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, humbly beseeching Him to be merciful to her at the hour of death and at the day of judgment."

There is no notice of Hutton between the 29th of August and the 9th of October; but from that time his name is frequently mentioned until the end of the year.

On the 9th of October, we find him earnestly caring for two French mechanics, out of employ, and willing to work; and on the same day, enforcing, in his address, a due heart and soul sensibility of the grace bestowed upon us, in being brought to the knowledge of our Saviour, and into his congregation.

On the 16th, taking occasion of the quarterly collection that had been made, he spoke "concerning the reason why our Saviour supports his Church against all opposition; shewing that it is because she possesses, and holds forth the true knowledge of Him, for the benefit even of His enemies, when their hearts also should be softened and converted."

On the 25th, Hutton read a letter from Count Zinzendorf to the married choir. "This affectionate, familiar letter

was in verse, written in reply to the letters of condolence which most of the married choir had, some time before, sent to the 'Disciple' on occasion of the death of his son; he repeated their names, shewed his contentment at the lines which he had received; his not despising any, however weak, who did but desire to be to the Saviour's mind, and who spoke simply neither more nor less than they felt. It was in general (*i. e.* altogether), with the admonitions and wishes it contained, encouraging and endearing."

On the 29th, Hutton addressed his married brethren and sisters, "referred them to the inward teaching in the heart, and the virtue of the humanity of Jesus, combining with the choir subject, the ideas of the holy sacrament lately received." At the evening preaching, he observed that "as our Saviour's people receive a new name, so every member of the congregation ought to be more than an ordinary man; and not only attain salvation at last, but be on his part, as the congregation in general is, a depository and living witness of our Saviour's truth to the world, and to adorn his Gospel; that knowledge and power for this purpose were not so much wanting, as, perhaps, due attention. A person did not always consider what he was called to, but behaved slovenly and heedlessly, depending on his good state, missing opportunities and visitations from our Saviour, which, when He mercifully makes good again, puts us exceedingly to the blush. He (Hutton) then wished, that the hints, which out of respect, he could not enlarge upon, the Saviour himself would pursue in every heart; and concluded with singing the Church's prayer to her Husband."

On Sunday, November 5th, "he cautioned his married choir against the great sin of lukewarmness and secret estrangement from the Saviour, in which we ought to be affrighted to find ourselves; as well when no notorious outward miscarriages attend it, as—if not more than—when they do."

On Friday, the 10th of November, the Brethren assembled at three to commemorate the settling of the London congregation, ten years before. Hutton opened the services by singing. He then read a remarkable discourse of the Count, delivered on the previous St. Thomas's day. At the love-feast he enumerated how many had been received into this congregation in each year; how many were gone home to

the Saviour, &c.; and then read the notes of the last year's celebration, and some verses. In the midst of the feast, the 'Disciple,' who had walked through the rain from Westminster, favoured the Brethren with his presence, and sung first of all a hymn, which he had newly turned into English, wherein respectful mention was made of the King, (the day being also his majesty's birth-day,) congratulating him that our Saviour's theocracy, which is now more benevolent to the kingdoms of the earth than formerly, was here revived—our Saviour having declared Himself our Elder in a conference at London; and a wish was added for the London congregation, that it might enjoy all the happy fruits of its union with the Church of the Brethren, the Eastern handmaid.

Money being required for repairs, the Brn. Hutton and Benzein were to consider how it should be raised.

On the 12th, Sunday, Hutton, at the meeting of the married choir, "observed that the title we bear of members or limbs of our Saviour, implies that He the Head can and absolutely does govern us, (for if a motion is seen in any limb without the consent of the head, it is reckoned a most dangerous symptom, and called a convulsion) and since He is pleased to concern himself farther than could be expected about the well ordering even of our bodily part, we should obey and give way to this His superintendency and influence, especially at such times when our festivals admonish us that He is solemnly coming nigh to His Church. In the single sisters' choir meeting, reference was made to the adorable power and method of our Saviour, in conducting us,—not only as vegetating but as thinking beings, by the expense and sanctification of His blood,—safe unto eternal life."

"At the six o'clock meeting, Br. Hutton spoke from the texts in a tender manner, concerning our Saviour's amazing patience towards us poor creatures, though he knows us through and through, and might justly be provoked at us—that He not only stands ready to receive all our burdens, guilt, and shame, when we as children bring them; and to impart to us His peace; but even when at any time we come into a shy and dark disposition, and His other means would effect nothing, He frequently uses that master-art of surprising us at once with His generous love; that we here present, both as individuals and as a flock, are certainly in the number of his sick ones: and, both for faults we know

of, and for more than we have duly laid to heart, need His absolution. It is therefore well for us that we are soon going to meet our good Lord and Elder so emphatically, in which state of expectation emotions of joy, loyalty, and longing, as well as of shame and bashfulness, do justly become us." He concluded with the first verse of the hymn, the whole of which is here given on account of its excellence. "There was a brokenness of heart perceived in the assembly, and many were inwardly melted."

O how unutterable is
The love that Christ to us hath shewn!
O how incredible the grief
We cause him, who are styl'd his own!
Who, in His wounds have found our heav'n,
We, who have known our sins forgiv'n.

O Jesu! Lord and God of Thine,*
In mercy now bow down thine ear;
Since we can nothing bring to Thee,
Thy poor, thy weeping suppliants hear;
Our tabernacle's shame remove,
And fill our souls with Thy pure love.

Now dwell within Thy temple, Lord,
(Thy temple e'en our bodies be)
Adorn it Thou, as Thou would'st have
Thy spouse alone adorn'd by Thee.
In us be all Thy glory wrought,
Far above all thy children's thought.

Hallow'd our every meeting be
And sanctified our every hour,
Our glory drawing from Thy death,
And in Thy wounds possessing power.
Now let Thy church redeem'd by Thee,
Thee standing in th' assembly see.

On the 22nd, Hutton, who presided at the mid-day love-feast, sang several sweet verses, particularly some which were composed by the Count's lately deceased son, Christian Renatus. Then, from the text, "He hath a vesture dipt in blood," he observed that this, our perpetual subject, does in a peculiarly strong manner fill and impregnate soul and body at the holy sacrament, and that in the agape (love-feast) after it, there is usually an after-taste of the same effluvia of our Saviour's body and blood. This we believe and feel, and for the better enjoyment of these graces we are gathered and united in one body, whose great affair is to abide in Him."

* *i. e.* Thine own.

At the married choir meeting of the 26th, Hutton "sought to promote faithful tenderness of heart in us towards the Saviour, by representing His tenderness, who sometimes indeed does not complain (when he justly might); nor reply again." Afterwards there was an occasional love-feast, at which it appeared by some tokens that the hearts of the brethren and sisters were attached to our Saviour and His affairs, amidst all difficulties. In the meeting of the communicants at six, from the text, "*He also that pierced Him shall see it*," he spoke of the glorious splendour of that side-wound, at its future appearing, and its transforming power on the hearts that had belonged to it; who now, in the meantime, whilst many others either openly ridicule, or philosophically despise, the doctrine of a Saviour, are to bear witness, that these things are true, and to admonish them to kiss the Son lest He be angry; adding, moreover, that "we are the more officious to conduct others within the circle of mercy, because we ourselves need it so much. Then was sung, under a feeling of peace, the *Te Pleuram*."

Thy bleeding wounds, dear Saviour, are
A deep unfathomable sea;
Whence crowds, else destined to despair,
Drink out salvation every day:
This makes each witness loudly call,
Plunge in this sea, ye sinners all.

He continued to keep meetings till the end of the year, more particularly with his married brethren and sisters, to whom "he recommended a constant correspondence with, and every night going to sleep in, our Saviour; as necessary for the easement of our minds as for our preservation."

And having described in few words the deep reverence which mingles with our love to Him, arising from the sense of His extraordinary and munificent benefaction in laying down His life, and His divine greatness, he expressed the same liturgically, by singing—

Immanuel! Thy blood-stream red
Does captivate and overspread
The flock Thy torments purchas'd;
Thy willing slave I will abide,
My dwelling be within Thy side,
There I am fed and nourish'd;
Take me to Thee.
Thy blood cover—Me all over—My heart's lover,
I'm Thy ransom'd happy sinner.

No reason can I ever find,
Why Thou to me dost prove so kind,
Why Thou Lamb canst endure me;
But Thou dost love me, bleeding King,
I therefore of Thy wounds will sing;
With heart and tongue adore thee!
Thine, Lamb! I am,
I inherit—through thy merit—My salvation,
Thy wounds are my habitation.

On another occasion he exhorted the brethren "to yield spirit, soul, and limb to bring joy to Jesus, and to consider watchfully how to do this better and better, by constantly reflecting upon the benefit and influence we enjoy from our Saviour, in His childhood, humanity, and sufferings, which through grace are made clear to us."

In the course of the year 1752, there was printed and published, "A consolatory Letter to the Members of the Societies that are in some connection with the Brethren's Congregations. London: Printed by John Hart in Poppings Court, Fleet Street; and sold by J. Lewis, in Paternoster Row, 1752." It is a small 18mo. tract of 36 pages, and contains the reasons why the Brethren do not desire persons to join them as mere outer-court worshippers.

At the beginning of the year 1753, some money-difficulty having apparently arisen which delayed the printing of the books of the Brethren, it was suggested to do it by previous subscription; a contribution was made accordingly for the Text Book, which was then sent to the press, and completed for delivery by the 20th of March.

On the 13th of January, the sabbath love-feast (*i e.* Saturday evening) was kept at Lindsey House in Chelsea, called Sharon.

The close connection of Hutton in all the affairs of the Brethren makes it necessary to give somewhat in detail a statement of the financial embarrassments which now threatened an entire breaking up of the whole Unity, through heedlessness in raising funds to carry on the Lord's cause, in forgetfulness of the express injunction, "owe no man any thing save to love one another."

And here we must take a brief retrospect of events from the year 1741, to which year the expenses of the Church had

in reality been the affair of the Count's own family, and borne by him as such. When a general Board of Direction was appointed in 1741, a general diaconate or college for the management of financial matters was also formed, under the presidency of John Paul Weiss, which, after the dissolution of the general Board in 1743, continued to exist under the chief superintendence of Count Zinzendorf and the active direction of Frederic Neisser.

During the Parliamentary negociations, from 1745 to 1749, and at the period of the so-called "sifting time," the affairs of the diaconate on the continent had become so embarrassed, mainly after, and consequent upon, the desertion of Herrnhaag, as to create the fear of a prostration of the whole system by a bankruptcy of the Unity; and the Count, on his return to England, in August 24th, 1751, found the diaconies there in great pecuniary straits, arising out of—1st, The financial affairs of the province, (which, when separate, had more than borne its own expenses up to the year 1740) having, much against his wish, been connected with the general diaconate.—2nd, Since the commencement of the Parliamentary negociations, which were carried on not only for the advantage of the British and American congregations, but for the entire Unity, the expenditure by far exceeded their limited resources; inasmuch as the majority of the members of the Church of England belonged to the middle and lower classes, and were notoriously poor. Hence extraordinary help was needed.

We must here mention two persons, who, by means of Hutton, became united with the Brethren—names of interest during this period. The one was Dinah Raymond, who married Br. von Larisch; the other Mary Crispe, wife of Br. George Stonehouse. Dinah, daughter of a rich man who had been successful in business, was brought up in affluence and amidst worldly pleasures. The death of her father in 1737,* led her to serious reflections respecting the salvation of her soul. She became acquainted with Hutton, and, through him, with Böhler and Molther, in 1738-9, whose meetings in London she diligently attended. The hymn in the

* "Died, 10th of June, 1737, Hugh Raymond, Esq. formerly captain in the East India service."—Gentleman's Magazine, vol. ii. p. 451.

Hymn-book of the Brethren, No. xc. of Edit. 1746, p. 125,

"O dearest Lamb, take thou my heart,
Where can such sweetness be,
As I have tasted in Thy love,
As I have found in Thee?"

testifies to the fervour of her first love to our Saviour, while her generous aid in financial matters proves her attachment to the Church of the Brethren. She became intimately acquainted with Count Zinzendorf in 1741, when she left her brother, with whom she had previously lived, and removed to the pilgrim-house of Spangenberg; whom, in the summer of 1742, she accompanied to Yorkshire, where she accepted the offer of marriage made by Br. Charles Henry de Larisch, a nobleman in all respects her equal in regard to property, being lord of the estates of Schoflitz and Lomnitz, in Upper Silesia. They were married at Marienborn, May 15th, 1743, from whence they returned to England, where she obtained from her brother her property of £9000, which, at his instigation, was vested in Wetteravia, and by mutual arrangement between her and her husband, so as that the survivor should possess the whole property of both. After residing some years abroad, Dinah, who felt a strong attachment to her native land, returned with her husband to London in 1753, and became a widow on the 29th of October, 1754. She then resided some time at Lindsey House; but, fearing a proposal of marriage from Br. George Stonehouse, of whom we shall have presently more to speak, and constantly meeting with coldness on the part of her own relations, she went to reside at Herrnhut, where she departed, 25th of May, 1756, at the age of 40 years. She was fondly attached to her husband; her mind was cheerful during the last days of her life, and, as in 1738-9, she ardently longed for the coming of our Saviour. Her property appears to have been spent mainly for the support of the general diacony. Her memoir supplies many a glimpse into the English and general financial affairs of the church. Still more deserving of notice, in this respect, is the name of the other sister, Mary Crispe.

Mary Crispe, born 25th of February, 1722, at Islington, was the only daughter of Sir John Crispe, Bart., who, with his brother Charles, were descendants of an ancient family ardently devoted to the interests of Charles I. and II. She became an orphan on the 18th of January, 1728,

and was brought up by her grandmother at Tollington, in the parish of Islington, where, in 1737, she heard the gospel from the lips of the abovenamed Rev. G. Stonehouse the vicar, then in close connection with the Methodists. She was, from her strong youthful affection, induced to marry him, contrary to the will of her relations; who persecuted her on account of her being united to a Methodist, and not on the ground of a difference in rank; inasmuch as the family connections of her husband did in reality take precedence—the date of the baronetcy with which he was connected being earlier than that of her family—and there was little or no discrepancy in their worldly circumstances; the only difference being that her family property had been greatly reduced in abetting the cause of Charles I. while much of that of the Stonehouses had been expended in upholding the same conflict.

By means of this marriage, which took place on the first of June, 1739, she became acquainted with Hutton, and through him with Molther in 1739, and with Spangenberg and Zinzendorf in 1741. The latter, previously to his departure for Pennsylvania, adopted her as his daughter, under the name Maria Theresa, in remembrance of his own deceased daughter. When Spangenberg organized the first congregation of the Brethren in Yorkshire, in 1742, she and her husband were received into society fellowship, and she herself was confirmed for the Christian warfare on the 26th of May of that year. In 1743 she became a labouress in Yorkshire. At which time, while the Wesleys had separated from the Brethren, her husband and herself, like Br. and Sr. Larisch, stood in intimate connection with Hutton, as was also the case with Benjamin Ingham. They visited Marienborn in 1743 and 1744, and subsequently corresponded with the Count. Sr. Stonehouse belonged to the pilgrim congregation, as "Eldress of the married sisters;" her husband,* like Ingham, kept aloof, and from 1744 or 1745, appears to have given up his connection with the Brethren altogether.

She resided chiefly in England; twice, in 1743 and 1745,

* He was born at Hungerford Park, Berks, the 5th of August, 1714, and became A. M. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 8th of June, 1736, and in 1738 vicar of Islington; of which living his family were the impropriators, and which he sold on the 1st of July, 1740, having resigned the cure. He published a single sermon in the year of his marriage, and died at Bristol in 1793.—Nelson's Hist. of Islington. Cambridge Graduates, 1801.

she succeeded in recovering property which fell to her from the death of her relations, she acting in the Court of Chancery as her own suitor. Her husband applied this property, which constituted the greater portion of her income, to her own exclusive use, under written declarations, and hence she had the power of appropriating her house at Buttermere in Wiltshire to the schools of the Brethren; "thankful when her own relations by blood had treated her unkindly, that the Lamb had given her kind spiritual relations in their stead." In 1746, she accepted the office of "House-mother" or Eldress of the London congregation, and as such she corresponded with the general diaconate and its president Jonas Paul Weiss. From that time she appears to have considered the cause of the Brethren as her own, and for a while acted as a labouress and general diaconess in England. From her draft of a will, dated 1746, which she sent to Count Zinzendorf at Ebersdorff, she appears to bequeath to her husband a life interest in all her property, appointing her friend Hutton her executor. From this it seems to have been her intention, in the event of her having no issue surviving, that after the widower's decease, her property should become that of the general diaconate. Of this the Count disapproved, as he always preferred the giving with a warm hand to the leaving by bequest; and would rather have seen sums left for a specific object in the province than to the general diaconate; an opinion he often expressed at the synods in reference to his adopted daughter Maria Theresa Stonehouse: on which account a letter to him from her, in 1747, referring to her will, was left unanswered. Nor was she hurt about it, for her attachment to the church was from the spirit and from the heart. "I am," said she, "a happy little cross-air bird (a bird soaring in the atmosphere of the cross), who can rejoice in the bleeding side of the Lamb."

She was very anxious to save her husband every perplexity, which might arise from an occasional want of means and disturb his mind, which on her return with him from a visit to Germany and Holland in 1748, she observed to be oppressed by such like considerations. On which account Zinzendorf, in 1749, resolved to give up Buttermere. This preyed upon her mind, inasmuch as it appears she could no longer see her way clear, between giving satisfaction to her husband and following the dictates of her active love to the

Brethren. She had previously, in September, 1748, surrendered the charge of the English diaconate into the hands of Br. William Bell, a merchant in London, who was assisted by Christian Thomas Benzein, who some years before had come from Reval in Livonia, with Ruhbush and other brethren, and at that time acted as clerk or accountant in the household of Zinzendorf, in connection with the chief treasurer Neisser at Zeist. Maria Theresa, as she told the Count in confidence, did not expect much good from this arrangement. She regretted her inability, during the present financial difficulties, 1749-50, to render the amount of aid she desired; she however expressed a hope "to place all upon a sure footing" in due time. This hope the Count himself cherished, when in November, 1750, he endeavoured to raise a loan for England of £30,000, from the nobility in Upper Lusatia. Maria Theresa, in her will of the 28th of May, 1751, which she deposited in the hands of William Bell, promised even more; for, in the event of the death of her husband, and of a child with which she was then pregnant, Hutton was to be her principal heir, on conditions well known to both; she having full confidence in Hutton that all would be appropriated for the benefit of the Unity. So she told the Count on his return from the continent in August 1751. She expressed herself still more definitely in the following declaration with Neisser, dated London, November 11th, 1751, and executed in the presence of the brethren Töltschig and Frederick William Marschall who witnessed it. "As the maintenance of the English congregation demands the establishment of a fund of about £100,000, according to the estimate of the Advocatus fratrum; for which he himself purposes to raise about £40,000; I hereby declare that after having been deaconess for the English congregations for about eight years, with the full consent of my husband, I purpose supporting this fund with my whole property, as far as it will go." Neisser, on the other hand, executed the undertaking. "Maria Theresa having signed a bill to the amount of £6,000, payable within a year to Messrs. Bell and Benzein, we promise not to make any use of this money until after the death of her husband." This mutual arrangement accorded with her express desire, and she particularly enjoined the strictest secrecy respecting it on the part of the Brethren.

It is quite evident, to say nothing on the extreme impro-

priety of these doings, whatever the motive might be, that such indefinite speculations on the possibility of meeting future liabilities, acted very injuriously upon the financial system of the Unity. Maria Theresa did not see these results, she died a month after giving birth to an infant, on the 21st of December, 1751; Hutton says, of grief at unkind treatment from her husband. Both mother and child were interred in the garden of Chelsea on the 27th. It would seem that her husband, who at the first had joined her in her generous aid to the cause they had mutually espoused, subsequently withdrew his sanction to her self-denying liberality. They had eight children, but only one survived the mother. The Count speaks of her as a noble character, a real treasure, whose loss he felt equal to that of his son Christian Renatus.

All that we learn from the above affair is, that there was no help from this quarter in the time of need.

When in 1749 the Count and his colleagues arrived in England, London became the seat of the congregation-house or directing board of the Unity. The parliamentary negociations, the voyages of the colonists to North America, the very large expenses of the crowded congregation-house, the maintenance of the labourers in the country congregations, and of the boarding schools for children, all made very heavy demands upon the limited means of the Brethren. No remittances were received from the Continent, and the English diaconies were looked to for the requisite means. The successful issue of the proceedings in Parliament gave a stimulus to the enthusiasm of the English brethren, who readily advanced money to assist in this work, and among others the names appear of William Bell and other London merchants, members of the Unity, such as Claudius Nisbett, William Vowell, and Br. Charlesworth of Fulneck. The difference between the national character of the English and Dutch brethren was strikingly displayed, in the temerity of the one, and the cautiousness of the other. The free-heartedness of the English made the managers of the diaconies bold and willing to venture something in the cause of Christ. Benzein's cash box was always full while in England; and the first warning received by the Count was on his departure for Germany on the 26th of May, 1750, when the managers of the diaconies demanded £10,000, as a first instalment for about

£13,000, which in less than a year and a half they had advanced. Spangenberg was for making stated collections in all congregations; but the Count held to the opinion, that, as in former years, the matter was his own; yet he reckoned upon the aid of others, as is clear from the proposal for raising the £30,000 above referred to. But the brethren in Upper Lusatia and Holland waited for each other to make the first advances, and thus the matter failed; Neisser intimating that "the English brethren must help themselves." It could not be expected to be otherwise, for the abandonment of Herrnhaag, and the establishment of schools in Upper Lusatia, had reduced the German diaconate to the utmost distress. At the same time the Dutch branch had lost its credit by not paying regularly the interest on the sums it had borrowed, and both were as nigh to bankruptcy as they could possibly be, while the general diaconate was on the very point of dissolution. So much so that Hutton once remarked it would have been better to have declared themselves insolvent in Wetteravia, where the whole blame attached to Count Buedingen; which opinion agreed with that of Count Zinzendorf. The same danger threatened the English diaconies.

Thus matters stood when the Count returned to England in August, 1751; and when, having made arrangements for his family expenses by monthly remittances of £100 from his estates in Lusatia, he reduced the number of his household and their outlay, and reckoning upon the loan from Lusatia, assured the English diaconies that he would not withdraw from them his credit, although he must blame them for their well-meant but reckless proceedings. Their temporary necessities appear to have been met by weekly contributions; and Charlesworth, chief manager of the Yorkshire cloth manufactory, to meet outstanding claims, visited Holland in 1751, and appealed for assistance to the rich brethren there. They assured him of their entire confidence in him personally, but not in his business. Less wealthy brethren in London advanced from their own resources nearly £15,000, which removed present distress, but became the basis of future calamity. Under such circumstances, the purchase and repairs of Lindsey House, and the immense outlay of money then incurred, as well as the credit which was given the Brethren on account of this outlay, excite astonishment, and was undoubtedly founded in self-delusion. Those faithful men who,

from personal observation, knew the whole extent of these proceedings, Hutton, Gambold, and Cossart, in the beginning of 1752, warned the Count of the consequences that must ensue; but he treated their "fears of ghostly apparitions" as unworthy of attention; "because," said he, "all the decisions concerning the English affairs were as encouraging as they had been alarming in relation to Holland." It happened to him now, as during the period of the "sifting time," in 1747 and 1748, that those who knew most and ought to have told him of the real state of things, withheld from him the particulars, not acquainting him with the whole truth. Thus on one occasion they allowed him to say, without correcting his unconscious error, "that £13,000 would remove every incumbrance."

Charlesworth and Hutton again visited Holland with as little success as in the preceding year; and hence arose new perplexities, and, generally speaking, at very unseasonable times. It is manifest that momentary help was obtained in a manner on no account to be justified; for, from the beginning, private and public property were so mixed up as to create inexplicable entanglement. At the time of Charlesworth's return, the finances were in an appalling condition, and he found it necessary to mortgage the manufactory. Br. Egard, who had connections all over the world, gave him and the London brethren a very tempting credit; which induced him to employ several hundred brethren in Yorkshire, Ockbrook, Duckinfield, and Bedford; and he obtained a ready sale for his cloths in Portugal and Russia, for the supply of the army.* By the stimulus thus created, the amount of liabilities rose to £20,000. The first bankers in the city, Dingley, founder, in 1758, of the Magdalen Hospital, Reid, Alderman Hankey, and others, advanced money, which was taken up and used, in anticipation of the possible proceeds from the diaconies in years to come. This was concealed from the Count, for which he afterwards blamed those who had charge of the monetary affairs. This conduct brought bitter self-reproach; and even Hutton, who appears to have done nothing reprehensible, except that he might have remonstrated more forci-

* This was probably one of the Concerns that gave an impetus to the Woollen and Cotton Trade, which in our day has reached to such an astonishing perfection and extent.

bly against these proceedings, in a moment of extreme irritation, exclaimed, "I could like to hang all these brethren, and then go to the scaffold myself." Weiss spoke in equally strong terms. He was appointed chief treasurer of the Disciple house in September 1753, on his arrival in London, from Lusatia, but was unacquainted with the real state of things; and neither he nor Hutton knew the slender basis on which the borrowed capitals rested, nor the parties who, in each single instance, issued the promissory notes. We may equally believe the Count's words, when he declares that he himself knew not the extent of these transactions. William Bell, Vowell, and others, although most reprehensible, maintained "that they had done all in faith and from faithfulness to the cause." Charlesworth, on the contrary, in a very penitential prayer on his thirty-third birth-day, Dec. 16. 1753, with which he closes his autobiography, reproaches himself for unfaithfulness, unbelief, and want of love to his brethren. Charlesworth was born in 1721, at Gomersal in Yorkshire, and gave up his connections with the strict and pious mystics, for that of the first Moravian Brethren who came to Yorkshire in 1739. In 1742 he was received into the congregation at his native place, and next year became labourer of the single brethren; and from 1748 to 1763 he was employed in various financial offices, principally as superintendent of the cloth manufacturing business in Yorkshire. His superior judgment and faithfulness are highly spoken of; but being burdened with a large portion of responsibility during the embarrassing financial distress, he was driven by the force of circumstances to act contrary to the dictates of his own heart. Gradually an hour of temptation had come upon the very elect, and many a one probably knew not what he did, until the consequences stared him in the face, in the appalling shape of notes of hand and bills of exchange, which there were no means of satisfying.

Much danger was to be apprehended from the rigour of the English law regarding debts, according to which, the luckless debtor, as well as the nefarious insolvent, was, for life, at the mercy of the creditor. This danger threatened the English brethren on the last day of 1752, and was only averted by Zinzendorf giving security for £10,000. Weiss and Benzein knew that this would not cover all liabilities; and it was ascertained from the continental diaconates that £30,000 would be required to meet their engagements.

"From this day forward," says the Count, "our Saviour

held his hand over the Brethren for yet another month, in which time Lindsey House was completed, and their correspondent, Jacob Gomez Serra, a Portuguese Jew, stopped payment, by which the blame was, in a great measure, and justly, shifted from the Brethren to him; and the world moved to pity on our account." This circumstance, of which no explanation is anywhere to be found, is referred to by Spangenberg, as having been the true cause of the ruin of the English diaconies. But, in all probability, while it exposed the dishonesty of the Jew, it also brought to light the incompetency of the managers. For at a very painful diacony-conference, in January 1753, they were dismissed, and a board of administration appointed for conducting the English financial affairs, who were enjoined "to be prudent in planning, and filled with *a humble* faith in the execution of their plans." This board consisted of Counts Zinzendorf and Henry (28th) Reuss, and John Paul Weiss. The two Counts at once jointly undertook one debt of £5,000, and the first another of £1,000; and the tenth of each member's income, it was thought, must be contributed to relieve Count Zinzendorf, on whom the dead weight must at present lie.

When Serra was declared insolvent, a similar catastrophe threatened the household of the Ordinary; and in these trying circumstances the former deacons, as well as the creditors, were looking to him, personally, for payment. At the representation of Mr. Heaton, the solicitor for the Brethren, Alderman Hankey called upon the Count, and in the name of the creditors obtained from him temporary security, by which they were induced to wait; and thus the household, which, from former carelessness and unfaithfulness had been daily threatened, was saved from utter ruin. "The want of ready money was so painfully felt that it seemed as though Lindsey House must be given up. But the decision was that it be continued." And it was Hutton's opinion that this very much contributed to preserve the credit of Count Zinzendorf and the London brethren during that critical period.

The danger, however, was not entirely removed, on the contrary it grew more alarming; for the enemies of the church (the Methodists chiefly it appears), did all they could to injure the cause of the Brethren. This was especially the case in regard to the money due to Hockel, in respect to which the Count went into the city, not knowing whether he

should ever see Lindsey House again. "If he is once down we'll take care he shan't soon get up again," was the remark of one of the creditors, or some of his friends. Zinzendorf narrates: "I asked the Lord whether I was to think of going to prison? The decision was in the negative. I forbade Johannes' writing to Lusatia of my dangerous position; for I was not sure whether my imprisonment might not stand in the license of Satan, from our Saviour. Ordering my papers to be packed up, I prepared every thing as though I was to go to gaol that afternoon, after which I enjoyed a quiet siesta. In the very hour when payment was due and no delay admissible, for London seemed to be made of iron, Hockel entered my room with tears of anguish in his eyes. There was a strange conflict going on in my mind. Our Saviour had assured me by means of the lot, that I should be able to pay this day and in this very hour. It was one peculiar feature of my course not to be able to foresee every thing, but to consign certain things entirely to His wise government; and I had promised Him so to do, as confidingly as if the desired help were in my own house. Yet the exercise of this kind of faith, just then, was far from being agreeable. At this moment Jonas (Weiss) entered the room with a letter from Cornelius de Laer, enclosing a draft for £1000; upon seeing which Hockel's tears of anguish were changed to those of joy. The imprisonment would have been no disgrace to myself—the whole city knew that the Brethren owed me £30,000, and that my security had saved them from bankruptcy." It did not escape the notice of the inmates of Zinzendorf's house that the Dutch mail, owing to favourable winds, had arrived earlier than usual, and that Br. von Laer's remittance, which arrived so opportunely, was the less to be expected, since a previous remittance, that had been made for a time of need, had been applied to another purpose. "Now we will drink the cup of thanksgiving," was Zinzendorf's salutation to Weiss; Hockel being present. Weiss judged it expedient that this special proof of Divine interposition should be kept in remembrance; and the Count regarded it as "an indication that the cause of the Brethren would be carried through, by the payment of their debts, and not by the gaol."

On Good Friday, of the same year, fifteen brethren, including Charlesworth and Vowel, were in danger of imprisonment for a debt they owed to Mr. Hankey. The Count

convened a meeting of all the creditors; and, through Mr. Heaton, his attorney, proposed to discharge this debt, with interest upon it, within the next four years. Mr. Hankey was so satisfied with this proposal, that he declared he would not sell his claim for a shilling less than its amount, and the other creditors present concurring in this opinion, the brethren could return to their homes freed from the fear of arrest; while some of their creditors promised to pacify others.

All the creditors, however, were not satisfied; for some of them, especially among the Methodists, were very bitter. One was Miss Stonehouse, a member of the London congregation;* the sister of George Stonehouse. She had bought of Mr. Whitefield his claim of £2000 on the land surrounding Nazareth in America, which was yet unpaid for by the diaconate, although Spangenberg had repeatedly solicited them to discharge it.

Whitefield's "Expostulatory Letter" to Zinzendorf was just then (4th of May 1753) published, containing the most violent attacks upon the character of the Count and his brethren. It caused much uneasiness to their political and mercantile friends, on account of its probable effect upon the public mind. Legal proceedings for recovery of the aforesaid debt soon followed; on which occasion Mr. Heaton himself alarmed the Brethren, by avowing his intention of making the Count a bankrupt, and leaving him in the hands of the creditors. Miss Stonehouse continuing to press her claim, Messrs Hankey and Reid advanced the money at the request of the Count. But other claims were due; and Weiss, not knowing what to do, went into the city, where he found several remittances from one of the few friends in Holland who had remained faithful to the cause—a quarter from which no help was at all expected. This was a further source of heart-felt thankfulness to the Saviour.

On Christmas eve, 1753, Mr. Thomas Hankey paid his last visit to Lindsey House; he freely and sorrowfully expressed himself on the state of his heart, and was somewhat consoled by the Brethren. Returning home, he retired early to rest, and about midnight his soul left its earthly tenement. His claim, which amounted to nearly £19,000, fell to his heirs. Thus closed this year, "a year of deep distress, absolution, and reformation," as Zinzendorf called it, "for Lindsey

* No such person is to be found among the members of the London Congregation of the Brethren.

House and its inmates." It was regarded as a portion of the "sifting time," such, however, as rather strengthened than destroyed faith, and drew closer, at least externally, the bond of union.

As to the bonds given by the Count in the spring of 1753, through united efforts they were all redeemed within the four years; and in May, 1754, Weiss reckoned the then debts of the Unity thus:

1. Debts incurred prior to the year 1751			£3240 0 0
2. Liabilities incurred in 1752 and 1753, about £132,000, viz.			
a. Due to Hockel, £19,000, (with £1500, interest)	£20,500 0 0		
T. Rode, £6000, Lindsey House, £2500	8,500 0 0		
			£29,000 0 0
b. During negociations with sundry creditors			4,193 0 0
c. Bonds, 1st payment	£14,139 12 3		
2nd do. note to Bankers, after Gomez Serra's failure, for 4 years	4,847 15 3		
To several brethren, for 6 years	£12,201 4 3		
			31,188 11 9
d. Loss through Gomez Serra's bankruptcy			67,621 0 0
			£132,002 11 9

Thus *b. c. d.* alone, in 1753, occasioned a debt of more than an hundred thousand pounds.

In addition to this, Weiss estimates the sums due in Yorkshire to Ingham, for moneys advanced, and the land on which Grace Hall stood, at about £3,300 0 0

For building purposes, about 1,200 0 0

Debts due at Bristol, and other places are enumerated, but not figured.*

* Had the value of land and buildings been brought forward, and had Serra's debt been good, there is reason to believe that the Brethren were in a solvent state. So that the principal fault rests upon those who gave credit to the Jew.

The next year (1754) was not without distress, occasioned more by the Dutch than the English creditors. The heirs of Hockel, whose wife had, from the first, objected to his risking so much with the Brethren, were very urgent that Bell and Benzein should pay their amounts; and to pacify them the Count put a bill of £333, just received from Holland, into their hands.

The unexpected helps from abroad, and at such critical moments, together with the effect produced in the public mind by the disinterested conduct of Zinzendorf, restored the credit of the Brethren in England; so that even Mr. Heaton the attorney offered the loan of £1000, which the Count however declined, under the impression that the Lord would not desert him. In the midst of these troubles an offer for establishing a mission in Jamaica was accepted; a measure which, to our calculating minds, would have appeared next to insanity.

By way of commemorating the sad events of the gone-by year, a day of thanksgiving and humiliation was agreed upon, and announced to all the congregations: of thanksgiving, for the wonderful aid afforded by the Lord; of humiliation, on account of distrusting Him in the hour of need. It was observed in London on the 23rd of February, when Zinzendorf recounted fifteen great and singular interpositions experienced in the last twelvemonths. So much as £200,000 had been required and provided, for the wants of England and North America. Fresh examples of this kind were not wanting; £1599 were due to Dingley, being the balance of £5000, which was to be paid within the year. A bill of Benzein on a house in Holland was returned protested; but the creditor was willing to wait, and the sum was paid before the year expired. The Brethren wished to abandon the borrowing system in future, and the Count received the Lord's direction "to save himself the trouble of borrowing" from bankers, as he understood it. About the same time a change was made in the finance management. After the arrival of Nicholas de Watteville, on the 22nd of February, Benzein accompanied a party of about fifty colonists to Pennsylvania; the Count engaging to undertake all his past monetary transactions. Spangenberg accompanied this colony. Soon after their departure, the diaries mention the finding of the document drawn up Nov. 11, 1751, by Maria Stonehouse, by which she leaves

her whole property to the English diaconate, "whereby the reproach (as though the Brethren had acted without any securities whatever) was, in some measure, taken away." It would appear that the Count, in giving securities for the Brethren, had calculated upon this legacy; for in an estimate drawn up towards the end of 1754, he reckons upon £19,000 from this source, and £8,000 from Dinah Larisch.

About this time (April), Ingham demanded payment for the land about Grace Hall, but at length agreed to a rental of £30 per annum instead. Weiss left for Holland, and Nicholas de Watteville took charge of his duties.

Several instances are recorded in 1754, of the Count's readiness to assist others, after he had experienced such signal proof of the Lord's help in his own distress. For example, he liberated General Oglethorpe, between the months of October and November, by a loan of £2000, from an extremely embarrassing situation. Soon after his arrival in London, in January 1752, he made the acquaintance of Viala, who, on behalf of his brethren the Waldenses, was seeking relief from the British Government, and also sympathy for the suffering Protestants in Piedmont. The Count allowed him an annuity of £340 until his death in December 1754; at the end of which year the Count records, "Our Saviour has kept house for us,—not we ourselves; His angels have conveyed to us from day to day what we required."

Regarding the affairs of the Brethren in England, what was said after the decease of the Count was strictly true: "We ought always to bear in grateful remembrance the fact, that, from the year 1750, Zinzendorf and his family, were alone the means of saving our Church from utter financial ruin."

He himself gave others much credit for their services, and speaking of the improved state of things in England, he remarks: "and in this matter, besides myself and my own family, five brethren chiefly rendered us assistance, namely; De Daunitz, De Schachmann, De Wiedebach in Saxony; Laer and Verbeck in Holland. What might be done," he adds, "by the united concordance of *all* the members? I could soon have the whole of our credit and debit in the hands of the Brethren; but, who believes my preaching? and to whom is the arm of the Lord *truly* revealed?" For the attainment of

this object many other things contributed; but, though the time did at last arrive, it had not come yet.

The following extracts characteristically shew the spirit of the congregation, under the humiliating circumstances above related, of this time of financial distress:—

On Monday, the 5th of February, Br. Böhler (after there had been read the exemplary relation of the congregation vestry-regulation of the diacony, and first collection at Herrnhut) "spoke somewhat of a matter, the giving a due illustration of, and direction about which, was the chief end of this general meeting of all the congregation. He said, he supposed most present had heard somewhat of the trouble that happened to us last week (Friday the 2nd, the announcement of Gomez Serra's stopping payment, by which a loss was incurred in commercial speculations of more than £67,600,) which yet was not to be looked upon as a misfortune on the whole; because the diacony having proceeded upon a very imprudent footing for these last years, and in a channel not suitable for a congregation (which must not adopt the ways of merchants, &c.) this mistake necessarily required to be corrected, and it was done at once by that event. Our deacons had discovered their errors when too late to retreat, and were at present sufficiently afflicted by the consequences of their ill-concerted, though entirely well-meant, services; therefore none ought to make severe reflections upon them; but rather, each should think, 'I have been *myself* to blame, some way or other, *I*, surely as much as any, have deserved this rod;' and so to be humbled for his own individual neglects. It may be that Satan thinks to crush us, and the world will probably not spare our reputation. But we know the honesty of our own hearts towards God and men; to which latter (though sometimes put to straits through persecution, and through the multiplicity of undertakings for the Saviour's sake) it is our intention and principle to owe nothing, but rather to be their benefactors. Agreeably to which the Lord Advocate of the Brethren, though the intricacies were incurred without his privity, is intent upon rectifying them, and has been so a long time; and some months ago, thought he had really accomplished it; when, by sums he himself procured and engaged for, he paid off at once almost the whole amount, then known, of the diaco-

nate's debt. We trust our Saviour will help us; we know we are his people however, and that, even when He chastises, he means it for our good, and only to bring us anew into a more regular and blessed path, into the primitive scriptural way (a pattern of which the congregation at Herrnhut affords in what was now read), where, though under deep poverty, we shall yet, by a spirit of faith in Him and fellowship among one another, find ourselves unspeakably happy. That His heart is still kind towards us may be perceived not only from the desirable turn He has just given to matters at Zeist, but also from the lines of our Watch-words some days past."

The faith's view, taken by Hutton on this trying occasion, is expressed thus:

What avails then the tempestuous shower,
Which overspreads our universe?
Does it portend a dark and dismal hour?
No! The storm will soon disperse.

For our sun will shine again with splendour,
Outward too and inward, sweet and tender;
And upon the Brethren's ground,
Peace shall flourish all around.

It was truly a time of shaking and heart-rending, but the Brethren were cheered by the comfortable words of His grace, as presented before them on the 6th by Br. Böhler; and on the 7th, the Count, who most of all had reason to be affected by this visitation, was enabled to confer with, and comfort, some brethren who had been sufferers by assisting the diaconate. Br. Böhler, on the following Sunday (11th), the text being, "If two brethren shall agree as touching any thing," &c. Matt. xviii. observed how much our Saviour regarded the agreement of two or three together in prayer and in other undertakings, and what force it carried with it; that a congregation ought to be all like one man, nor was any difference of spirit to be tolerated in the same body; that for the promotion of this precious unity, incidental matters should be discussed more and more in fellowship; and it was to be hoped our Saviour would bless afresh that primitive method among us; that, in imitation of the example of Herrnhut, a weekly collection should also be made for the necessities of the congregation, especially for the support of the children's economy; where, however, not the sum given

would be looked upon, but the concurrence of hearts, and of the blessing and prayers of the brethren and sisters. Then he sung our Saviour's prayer from John xvii.

At this trying season how delighting it is to learn that, "The brethren are in general affectionate, and come diligently to the meetings: there is a good prospect that they will not be moved by these afflictions;" and "to-day some of the labourers began to accept their necessary food at the houses of the brethren."

On the 12th, congregation-day, "was a love-feast, at which, under a sweet wind of grace, the first collection towards supplying the current and ordinary needs of our London congregation was made among the members; which is to be for the future every Sunday, agreeably to 1 Cor. xvi. 2. Br. West, the present Disciple, collected reverently and with grace—the chapel was very full, and every one eager to give out of his little into the box, with hearty complacence at the reasonable regulation, which tended to defray the necessary expenses, appendant to our being a congregation, in the most orderly, though plain and humble manner." While the collection was being made Br. Böhler sang pertinent wishes for the congregation.

"After the collection he observed, that he had been desired by the brethren to take upon him the custody and distribution of the mites thus freely offered, to make them reach as far as they could the first and most pressing necessities; that he would, however, hold a weekly conference with some of the brethren about this matter, and acquaint the congregation from time to time of all that shall have been done. Then, in our Saviour's words, he took notice that we are cautioned against 'letting our hearts be overcharged with cares of this life,' which does not become us, even in the hardest times, considering we have an Almighty Patron, and the very hairs of our head are all numbered."

The promised conference, consisting of twelve or fifteen brethren, was appointed, and met for the first time in Br. Böhler's room, and a hearty and promising spirit of love and fellowship manifested itself.

In the midst of it all "the poor of the congregation were not forgotten, who through sickness, age, &c., were unable to maintain themselves, and the customary collection was made in their behalf by Br. Böhler on the 13th."

On Sunday the 18th, after sermons by Br. La Trobe and Br. Gambold, the collection, as last Monday, was made the second time; and that, after each of the choir meetings. The poor's box contributions were fixed to be on Fridays. After the 6 o'clock preaching by Br. Böhler, he gave notice that the communion would be "omitted next Sunday, because the minds of some few of the brethren being, without fault properly of their heart, embarrassed, in some measure, by the present circumstances, they needed some time to re-collect themselves, and to get a more confident view of things; and the whole congregation should thus far deny themselves out of sympathy with them."

On the 25th, when the communion should have been held, Br. Böhler said, "On this evening, when according to custom we ought to have had the holy communion, he thought each of us ought to shed a few tears at our Saviour's feet; chiefly in this view, that the obstacle known to Him, whether mere weakness of apprehension in regard to the present difficulties, or something worse in any of the brethren, might be removed; observing, in general, it is our wisest way not to give a loose to thinking or speaking where our Saviour has not called or commissioned us. If we are thus melted down before Him for the ensuing month, our missing one sacramental opportunity, though no joy or honour to us, will, however, become a blessing, in bringing us more to our hearts, and so preparing us better for the next."

On the 12th of March, after the last service of the day, the communicant brethren were called into the hall, and Br. Böhler, there being no time that evening for a congregation vestry, told them how the collection had been hitherto applied, and read to them the watchward. "The house of Israel shall no more defile my name," (do any thing that is, or may be interpreted, to His dishonour.) No! They have bought experience and know the value of rest.

On Wednesday the 14th "there was an extraordinary meeting in the Disciple's house, wherein he (the Count) spoke of his own character and office, and of the present hard circumstances wherein he is likely and ready to suffer for his people, in such an affecting manner, and with such tenderness for the Saviour's honour and for the sake of his brethren, as drew tears from many eyes."

On the Sunday, it is said, the other meetings beside the preaching, were as usual, but no mention is made of the holy communion; but on Friday, the 23rd, Br. Böhler spoke to the communicant brethren and sisters assembled together, to the following effect: "That he heartily wished the hitherto delayed, but now shortly ensuing, communion might be a very happy one, blessed with our Saviour's joyful presence; and, such a kneading of all the participants together into one loaf as even had never happened to this congregation before. That the present troublesome circumstances ought not to discourage any one from this expectation, for we are still the Saviour's people; and these things at bottom are but a sifting of the enemy, wherein he will as usual be disappointed; and our Saviour who permitted it in His wisdom to befal us, will certainly turn it to our good. That indeed it cannot be expected of all, that they should comprehend the connexion of things, and see to the end of such a sifting; but to suspend their judgment and wait in silence, they can; which he had therefore desired of all the brethren and sisters; being afraid that the rash talking of some concerning things they did not fully understand, might prove a wound to their hearts and happiness: that he found several untrue surmises were uttered and listened to by some concerning his own person and conduct, which could not but be a surprise to him, considering how long he had laboured among them in the Gospel and how thoroughly he was known to them all. That this reduced him to a resolution, the acquainting us with which, was the chief end of the present coming together; viz. that he could not receive the holy communion with us this time. That his thus abstaining did not proceed from any condemnation or guilt felt in his own mind, nor from resentment against this congregation in general, or any particular members, not even those who were the circulators of such reports, of whom he was inclined to think as favourably as possible; but purely from a fitness in the thing, that he should thus deny himself, since some of the brethren and sisters, were not satisfied with him. That he, however, would not have any take this too much to heart, and particularly, not conclude as if he was going to forsake them, for he was still ready to care for, and minister to us in the Lord as heretofore. He then told us his main wish for this flock was, that, as the Church of the Brethren had been

used to various troubles and distresses and to emerge out of them with real blessing and gain, and therefore by the Saviour's grace will do so this time also; all the souls in our little flock might only hold out in patience and faithfulness till that last issue; with which he concluded his tender and affecting discourse, touching also once more upon what we believe and expect from the sacramental enjoyment. This declaration made a sensible impression on many."

On the 1st of April, Br. Johannes (Watteville) came from Chelsea, and "testified that he often thought affectionately of this little congregation, particularly in the present circumstances, where some danger to souls might be apprehended; that, however, he was encouraged by past experience, especially at Herrnhaag, there having been, in so large a number, none that suffered spiritual damage in the end by all those perplexities; that the London brethren and sisters have indeed the disadvantage of living intermixed with the world, but the Saviour is well able to keep them as his children even in that situation: only it was incumbent on them to keep their eyes fixed on his meritorious sufferings, and let all their actions be sanctified with His blood, rightly valuing the assistance which, for that end, they have in the congregation."

On the 3rd of April, Br. Böhler, after several remarks on the combat of our Lord with Satan, "concluded with triumph in the completeness of our Deliverer's victory, who now, as we find by experience, preserves us in His peace, which passes all understanding."

On the 7th, Br. Böhler, in his discourse on the sufferings of Christ, asks: "Why did our Lord suffer all this?" and answers, "To atone for our sins, and particularly for the ridiculing satirical spirit of man, and to render it possible for many a persecuting soul to be washed and become a Paul. What happened to the Master happens also, only not meritoriously, to the servants; his servants may sometimes be guilty of faults, but the ill-will of the world against them, is from a more general and deeper cause; 'all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.' They bear it with cheerfulness, and one day their innocency will be cleared up by Him who knows the heart. But whoever treats them contemptuously in the interim, incurs great guilt; although they do not pray for the punishment, but the pardon and conversion of such."

Monday 9th, Br. Böhler "wished the brethren might attain such converse with the Saviour, that all old things might be done away thereby, and particularly the guilt any of us may have contracted in these intricate and confused times by want of sufficient love to Him and His blood-bought congregation. He supplicated Him that he would make our hearts tender towards Him; that He would still prosper this flock, grant it to enjoy rest and be edified, and let us see this very night an end of all such things as had entangled any of our minds to the detriment of our grace and cheerfulness."

On the 13th, "at the quarterly collection Br. Böhler reminded us of the blessing that had rested upon this our chapel; the precious tranquillity from without; the many communications from our Saviour in all ordinances, and the benefit to strangers from the testimony of the Gospel, which we must need acknowledge for several years past; and prayed for a continuance of the same."

Sunday the 13th, "some married brethren, who met in a band together at their own desire, had a love-feast, where the union of heart they before stood in, was, by free and solid conversation, confirmed, notwithstanding the present trials."

Monday the 14th, the synodal conferences began at Lindsey House, and continued from day to day. It was inquired in these conferences, whether it were possible for the brethren, by any apologies or vindications, to render our spiritual matters comprehensible to the world; and also, whether the being visibly exalted and popularly admired, be so suitable for a congregation, as an humble situation, wherein, by steadiness of behaviour, she convinces and edifies mankind.

On the 16th, it was "chiefly about mutual forbearance and esteem for all children of God, notwithstanding something disagreeable perhaps in the complexion and way of one or another; and refraining from over-forward and galling criticisms and prejudices, which undermine the brotherly love or respect that should be between us."

On the 26th, the brethren, notwithstanding the troublesome circumstances, rejoiced with the Disciple on his birthday.

Sunday, May the 27th, Br. Böhler "said he could not but mention that yesterday was the fifty-fourth birth-day of the dear Disciple, whom we must needs acknowledge, with reverence and gratitude to the Saviour, to be the presiding man

of God over our economy of grace; for, though others assist in the work, yet the blessing has been principally conveyed, and the Philadelphian plan preserved, through his means. His Lord, who has hitherto stood by him, will do so for the future, to the great good and furtherance of our church, the benefit of many more souls, and the preparing of the Lamb's bride against His coming." *

On this day (27th) Br. Spangenberg arrived from America.

In May the Count addressed a letter to a nobleman respecting Mr. Whitefield's published letter; and on the 2nd of June, Hutton sent a letter to the publisher of the "Public Advertiser," calling upon him to answer for a libel in printing a part of Mr. Whitefield's letter that was libellous.

Monday, 4th of June, the Disciple signed some writings, engaging himself for £20,000 (besides large sums he took upon him before and from time to time paid) to those strangers who had demands upon some of our brethren. Br. Böhler acquainted the helpers' conference of a happy and particular interposition of our dear Saviour, in causing the revocation of the judgment obtained in Westminster Hall against some of the brethren by Mr. Stonehouse; and on the 6th, those of our own people who likewise had demands, had security given them by the Disciple.

On this day, after the morning sermon, an entirely *public* collection for the chapel expenses was made for the first time; "many strangers, who were frequent hearers, having hitherto wondered, that we bear all the burden ourselves, and take nothing of them."

June 8th, was published a translation of "The Ordinary of the Brethren's Churches, his short and peremptory opinion concerning the manner wherein he has been hitherto treated in controversies, and what reasons dissuade him from descending to minuter answers."

17th of June. "Immediately after the holy communion our dear Br. and Sr. Böhler, to our great grief, took leave of us in order to go to America; his presence in those parts for a little while, by way of visitation, being necessary on account of the circumstances there."

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* See Count Zinzendorf's Hymn, "Only matchless Heart, &c.," edit. 1754, wherein the character and "heart-thoughts" of the Disciple are contained.

On the 1st of July, Hutton preached on the Watch-word, and vividly put his hearers in mind of their tender feeling and love when they first were acquainted with the Saviour, and how each despised the whole world in comparison of His grace, resolving to cleave to Him with a firm, personal zeal; and he then put it closely to them, whether they had not sometimes, since then, forgotten themselves, and not brought Him all the pleasure that they might; speaking of himself at the same time in as frank and penitential a strain as he required of them. "Many were ready to weep, and would not soon forget the power attending those few and mild words. It was a blessed day."

Saturday, July the 7th, Br. and Sr. Marschall came from Chelsea hither to live; to have the care of this congregation at present, in conjunction with Br. Gambold, with the kind and faithful help of Br. Johannes and Br. Hutton.

On the 27th, and some of the preceding days, conferences were held at Lindsey House preparatory to the English provincial Synod. The minutes of the last Synod at Ingatestone Hall were read, and several matters discoursed of in general. And again, at the end of August and beginning of September, the new Hymn-book; the selecting of some discourses which are most plain and universally edifying as a family book or postill; the correspondence, &c., were spoken of: and five children and six single sisters were removed from Mile-end to Yorkshire, in order to lessen the expenses of the economy.

Saturday, September the 22nd, "all the creditors consenting, the Count, who had often already sacrificed himself for the congregation, effectively and conclusively took upon himself the debts which others of us had contracted."

On the 25th, "the widows, being to give up their former house, and have only a few rooms in the house in Nevill's Alley, began preparing for it; and, as the rooms wanted white-washing; they, to save expense, bought lime, and cheerfully did the work themselves."

Next day, "the brethren Bell and Nisbet waited on the Lord Advocate at Lindsey House, to thank him for his generous taking of the debt upon himself; and, at the same time, two of the principal creditors who were appointed trustees by the rest, and had been very heartily serviceable

to the last, congratulated him that that affair was at length settled; and they themselves received the thanks of the brethren met in Synod, which had gone on almost incessantly every day (Saturdays and Sundays excepted), and was still sitting on the 27th."

On the 24th of October, "Br. Johannes spoke to the following purport: That our Saviour has called us to great happiness, purchased for us by His most precious blood; and we feel that he affords, and continues the same, to us from time to time, especially in the institutions Himself has ordained. Every thing, even troublesome occurrences, shall co-operate to promote this happiness. Scarcely any present is ignorant that we have had outward difficulties of late to contend with. But our dear Saviour has interposed surprisingly to help and redress them, for which we ought to be thankful to Him. It is true all heavy circumstances are not thereby ended as yet; but there is a hopeful prospect in general. During the disorderly appearance of things, many of our people have given way to rash and hard thoughts and speeches concerning the dear Disciple; who, in truth, was in no way the cause of the entanglement, but was rather the greatest sufferer of any under the whole burden, and has laboured most faithfully, and with the utmost hardship to his own person, to remedy it. The want of better information is partly an excuse for this; but yet it has been painful to the labourers and others to observe it. To the Disciple himself such conduct was the more unexpected, as he had, about a year ago, received letters from the London married brethren, which were much to his contentment. He is now applying his thoughts to bring the state of this congregation to a wholesome, happy, and lasting regulation. No one that is acquainted with this flock, can think otherwise but that honesty and child-likeness of spirit is, however, its general character; that there are many good and loving hearts belonging to it; yea, that some who have been guilty of rashness, are such at bottom. Therefore it might be advisable that the brethren should now again write to the Disciple; all those who find their hearts still attached to our Saviour and his poor people, and are inclined, so to speak, to live and die with them, even those who have been to blame, and are sensible of it, may write; and such frankness will be an ease to their mind, and meet with speedy forgiveness. This

sincere and unaffected signification of our sentiments may comfort that servant of Christ, and be productive of considerable benefit to the whole. Things will be brought soon into a more orderly channel and rule, and our Saviour's blessing over us, will not be wanting. Our Saviour had certainly manifested Himself in the Church of the Brethren, and (through her ministry) upon other souls; among the rest, we in London could undeniably affirm that He had been often sweetly near, and among us. But the issue of most great awakenings is, that commonly after a time, all evaporates; and, like the footsteps of a wayfaring man that tarried but for a night is effaced. This we deprecate, and importune our Saviour, like the two disciples at Emmaus, 'Tarry with us.' A great deal depends on our entire and hearty desire in this point. He loves to fix His constant residence in a place when invited thereto. Our church principles oblige us to be doubly importunate for this, because neither individuals nor assemblies among us, can at all support themselves without the sense of His nearness. The present flock, therefore, weighing the past and future, ought to be solicitous for the security and increase of their precious grace."

On the 11th of November the congregation met in the chapel to commemorate their first settlement on the 10th, eleven years before, at Little Wild Street. There were present Br. Johannes, and Br. Spangenberg, who, latterly, had regulated or instituted this London congregation; Hutton, who had also the principal concern therein as its first founder, and Br. D. Nitschmann. Br. Johannes declared, that though there were many things crude and lame in this flock, yet he had observed that the Saviour delighted to be among us, and bless us; and every one could recollect how numberless times their hearts had felt His powerful presence in the several meetings, and sacred administrations, during these eleven past years; and that the same still continued, notwithstanding the outward pressure, which of late had afflicted the minds of some.

On the 13th was the anniversary of our Saviour's condescension to be the Elder of the Brethren. At the conclusion, the following hymn, composed by Hutton for the occasion, was sung with bended knees:

Dear Lamb! this Congregation
Is poor, despise her not;

She's taken with thy Passion
As were she on the spot,
Where, earning her Election,
Thy Heart-strings broke in death;
That stirs up her affection,
And gives her life and breath.

Shouldst thou desire her beauty,
For shame she hides her face;
And shouldst thou look for duty,
Ah! here she has no place:
O that Thy bowels' feeling
O'er us might joyful be;
Howe'er Thou'rt with us dealing,
O then how blest are we![*]

Wednesday, 31st of January. "This being the last day to which the payment of a pretty large sum of money, which two of our brethren engaged for, could be delayed; and they not being in a capacity to meet it, expected no other than to be thrown into prison to-morrow, to the ruin of their families. But our Saviour's providence so ordered it, that Br. Spangenberg, who had been greatly concerned in his mind for them, received, this very day, a bill of exchange from Holland, towards his and his company's voyage to Pennsylvania. He, thinking it was sent him opportunely for the relief of these brethren, made haste to bring it to them, and came just in time. The behaviour of the brethren, and the constancy of their love, gave occasion for praising the Saviour."

The 23rd of February was kept by the Brethren at Lindsey House as a day of thanksgiving to their heavenly Father for His many gracious interpositions during the past year, which insensibly amounted towards a total deliverance. This was repeated on the 4th of March at Fetter Lane, when the whole congregation solemnly met together to render thanks for the many instances of His graciously afforded help. Br. Spangenberg, addressing the brethren and sisters, took notice of four good ends which had resulted from this year

[*] As originally written and inserted in the Hymn Book of the Brethren. Edit. 1754, Part 2, No. 348, p. 268. In the edition of 1769 it was omitted, but inserted in that of 1789, at p. 174, in an altered form, and so it stands in all subsequent editions. From which it would appear that its present form was approved by Hutton himself. It is No. 969 of the last edition, which was revised by Br. James Montgomery, and published in 1849.

of great poverty. 1. That the thoughts and inclinations of many hearts might be revealed. 2. That there might be an opportunity for that brotherly love to shew itself, which is so pleasing to God. 3. That we might be admonished and rendered wiser in some respects. 4. That experience might work hope in us. Upon this foundation he proceeded to apply the comfortable Watchword, "His face shall no more be ashamed;" which, however, said he, "is the fruit only of our Saviour's righteousness which covers us." At the next meeting, among other things, "Br. Spangenberg read some passages, just come to hand, out of the Bishop of London's sermons, which must induce any mind that loves the gospel and loves this nation, to thank God."

March the 11th, Spangenberg's treatise on Missions was in part read.

Monday, March 25th, Br. Caries, being returned from Wiltshire, preached again at White's Alley. The day before he went away, one of his hearers, Roveler, a Jewish woman, departed this life very happily, acknowledging and confessing our Saviour to be the Messiah and God of the fathers, and trusting in His blood-atonement. On her sick bed, at her own request and with her husband's permission, she was visited by Br. Caries twice, who with her little son kneeled down and prayed with her to our Saviour. Her body, according to her desire, was carried to the Christian burying-ground in Bunhill Fields.

In the month of April, Hutton was confined to his chamber by sickness, and ever after his ill state of health continued to be a thorn in the flesh to him.

In the month of May, a Synod was held at Lindsey House, the necessary committees of which were appointed on the 13th, and the catalogues of the several congregations reviewed, in order to know their present state. On the 21st, it was concluded; and, the next day the brethren began to return to their respective places. On the 24th of June its results were read before the congregation. At this Synod, among other subjects, this was considered, namely, who among the brethren and sisters, could be selected as *assistant* labourers?

Friday, May 24th, "The Case of the Representatives of the Unitas Fratrum" came from the press. This, as also "The Case of the English Brethren in union with them,"

which was drawn up and printed separately, was on the 5th of June presented to the Members of Parliament.

On the 17th of June, the subject of "a farthing collection," towards the support of the children's economies, was considered, together with the propriety of seeking contributions of such as were in distinct connection with the Brethren.

On the 17th of July, the brethren Hutton and Garrison, Verbeck, Cranz, and Gold, set out for Yorkshire, and on the evening of the 16th of August, Hutton and Garrison returned. The object of this long visit does not appear.

September 2nd, the Count delivered a remarkable sermon on Psalmody and Hymns.

In November a Synod was held at Lindsey House, which began on the 11th, and at which a greater number of brethren from London was present than ever before, and reaped much satisfaction and instruction; because many excellent sentiments relating to the gospel doctrine, to a Christian life, to a congregation and its order, and the necessary disposition of its members into choirs, &c. were uttered, and mostly in English. On the 14th, that great point was unanimously concluded by the Brethren of the British congregations, that some fixed and known "Statutes" were absolutely necessary, and that they would be glad to have such. This was accordingly promised them. The tenderest care for the English Brethren, and condecension towards them, were manifested throughout the whole Synod; and because it was apprehended that it might possibly be useful to have one of that nation as Chor-episcopus, Br. Gambold was ordained in that view, by the Bishops Johannes [Watteville] and John and David Nitschmann.

On the 18th of November, the brethren Hutton and Metcalf appeared in the Court of King's Bench, as bail for the defendant, in the cause between Chambers and General Oglethorpe, when the following amusing discussion took place; which, involving Hutton in much apparent absurdity, he explained on the following day, as appears by the memorandum he made at the time.

"As, Nov. 18, 1754, in the cause between Chambers (a creditor of General Oglethorpe for £2,000) and the General, in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster Hall, before Lord Chief Justice Rider, Justices Denison and Foster; James Hutton and Charles Metcalf, both of Chelsea, were bail for

the General; now the custom of the Court is, for each person who is bail for any considerable sum to be present when the Court is sitting, and there testify that he is worth, after all his debts be paid, double the sum for which he proposes to become bail; and the method is, that the bail must swear that they will truly give answer to the questions there to be put to them: Accordingly, the book of the New Testament was offered to Hutton and Metcalf for them to swear upon, in the usual English way. To which they replied that they were members of a body of people who were *exempted from swearing* in the usual way, and had *their own form*, legally, prescribed.

The officer who administered the oath to each person that was to swear, asked therefore if we swore as Quakers were used to swear? We said, No.—He hastily called out, "Give them then the Old Testament;" taking it for granted that we must be Jews. "We swear not thereon, nor on the New, we have an Act which prescribes the very words; which we can neither add to, nor diminish."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Let me see the Act."

Andrews (counsel for Hutton and Metcalf) read or began to read the Act, and said, "Gentlemen, you must produce your certificate." The certificate was produced, signed *Johannes Episcopus Unitatis Fratrum*, and sealed with the episcopal seal.

Lord Chief Justice.—"Let me see those certificates; what's this? who is this Johannes? Is this the person called Count Zinzendorf?"

Hutton.—"No, *his* name is Lewis."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Is he head of the church? the head of you all?"

Hutton.—"The Synod is the head."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Is he not, however, head of all the Bishops?"

Hutton.—"The bishops among us are equal, and he acts, but unwillingly. We cannot get him to act enough."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Who is this Johannes? of what place is he bishop?"

Hutton.—"Our Bishops are not adfected (attached) to particular places; however, he is chiefly bishop of the heathen and their missionaries, and the acting men in these parts."

Lord Chief Justice.—"How many bishops have you then?"

Hutton began to reckon up .....

Lord Chief Justice.—"Where does this *Johannes* live?"

Hutton.—"In Chelsea."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Have you witnesses that he wrote this certificate?"

Hutton.—"There is no need of that, the clause in the Act says; 'they shall affirm the bishop signed it, *or* bring witnesses.' I could have brought forty witnesses to prove his hand-writing, if it had been needful, but it is not needful by the Act, and I affirm he wrote it and sealed it. I had almost neglected to bring a certificate, it being notorious that I was, from the first, united with these people, and have signed advertisements and other papers with my name, and am known to some in this court to belong to these people."

Norton.—(King's counsel) "I know of this Act. I know that gentleman, Metcalf, to belong to that people."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Give me the Act."

Hutton.—"The Chancery and Doctors' Commons have already allowed the Act without difficulty."

The Judges looked on one another; and, it being a new case, stared pretty much.

Lord Chief Justice.—"How many bishops, and who are they, and their names, and ....."

Hutton.—"I beg your Lordship's pardon for interrupting you; I do it with all deference and submission. But I think your Lordship needs not ask these questions, the point being only; first, whether Johannes be a bishop? whether he signed that certificate? whether his name be given, by the Advocate, to the Board of Trade? and whether Hutton and Metcalf be members of that body within the meaning of the Act? To all which I answer and affirm, Yes. Other questions are needless, and I desire we may keep to the point."

The Lord Chief Justice imperceptibly desisted, without being displeased—like a gentleman.

Then the clerk came; and, with the Act in his hand, repeated the words, which Hutton and Metcalf repeated after him: "I, James Hutton, I, Charles Metcalf do declare, &c." as soon as that was done, Cox (counsel for the plaintiff, Chambers) who was instructed to oppose bail, said, "Mr. Hutton, I have some few questions to ask you: Are you worth £2,000, all your debts paid?"

Hutton.—"Yes, and more."

Cox.—"You will excuse me, Mr. Hutton, but I am obliged to make some objections which have occurred to me since I

came into the Hall, and which arise, partly from the books published against that body of people, and partly, from what I have heard. I ask, Mr. Hutton, therefore; if, according to your constitution, the bishops cannot demand of you, at any time, all your substance? and if you are not, by the rules of your community, obliged to give, in that case, whatever they ask?"

Hutton.—"No: that is an impiety and an absurdity."

Cox.—"I ask you in what consists your substance?"

Hutton—"In houses and lands."

Cox.—"Where?"

Hutton.—"House in Chelsea, worth £7,000."

Cox.—"Was this house bought and built with your own money?"

Hutton.—"No, I cannot say it was."

Cox.—"Is the property yours absolutely?"

Hutton.—"Yes; absolutely."

Cox and the Lord Chief Justice and the other Judges.—"Have you given no deed of trust?"

Hutton.—"No."

Lord Chief Justice.—"For what consideration have you this house?"

Hutton.—"For none at all; it is mine, it is a present to me; as much a present, my Lord, as if any man had given your Lordship a pen, or an ink-box."

Cox.—"Whose money built the house? was it the money of the fraternity?"

Hutton.—"I shall not answer that question; it is nothing to the purpose here, and I shall not inform you; I repeat it, it is the truth; I did not furnish the money, I have given no deed of trust, the house is absolutely mine."

The Lord Chief Justice and the Judges and Counsellors, unable any longer to look grave, laughed aloud.

Justice Foster or Rider (uncertain which) said,—"If you have given no deed of trust, has there been no reason why that house has been given you?"

Hutton.—"It is given me absolutely; founded upon the confidence they had in me, that if I had ten times as much I would use it all for their satisfaction, and for them."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Do they live in the house?"

Hutton.—"Yes, they live there."

Lord Chief Justice.—"Who live there?"

Hutton.—" Gentlemen." (The Counsellors and Judges all laughed.)

Cox.—" Can you, in your conscience, apply, and will your conscience,—as I know you are an honest man,—let you apply, what you possess in trust, or what has been given you in confidence, to your own private use? as it will be the paying your debt, which will, in this case, very possibly become yours."

Judge Foster repeated the question.

Hutton.—"My conscience will let me do it; it (the property) is now absolutely my own. I can do what I will with it; I can sell it or give it away, legally. However, I will tell you that the persons with whose money it was built, know and are pleased with what I do this day." (The Court laughed and said " Now we have it out.") " And so my conscience has leave enough."

Lord Chief Justice.—" What debts are upon the house?"

Hutton.—" £2,500 on mortgage, and I have given personal bond for that £2,500 on the house."

Lord Chief Justice.—" Are there no more?"

Hutton.—" No."

Cox.—" What else have you, in possessions?"

Hutton.—" Lands and houses in America to a great value."

Cox.—" Were they bought with your own money?"

Hutton.—" No."

Cox.—" With whose money?"

Hutton.—" I shall not inform you."

Cox.—" Are they yours absolutely?"

Hutton.—" Mine, absolutely."

Lord Chief Justice.—" Have you given no deed of trust thereon?"

Hutton.—" None."

Cox.—" Here are persons who say they are worth so much; which consists in possessions, not purchased with their own money, which the law (supposing that a valuable consideration is to be given for what a man possesses) does not allow; they will not say by whom. Is this proper bail? This is *not* proper bail, my Lord."

The Judges seemed to say it was not, but laughed; however, no unseemly word was said.

Andrews said—" The objection is nothing; for it was to no purpose, whose the money was, if the estate was absolutely vested in Hutton and Metcalf. Any private deed

of trust would be fraudulent in this case, and the Court would make the estate pay Oglethorpe's debt, if need was, and if the bail should be called upon to pay it; notwithstanding any deed of trust."

Foster.—"The court of equity will not suffer the estate to pay the debt laid on it by a person who had not furnished the money for the purchase;" and so they seemed all to say. However, Cox went on to examine Metcalf: "Are you worth £2,000?"

Metcalf.—"Yes."

Cox.—"Where is *your* estate?"

Metcalf.—"In houses and lands in Pennsylvania."

Cox.—"Bought with your money?"

Metcalf.—"I cannot say, yes; some 100 pounds of my money have been employed there too."

"The Judges then seemed to say the estate would be liable to pay the sum we had given bail for; and we gave bail accordingly; after Hutton had quite imagined they would not take the bail; and we had declared ourselves to be housekeepers worth £4,000 each. Mr. West, who had been bail with us for General Oglethorpe's appearance to put in bail in the King's Bench, was, at the motion of Andrews, discharged from being bail.

"November 19th, 1754, I went to Westminster Hall, with the intention to inquire the proper time to wait upon the Lord Chief Justice Rider; in order to inform him, as a private man, of what I refused answering on the 18th of November, when before him in Court, because the matters were not of his *forum* (court), nor the disposition suitable at that time. In the hall I met Henry Masterman, Esq., clerk of the crown, who has a great estate about Hillingdon, and who is an officer, under the Lord Chief Justice, of a considerable rank. He rejoiced to see me, and renewed at once his acquaintance with me openly. I asked him if he did not think my behaviour yesterday very odd? He told me, "by no means," it was honest, and plain, and hearty. He could see I told them the truth, though that truth was unusual, and *that* was the cause of the laughter. I told him that the persons with whose money Lindsey House was built, as also Pennsylvania estate purchased, I could not name in Court, because I had not leave for so doing; and if I had had leave, I should not at that time have done it, because I saw the gen-

tlemen inclined to be merry, and myself being always inclined to be very angry with any man, whoever he might be, in office or out of office, who failed to treat Count Zinzendorf with great respect, or who should either loudly abuse, or seem but to sneer at a man whom I loved passionately. But that I would let *him* know who the persons were, and whose money it was; and I told him. I said further, I was asked if he were head of us all; but I did not choose yesterday to explain our constitution, in a place where no man had a *right* to inquire; though it was what I much desired, as we all did, to behave like the children of the magistrates, and to make them acquainted with our matters; that the Count had merited all the respect his people shewed him, not by virtue of his office, but on the principle of *detur meliori*. For he laboured more for the service of his people; had hazarded himself more than we all; and had caused Germany to be in advance to England, of a great number of thousand pounds, before any payment was stopped; so that, if any man would deduct what England had laid out for any purposes, which could be called German purposes, there would yet remain, at the smallest estimate, between £30,000 and £40,000 for the benefit of the English.

"He said the Count must be very rich. I told him, by means of sacrificing himself perpetually, it happened that he really was so; but as fast as he became so, away it went for the service of his people. I said, I am desirous of waiting upon the Lord Chief Justice, to give him an opportunity of knowing our matters, cordially as a worthy man; but as a private man, not in his judicial capacity, in which I supposed he might think it improper for him to be waited upon. He told me that my Lord was a man as worthy and good-natured as any in England; and, he dared say, would gladly give me half-an-hour at his chambers some afternoon or evening. Accordingly I wrote a card-paper: "Mr. Hutton of Chelsea, with humble duty to my Lord, desires his Lordship would be pleased to leave word at his office when it would be a proper time for Mr. Hutton to pay his respects to him." The note was to that effect, which I gave to his servant to give him as soon as he came home. I said to Mr. Masterman, it is a pity that none of the £12,000 laid out in Yorkshire, nor the £7,000 or £8,000 laid out in Chelsea, was laid out in Hillingdon. "Had I known," said he, "that you would

have built, I could have let you have land enough." He told me his lady and he would always be very glad to see me, and he pressed me to visit him at his chambers in the Temple. He told me, smiling, that he thought there was still some small matter owing him upon the house; he thought so, but had never thought it worth the while to ask for it. I laughed and told him, when I went abroad in the year 1747, I ordered that to be paid punctually, but that when I came to Hillingdon in 1749, I found, like Matthew Prior, another family in the house; and so we laughed. I told him, however, I would at any time settle that trifle with him. I also told him the reason of our helping General Oglethorpe was, that he had been kind to our people, who would never forsake those persons in their distress, who had, in their prosperity, shewed kindness to any of them. That gave occasion to him to inquire after our colonies, and charmed he was to hear our peaceable *cede malo* in Georgia, and of the Greenlanders' being civilized and Christians; as also quite charmed that we had missionaries among the Indians—*that*, in his judgment, made more than amends for our not bearing arms. I saw he wanted to be informed of our matters, and that he relished them. I promised I would lend him our folio book, which he wished to see; and told him it had been a sorrow for me to have been so many years without a friend who was master of the laws of England, who might have been our adviser, and have kept many matters in better order than the want of attention and proper understanding therein of our good-natured, zealous brethren, could be expected to effect. I asked him, if he was not ashamed of being so long and so openly familiar in Westminster Hall in the presence of all the lawyers, with a man who had yesterday made, in some of their eyes, but an odd appearance; at least a very unusual one? He told me he was not such a sort of a man. I said, But I will take care of your reputation. He smiled friendly, gave me his hand, and so we parted."

On the last day of the year, the Brethren being distressed with charges publicly laid against them, Hutton inserted in the London Daily Advertiser newspaper an advertisement, calling for those Queries, the answers to which were alleged to be indispensably necessary for the vindication of the Moravian Brethren.

On the 7th of January, 1755, a tract, under the title, "Queries humbly proposed to the right reverend and right honourable (Count Zinzendorf,") was published, with an address to Mr. James Hutton as an introduction. This is supposed to have been written by Mr. John Wesley, as Hutton refers to such a work as his, in a letter written some years after.

Sunday 26th January, was a general meeting of the whole congregation; wherein the 'Disciple's Pastoral Letter,' containing a system of the New Testament precepts for a congregation, and in the words of Scripture, was read. Thus the desire of the Brethren to have "Statutes," was answered, "and they will certainly, through our Saviour's blessing, have a good effect."

February the 6th, "A Letter to the author of the Moravians compared and detected," came from the press.

This month "An Essay towards giving some just ideas of the personal character of Count Zinzendorf, &c., was published by James Hutton, late of Westminster and now of Chelsea." This was prepared by Hutton, who wrote it all, except the letter from Br. Gambold to Spangenberg, which is contained in it. The Advertisement gives an excellent delineation of the character of Count Zinzendorf.

March 17th, the Committee of Brethren paid several small debts of the children's nursery formerly contracted, to the amount of £100, besides some they had paid before.

On the following Monday, Hutton and his wife set out for Germany.

May 12th, on this day the "Statutes" for the English congregations were ready for every one's private perusal, having come from the press on the 7th.

On the 11th of June, the labourers received a present from Germany, in aid of their house-keeping expenses.

July the 4th, Br. John Cennick departed to his Saviour.

Amidst all the financial embarrassments Count Zinzendorf was unceasingly active. During the whole time of his residence in London, where he had contemplated the quiet and retired life of a Disciple of Jesus, he was engaged in writing and publishing works counteractive of the corrupted spirit of the "sifting-time;" a subject which had attracted the attention of the conferences held in 1748 and 1750. Prior to his first and second journey, he took the plan for a

Hymn book and Scripture extracts with him to London, and no outward troubles prevented him from persevering in these works, although their publication was prevented by his controversial and apologetic writings. Gambold, at that time minister of the London congregation, mainly assisted him in these labours. To supply the wants of his own countrymen he published "Maxims, theological ideas, and sentences of the Ordinary of the Church of the Brethren, collected from his dissertations and discourses from 1738 to 1747." These, according to the preface, were to testify of Zinzendorf and his christian character. The Count read this work on his journey from England to Ebersdorff in July 1751, after which it was printed at his private press in London, and published. Shortly after, extracts from the German controversial writings appeared in a French monthly journal, for the perusal of the more respectable portion of the reading public. These did not remain altogether without injurious consequences, for Chevalier Schaub, the Count's old friend, wrote an article for the same journal against them, and with it the controversy ended; but in the spring of 1753 the strife broke out with the greatest vehemence, when the first great financial crisis had scarcely passed away.

Many fruitless endeavours have been made to obtain a complete collection of the writings against the Brethren, and of those which they published in their defence. The following, therefore, will be accepted as a general, and, it is believed, faithful representation of their whole case, as far as could be gathered from such documents as have been obtained.

The beginning of the English controversial writings was made by that celebrated man Mr. George Whitefield, who addressed an "Expostulatory Letter to Count Zinzendorf," the meaning and tone of which were suited to the English taste. It was printed in all the newspapers, and even appeared in German in the beginning of May, 1753, at the Leipsig Easter fair time; which may excite a suspicion of some connection between the German enemies of the church and the writer, who, as the Count said, "not only copied from all German controversial writings, but surpassed them by far. Whitefield defends the English brethren, and describes the German brethren as their

robbers and murderers; in doing which, he endangered the former, whose agreement with their creditors was incomplete, as long as Miss Stonehouse refused to accept security for her £2000. The object of the pamphlet is evidently this; because the Brethren have not become bankrupts as soon as their opponents desired, to malign everything done for them; and to make *me* appear a rogue, who sends other people to prison on his account. Yet Whitefield labours in blessing; and, for *this* reason, it is difficult to oppose him." But Bohler and the Count, conscious of their integrity, and pained at the injury done them in the pamphlet, at once wrote the letters given below to the man who had so grossly slandered them.*

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* *To the Rev. Mr. Whitefield.*

Sir,—I pity you very much that you suffer yourself to be so much imposed upon, and to print your impositions so inconsiderately.

You have now attempted a second time to ruin my character. You represent me as the inventor of an *Artificial Mount, &c.* You build upon that, two assertions: 1st, that I invented it as a means to encourage a certain gentleman in his undertakings; 2nd, that I did it to make up a quarrel with him by these means. Now I can attest with a good conscience, before God, that I had no hand in inventing, or contriving, or executing, &c., such an *Artificial Mount and Picture, &c.*; and both your conclusions that you build on it, drop of course.

You also assert, that I and others paid our devotions in a certain room of which you please to give a description; but you really are in this point also grossly imposed upon: by whom? by an Apostate!

The person against whom you chiefly level your letter against, is so maliciously misrepresented therein, that really you yourself will be ashamed of it one day before God and man. It would have been ingenuous in you to have asked some of your old friends, whether those charges you lay against us be true. But that, you have not done. You will perhaps say to me: "You can clear yourself in print." But this sounds in my ears, as if a drunken man would pelt one with dirt, and then say, "Now I will shew you water where you can wash yourself again." I, for my part, have always abhorred the paper war: For, I think the result of such a war for a child of God is no other than *vinco seu vincor, semper ego maculor* (conquering or conquered, I am dishonoured); and, besides that, I think it incumbent upon an honest man; when he rashly and heedlessly has cast an aspersion upon his fellow creatures; fathered actions upon an innocent person of whom he was altogether ignorant; and, with the most prejudicial assertions, charged a body of people with faults of which they neither in whole nor in part are guilty; that he does all in his power to remove such aspersions of which he is the author or propagator.

Dear Mr. Whitefield, when the secret intentions of man, together with all his unjust deeds and actions, will be judged, how glad would you be then, not to have treated our Society in general; and, in particular, that

In the conferences of the "Disciple's" house, the subject of the writings against the Brethren was much spoken of; Cossart stated the opinions of influential friends, (Lord Granville, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and the Bishops of London and Worcester) to be this: "We hope no answer

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venerable person against whom your letter is chiefly levelled; and poor I, in so injurious, yea, I may say, impudent and wicked a manner.

But, perhaps, my dear and merciful Saviour may give you grace, that I may a second time be asked pardon by you, which I, for your own sake, heartily desire; but, for my sake, am entirely unconcerned about; who, as an unworthy servant of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, who was slain for his enemies, shall continue to love and pray for you.

PETER BÖHLER.

May the 4th, 1753.

To Mr. G. Whitefield.

Rev. Sir,—As I read no newspapers, I knew nothing of your "EXPOSTULATORY LETTER," 'till a worthy clergyman of the Church of England communicated to me his copy but yesterday.

You are a preacher, I suppose, of Christ; therefore, though you are, it seems, an utter stranger to me, you may guess why you see no reply to your letter.

In private, I tell you so much, that you are mistaken in the chief point you urge with more zeal than knowledge.

As yet I owe not a farthing of the £40,000 you are pleased to tell me of; and if your precipitate officiousness should save me and those foreigners you forewarn so compassionately, from that debt, your zeal would prove very fatal to the English friends you pity, it seems, no less than the German.

As for the distinction in the dress of our women, pray consider that St. Paul has thought it worth his while to make certain regulations about the head-dress; and you may remain the more quiet, as you have no notion what our ordinances are.

If some brethren in their Easter liturgy make use of French horns, (which they are to answer for, not I, for my chapel has none) let the synod consider of it. I have not yet seen the pamphlet you tell us of. It is dedicated to the Archbishop you say. If the author got the permission of his Grace fairly, then the thing is serious indeed; yet I shall have nothing to say to Mr. Rimius.

I make but one observation for your good, Sir! are you sure that all the quotations out of the Bible are true? If so, is it possible that the interpretations which some eighty different sects of Christians give to the passages in which they oppose each other, can be the true meaning of the author?—Are all those which are made out of your own books to be depended upon?

For my own part, I find that the single passage you borrow from Mr. Rimius, is an imposition upon the public, as gross as if St. Paul, when he says, We have but one God the Father, &c., should be charged with deny-

will be made. To do so in this case, we consider quite disreputable in our country; the Church of the Brethren being acknowledged by Act of Parliament. Go on in your course, and turn neither to the right nor to the left." Such were the sentiments of many friends both of the clergy and laity,

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ing the Divinity of Jesus. As thousands of our people are satisfied, that I oppose that meaning of the said quotation with all my credit in the church, and support my opposition with all my substance, and that of my family, above these thirty years; and will continue so long as I have a shirt left;—what must they think when *they* see my book quoted in that manner? I add no more.

As your heart is not prepared to love me, nor your understanding to listen to my reasons, I wish you well, Sir, and am

Your loving friend,

May the 8th, 1753. LOUIS.

Br. Thomas Rhode, in a letter dated at Berne in Switzerland, October the 21st, 1753, after mentioning several matters of business, thus speaks of himself, and of his situation in regard to the United Brethren.

"I have my health quite well and rather better than in England. I don't wonder that you hear disagreeable discourse concerning me, and the people to whom I belong, but very likely the most which you hear is falsehood; for as to the late distress of the United Brethren, it has proceeded purely from mistakes, to which the best of men are liable, for they are not infallible, and not from bad designs, or dishonest principles. On the contrary, I know and am witness that their designs and principles are good and honest; and I also know that their possessions in Germany are much more than sufficient to pay all their creditors, which they also will faithfully do. What Mr. Whitefield has written concerning the United Brethren, and also me, is, the greatest part, entire falsities, and the remainder are truths set in a false light,—as, viz: among many others, my selling my horse, saddle, bureau, &c., for travelling expenses. It is true, as I could not take them with me, I thought it was best to make money of them; but not for travelling expenses, for I was otherwise sufficiently supplied therewith. He also says, I left my mother in distress, and that she is since dead. I have while here received several letters from my mother, wherein she informs me that she is well in health, and receives her quarterage punctually. You may remember my saying to you that I should like to travel again, especially to see France. Accordingly, having met with an opportunity through a gentleman and friend, my companion, I embraced it of choice, by which means I have seen the greatest part of France and Switzerland, and have travelled and lived in a very genteel and agreeable manner; and am sufficiently supplied with money, nay more than sufficiently, for I have several times refused it, when offered; consequently, I know of no distress, and am better satisfied than when I had my estate, for you know very well the income thereof was not half so much as the interest of the money at four per cent, for which I sold it; and therefore it would not have allowed me to travel and live in the manner I now do. I have willingly communicated the above, as I think it will be a satisfaction to you,

and the lawyers White and Heaton concurred in the same opinion. Zinzendorf still further remarked: "A living congregation is a book read by all men; these controversial pamphlets, like our pecuniary embarrassments, will only serve the more to establish us in England, when the readers shall have perceived that it was nothing more than controversy." Thus, observed Weiss, "the Act of Parliament was not only a boon but a deliverance through the Red Sea, by which our entire ruin, in Germany, was averted." The Count said further, "Whitefield's book certainly is a bad thing for us! It may thwart our arrangement with our creditors, and throw impediments in the way of helps to be obtained from abroad; moreover, we depend, as a peculiar people, very much in this country upon our *good name* among the community. It is, therefore, by no means a matter of indifference what one or another brother does. Every community, it is argued, has its lawgiver and powers of executive; if these cannot prevent iniquitous action among their own people, the virtue and intelligence of that community may be questionable. The first execution of a Quaker for crime, was a death-blow to the reputation of the Friends. We have been repeatedly told, that we shall never be able to carry on our present system of finance; but when our opponents, who have already gone too far in their invectives against us, are dead and gone, then the present controversy will cease, and no one will acknowledge that he took any part in it." We now see clearly the light in which all parties viewed the controversial writings, which then appeared to have been accordant with their true character and worth. Prior to the termination of the financial difficulties the Count was of opinion that "the whole case became much worse through Whitefield's interference; but had he, the Count, then known of the will made by Maria Stonehouse on the 11th of November, 1741, he should have been able to answer Whitefield's letter."

These and other hints in the minutes of the conferences, indicate, though not quite clearly, a certain connection between George Stonehouse and his sister, and Whitefield's

as well as an answer to the disagreeable discourse you mention; and if you have any thing further to say or ask on that head, please to inform me in your next, with which I hope to be soon favoured.

I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

THOMAS RHODE.

Expostulatory Letter to the Lord Advocate; yet so little is known of the circumstances which led Whitefield to publish his pamphlet, that it seems most natural to suppose he took offence at the doctrinal views of the Brethren, and what had been reported to him of the moral conduct of Zinzendorf and his people. Perhaps Hutton's answer to the letter of February, 1746, may have had a good deal to do with it.*

Whitefield, however, was not the only opponent of the Brethren; for, during the period of the financial distress, a number of theological, controversial, and libellous pamphlets, were published. A Mr. Rimius is specially named as the author of one dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and published soon after the appearance of Whitefield's letter.† Rimius' work was spoken of as "a compilation of the German and Dutch libels;" and Hutton called the author, "a Grub-street scribbler." The Archbishop's acceptance of the dedication most of all grieved the Count; and on the 7th of July he thus addressed him: "My Lord, you are now ailing, and as a Christian, a Bishop, and a man, you ought to plead guilty of a mistake. It is my desire herewith to inform you, that I pardon your error in this affair, and wish you every blessing." On the 23rd of May, he wrote to Lord Granville at greater length, concluding his letter thus: "I desire that an impartial review of all my doings since 1722, together with an outline of my probable conduct for the future, might be made, to satisfy all my friends." It was not, at that time, his wish to appear in writing before the public; his motto was, 'Let *facts* speak.' Yet he was not backward in presenting himself before the public, when it appeared to him to be necessary, and upon the publication of the works of Rimius and Whitefield; a translation was made and printed of "The Ordinary of the Brethren's Churches, his short and peremptory Remarks on the way and manner wherein he has been hitherto treated in controversies, and what reasons dissuade him from descending to minuter answers. 1753."

The Brethren were not, however, altogether without friends capable of advocating their cause; and on the 22nd

* See p. 190.

† This is an error, for Rimius' dedication is dated the 3rd, and Whitefield's letter the 27th of April, 1753, and may explain the motive to the latter publication.

of November 1753, a pamphlet came out "without the knowledge of the Brethren, and by an unknown author," in their vindication. It is said to have been "rather too satirical against the antagonists." Subjoined to it, was the translation of a German treatise by the Count, entitled, "Method with Souls, &c." This pamphlet consisted of 43 pages, and was printed by Parker in the Broadway, Blackfriars. It is not dated.*

On the 28th of January, 1754, an 8vo. pamphlet was published, "A modest Plea for the Church of the Brethren." According to its title it is "an appeal to the hearts and consciences of all sincere Christians. Wherein the intrinsic character of that constitution, is shewn in an important point of view. London, printed for John Beecroft, at the Bible and Crown in Lombard Street, 1754, [price six-pence.]" The preface of seven pages, written by Br. Gambold, is followed by an advertisement page of six works of the Brethren, which were sold by the publisher, and the work itself consists of 24 pages. It is a very sensible and faithful representation of the true cause that induced the virulent opposition against the Brethren; which was in reality a hatred of their love to Christ their God and Saviour, and of their simply following Him in purity of life, and determination to oppose the selfishness, and pride, and corruption of the human heart in themselves and others.

In the spring of 1754, it having been resolved to throw "a shell into the present system of libellous attack," the Count compiled a pamphlet, and on the 30th of March a newspaper announcement was made, of a "Reply to all the controversial writings." In this the Brethren were fully conscious that their legal standing in England would not in any respect be affected; but the Count felt himself called upon to vindicate the social and religious character of himself, and his Brethren, against whom the grossest calumnies had been raised, upon false reports and misrepresentations of facts, to which some of their old friends, such as the Bishop of London and others, unwillingly appeared to give credence. He was urged also by others to write such a reply. The pamphlet was printed at his own office, under the title,

* See the whole of this work, which is perhaps as complete an answer to Whitefield and Rimius as could well be put together in so small a compass, in the APPENDIX.

"Plain Case of the Representatives of the Unitas Fratrum,"* or, according to the Count's own interpretation in the German title, "The true Status of the Superiors of the Church of the Brethren since 1727;" and as Spangenberg interprets it, "of the conduct of the Brethren in England up to the present day." All was written in general terms, which did not accord with the views of English friends. Lord Chesterfield said to Cossart, that he disapproved of "the heavy style, the ambiguous mode of expression, and the absence of facts.—All the assertions of the enemies ought to have been disproved by legal evidence against them."

Although the Count, when comparing his own writings with those in the Spectator, might with truth declare, "I am, by the grace of God, wiser than they all," yet the soundness of Lord Chesterfield's remarks was at once apparent to him. Hence there appeared, after the last provincial Synod, "The public Declaration of the United Brethren concerning their connection with the Unitas Fratrum;" and Zinzendorf's essay entitled, "An Exposition, or true state of the matters objected in England to the people known by the name of the United Brethren." The first part treats of the false accusations, the second is of a theological character; in the former, *facts*, in the latter, *principles*, are considered, with special reference to a recent pamphlet, whose author it was said had received his materials from Buedingen. The essay of Zinzendorf was prepared for the press by Hutton; the former being engaged in making ready for his return to Germany in the spring of 1755; and it was published with explanatory notes.

At the anniversary of the London congregation, Hutton gave some historical account of its first commencement twelve years before; "of the grace felt at those beginnings, how cer-

* The full title of the work, which is dated May 16th, 1754, is "The Plain Case of the Representatives of the People, known by the name of the UNITAS FRATRUM; from the year 1727, till these times, with regard to their conduct in this Country, under misrepresentation. *Cum oderint Homines quia ignorant quale sit quod oderunt—cur non licet ejusmodi illud esse, quod non debeant odisse?* (When men hate, because they know not what they hate; is this not a sufficient reason why they ought not to hate?) TERTULLIAN. London: Printed for John Beecroft, in Lombard Street, 1754." It is in 8vo. and contains a full title, an advertisement, general title, preface of the editor, together eleven pages. The Plain Case, 35 pages, and a page with the titles of nine works published by the Brethren, which includes that of the "Modest Plea."

tain every heart was of our Saviour's presence amongst us, how resigned to Him in things great and small, as our Bridegroom who ordered all things well; how childlike and humble before Him; none, for instance, thinking it an injury when not permitted, as sometimes happened to the labourers themselves, to go to the holy sacrament, but only shedding sinner-like tears about it."

"Afterwards several observations were made about the nature of the church economy; that the Brethren are a peculiar sort of people, who live and exist purely for our Saviour's sake in this world; and who, subservient to this, have many special customs and principles, which must appear odd and unaccountable to human understanding in common; the reverse of them being, perhaps, in the world, thought laudable and allowable. These principles make it inconvenient to increase our congregation much, and rather eligible to let many well-disposed minds continue in a friendly connection with us at a distance; since, if they came quite among us, they might, sooner or later, be offended at something or other in our discipline. But those who are once in the congregation should think themselves under the power of some delusion whenever these same things, which they have sufficiently proved to be sweet, blessed, and well-grounded, appear to them as odd and burdensome, and that they relish rather the worldly way. Congregation-maxims, and the meek and mortified mind of Christ, should be the very nature of a brother; and, therefore, it is surprising how any can ever forget their first way of thinking, as well as their first bond of love. Though these last years have yielded some painful reflections of this sort, yet the comfortable ones abound much more; for we see still a flock together; many difficult things have been happily effected and regulated since this time last year; a cheerful and loving spirit prevails; and a congregation having weathered such trials, is itself a proof that our Saviour supports and stands by it."

On the same day, November the 10th, the customary loving loyalty of the Brethren was manifested, by some verses being respectfully sung for the King, it being his Majesty's birthday.

On the 13th, Br. Johannes, in his discourse said, "Having been used to appoint a General Elder, who should inspect and be answerable for all things, this office in our congregation was found, at last, to be too much for a mortal man, and

so, thirteen years ago in a Synod, we asked our Saviour whether He Himself would fill this place; to which he consented. That hence very encouraging inferences may be drawn is plain. When the thing was made known in the congregations, numberless tears of love were shed, and a new period of grace began with many hearts; therefore, we yearly commemorate this occurrence, presenting ourselves before our Lord to renew our allegiance, and at the same time begging absolution for all mistakes and faults committed by us."

December 11th, some of the Committee contributed and paid off £29, which remained for printing "the Augsburg Confession Discourses."

By a letter from Br. Cranz, we learn that Hutton and his wife, during their visit to Germany, had been at Herrnhut, where they were commended to the Diaspora labour in Switzerland for a season.

They arrived happy and well, at Montmirail, on the 15th of September, 1756, in the company of Br. Nicholas de Watteville, Br. Cranz, and Wiedling, with the merchant Jacob Gemusæus, his mother, and his sister, wife of D. Stockley at Basle. On this their second coming to Switzerland, which was with the view of making acquaintance with the French candidates for the ministry studying there, they were received with uncommon joy and tenderness, by Br. and Sr. Wallis, Mrs. Brandt, and her three single daughters (the mother and sisters of Hutton's wife). The celebration of Hutton's birthday was kept by a love-feast, at which were thirty-five persons, who heartily rejoiced to see him; and Br. Watteville sung many blessings for his new year, and for his sojourn in Switzerland; concluding this first meeting, which was attended by the congregation spirit, with an anointed discourse from the text out of the book of "Ethics:" "One can converse with Him as one friend with another; this makes (forms) children that cannot do without Him."

It being the visiting season at Montmirail, Br. Watteville desired them to stay with him as long as it lasted; perhaps, also, because the people would be better pleased, if they met there a great number of brethren and sisters; for many came hither from Basle, the neighbourhood of Arau, Winterthur, Lansburg, Berne, and Geneva, &c. and spent their time heartily and blessedly, and none went empty away; Mont-

mirail being a favoured spot. "We have continued here," writes Hutton, "from the 15th of September for the purpose of visiting. I have been very comfortable in the midst of my spiritual poverty, because I have daily had an open way to Him; which was the more needful for me, and therefore the way was prepared, as you well know, because I saw not one of those who pretend to be something. His atonement, His fellowship, and His kind visits to my soul from time to time are my chief object; and by God's grace I enjoy this as a happy worm. And when I speak of this, my eyes are filled with tears, and it becomes needful that I should guard against extravagance, when I contemplate the stupendous fact and cause of our Saviour's incarnation. Cursed and anathematized be all *sang-froid* in this matter. O that our hearts might only thereby be fired like gunpowder! and were we to die on the spot because of it, that would be intelligible and proper, and *bienseant* and human. Nothing keeps me on earth but my great depravity, which the Lord reveals to me from time to time for my good."

Next day, Br. Hutton, in the "Disciple's house" spoke at the morning meeting from the text out of the "Ethics," "Call upon Him since He is so near;" declaring the grace this time to consist in being quite attached to the holy humanity of the congregation's Head, and of the sovereign effect which a constant devout impression of Jesu's humanity has on all that is within and without us.

On the 18th, the order of the meetings was regulated, and Hutton held a meeting at St. Blaize.

On Sunday the 19th, he read, at a meeting, his farewell prayer at Herrnhut.

> Wishing with longing deep,
> To be where the sheep
> The Lord's supper keep.

He afterwards addressed the congregation.

On the 21st, at the request of the brethren and sisters, he addressed the meeting of the French in their own language, and continued to do so on the following days, mostly from the 'Children's Watchwords.' His addresses were short but emphatic, and sufficiently intelligible to all who heard him. On the next Sunday his text from the children's Watchword was, "I love."

Hutton, accompanied by Br. Kronauer and others, went to Cressier, a Romanist village, where, in the previous night, a

mill had been destroyed by fire, and he sympathized with the sufferers by a charitable gift. On the 1st of October, he went to Neufchatel, on a visit to some friends and acquaintance, and had a long conversation about the Saviour and his people, with the minister, Mons. Petit Pierre, who had formerly officiated at Corneau, and spoken with Count Zinzendorf when there in the year 1745. According to custom he asked many questions respecting the Brethren, their heathen missions, &c. which were answered by Hutton.

On the 3rd, the Litany was prayed in French, Hutton officiating as liturgist.

On the 11th, the brethren Watteville, Hutton, and Wallis, visited surgeon Kühn and his family, and also the well-known coachman, Claus Blazer from Berne, who, four weeks before, had one of his legs broken under a wheel, near Montmirail, where he was taken care of until his removal to Mr. Kühn, under whose skill he had nearly recovered. Through the frequent visits of Br. Wallis he had become uneasy in his heart, and was now concerned about his salvation. As a driver he had often been employed by the brethren and sisters, between Geneva and Neufchatel; and, in 1741, had conveyed Count Zinzendorf and his company from Arau to Montmirail.

On the 13th, Hutton and his wife set out for Lausanne by way of Neufchatel, Grandsen and Yverdun. In a mountain pass between Yverdun and Lausanne, Hutton, for the first time in his life, saw a wolf, which, however, on the approach of the travellers, went into the wood. A little before they came to Lausanne, Hutton so felt the presence of the Saviour as to make him ready to weep for joy; and as he had often dreaded the thought of separation from his brethren and sisters, he now believed that the Lord would endow him with fresh courage to rest upon Him more entirely, and fill him with contentment and comfort in the hope of enjoying His nearness, when far apart from them.

At Lausanne they engaged lodgings at an apothecary's, for which they paid at the rate of thirty batzen per month.* There they found Br. Simon, who had come with a chaise from Geneva to meet them. The same evening they went to Morges, where Sr. Hutton met an acquaintance from Schaffhausen, who manifested the greatest delight at seeing her; she seemed to be prepared for the kingdom of God, and entertained

* *d.* English, the Batz being about 1½*d.*

an extraordinary affection for Hutton's wife. It was a real comfort to himself to have near them so loving a heart. He felt from experience that, when away from the congregation, every thing that loves becomes as precious as gold, and he often painted to himself our Saviour as such a loving peasant, who frequently, for love's sake, did not regard the '*savoir vivre*,' and the '*conduite*.' Here were awakened souls. From Morges they proceeded to Rolle, where they found an aged pious maiden lady, who had known Sr. Hutton at least thirty-two years before, at the house of Mons. Neuvell.

Before reaching Nion, Hutton was affected by a kind of sun-stroke, producing a more dreadful head-ache than he had ever known before; yet they went on to Coppet, where they took boat for Geneva, in order to avoid passing through Versey (French *Piage*), and the cool breeze on the lake so refreshed him that on reaching Geneva he was tolerably well. Here they lodged with Br. Simon, who dwelt outside the town, on the road to Berne, and where they found many sisters and several brethren awaiting their arrival. They were greeted first by Madamoiselle De la Torre, and then by Sr. Höffeli, and several others. All rejoiced to see them, and they were welcomed as angels.

The next day Hutton was so ill that he was confined to bed from 10 o'clock, but he rose at 4, and addressed the brethren in an adjoining room, where they were wont to assemble on Sundays. On Monday he and his wife rose early, and went into the town to meet the brethren, who had met together on account of Br. Grignen's birthday. They, thinking that Hutton was sick, were gladly surprised to see him; and a few hours were spent in a blessed happy manner, during which the birthday (18th of October) of Br. Johannes was also lovingly remembered. They then went with Sr. Höffeli, and dined with Miss Latour, with whom they had a band-like conversation, likely to prove an abiding blessing. After this they visited the societies from day to day. Hutton visited Madam de Soubière, who was very friendly, as was also Mons. de Tournes, whom he had the opportunity of thanking for his letter of introduction to Lyons, in 1748. This gentleman inquired, in a friendly manner, after the Count. Hutton, who was suffering from head-ache, and on account of the misty weather dreaded the drag from Geneva to Coppet, requested Mons. de Tournes to procure from the French resident, Mons. de Momperoux, with whom he was on excellent

terms, permission for him to travel by way of Versey, and a passport to enable him to come occasionally to Geneva from Lausanne; it being Hutton's intention to visit Geneva at Christmas, in order to partake of the Lord's supper in communion with the Geneva brethren, many of whom he knew, and with whom he was one. But as the Duke de Villiers came to Geneva before the letter could be answered, Mons. de Tournes was unable to see the French resident, to whom Hutton therefore wrote, demanding such a passport, and requesting a reply on the following day. When Hutton called upon him, he politely expressed regret at his inability to grant the passport, inasmuch as it was prohibited. At the same time assuring Hutton that he should meet with no obstacle at Versey, provided that he would be silent, and only let his wife speak at the custom-house. Hutton, however, thanking him for his politeness, declared he could not attempt to evade the law, and expressed his desire that peace might be soon restored. In course of conversation, mentioning Austria's ingratitude to England, he embraced the opportunity of speaking to him of "*reconnoissance*" as the "*fond*" of his religion to the Saviour.

The eight days spent at Geneva proved serviceable to Hutton in regard to the French language. He and his wife saw all the souls, and spoke from a heart full of peace and warmth, and found little fault with any of them. Sr. Höffeli was much gratified and pleased at their visit. Hutton writes, "My feet were looked upon as the feet of a messenger of peace, that bringeth good tidings of good; and I was beloved, which always does me good; for I never forget the anecdote told by Jonas Paul Weiss, in my presence, of the boy who decidedly preferred bread and butter (daily food) to daily flogging." "The testimony of Jesus is to me warmth, and a balm for my heart and life; and whatever sets Him forth, brings me into His fellowship. I have never, since I came to Switzerland, spoken of Him to others without having myself enjoyed the greatest blessing."

Hutton left Geneva in the afternoon of Sunday, the 23rd of October, by water, for Coppet, where he waited for his wife and Sr. Hoffeli, who joined him on Monday, having travelled by coach from Geneva. Hutton and his wife enjoyed many blessed opportunities with the brethren and sisters at Geneva, and the Saviour graciously owned the little flock by granting them His presence. On these occasions

our Saviour's sufferings, and the communion of souls among each other, were spoken of in the tenderest manner, and in a way the world cannot comprehend; although, as Hutton candidly owned, his speech was very imperfect. The brethren and sisters were, however, much pleased to have subsequent opportunities of conversing in private with their dear Br. and Sr. Hutton; on such occasions several misunderstandings were adjusted.

Of his labour there he thus writes: "There are in Geneva some promising sisters and children; also some married people who are the reward of our Saviour's sufferings. It is likely we shall often visit Geneva. As an Englishman, I may almost say and do as I please. Br. and Sr. Bez, and Sr. Höffeli, are full of joy in anticipation of the time which we shall now and then spend together. My acquaintances in Geneva (and among them there are some who do not belong to our people) are likewise glad, and I am not afraid to tell everybody to their face, that it is the most wonderful thing in the world, *que des gens osent marcher tête levè comme ils font, sans connoitre le Sauveur*. Who knows whether He may not bless my feeble desire to lead souls to Him, and to cause Him pleasure, and grant a double portion of His grace! I expect from Him nothing but blessings, and cannot sufficiently admire His faithfulness, that He has permitted me to be here and not in Lusatia, close to the scenes of war; because He knows my weakness to be too much affected by news which no doubt descend there in showers, and to lose *un peu la tramontain*. Here is an *echantillon de son* Jemmy, for my dear papa."

In a postscript to the above letter he says: "I would have visited Mons. Voltaire—the relationship I claim through my mother to Sir Isaac Newton, the great English philosopher, would have been my introduction. But he was in bed ill. They say, that being a little cross he would have vented his anger upon his monkey, his constant companion; but the monkey became angry too, and bit him; the servants would have killed the animal, but their master said, 'No; it was my own fault, and it would be ridiculous to destroy it, on that account.' He has bought a house and estate of a certain kind, and very beautiful, near Geneva, and within its jurisdiction, and lives in great style. I saw three servants in livery, and one dressed as a gentleman, not in livery. He must be rich. If death prevent not, his life will be history."

On the 27th of October, Hutton and his wife, accompanied by Sr. Höffeli, arrived from Geneva at Montmirail, where the brethren, on the following day, finished the ingathering of their grapes (of which there was a rich abundance), and of the remaining fruit on their trees. Hutton held the evening meeting in French, from an epithet of the Saviour, "Our Preserver," with a blessed and tender impression; and it was observed that he had profited in the language by his journey.

On the 29th, Hutton, writing to Count Zinzendorf on the subject of the large numbers of souls blessed with the Saviour's grace in the surrounding country, as contrasted with the few at Montmirail, remarks, "Perhaps one ought not to be surprised at the Diaspora being more benefited than our own immediate neighbourhood; it may even be the case that Strehvalde, Ruppensdorff, Euldorff, and Rennersdorff receive the blessing of their vicinity to the noble leader, Herrnhut, later than more distant places in Lusatia, and therefore the little orphan Montmirail ought not to complain. Yet it is with me always a certain *creve cœur*, which I cannot understand, and on account of which I sometimes dispute a little in my mind with the labourers. I cannot believe that corruption of manners among our people ought ordinarily to be considered as the obstacle. God forbid! For they are, after all, as regards the heart, the best people on earth upon which the sun has ever shone. Does it arise from too great a fear of making proselytes? which, if they were obliged to join the congregation, would indeed be a miserable thing; or is it a secret tendency towards Calvinism? for I cannot comprehend it. But now, since the truly wise regulation of the Tropus can prevent settlements from being prematurely filled with improper persons, and when Christendom is so full of fog that the Gospel is scarcely discerned, except *intra muros nostros*, or by means of our settlements, the hour may, perhaps, come when we may assume a little more courage to testify of the Man of Sorrows and His atonement. I remember that the best of them were brought to us, and the Saviour, by wayside addresses. But I go too far, and it may be I do not understand it. The Saviour may perhaps whisper into your ear, 'Let the boys play, when it is time they should.' I write this only as a short note on occasion of a conference. You always consider my good intentions kindly, which are directed

by my zeal, though they may sometimes sound a little nonsensical. But the Diaspora in Lusatia and Livonia often causes reflections against this kind of proselytism. Perhaps at some future time we may have more souls in Switzerland, in our neighbourhood, *i. e.* the mountains of Neufchâtel, to which the Pietists have retired from Basle. A good seed is preserved there, and perhaps Br. Macrait will find an open door among them."

On the 31st of October, the Provincial Conference, which had been duly convened, commenced its sessions. There were present Br. Watteville, Br. and Sr. Hutton, Br. [and Sr.] Wallis, Br. [and Sr.] Bez, and the brethren Fisher, Macrait, and Cranz, and the sisters Beckland, Höffeli,* and Susan Hugo, in all, thirteen. Br. Watteville opened the conference with the verses:—

> "O Lamb! who for us wast bruised,
> Be to us as Thou art used,
> In this hour, and for ever nerving
> Soul, spirit, limb, in Thee serving."

He explained the aim of the conference, and desired that all things might be conducted on the model of Montmirail; that is, in peace, love, and simple-heartedness, and that the bond of unity, to which the texts for the day aptly referred, might be established.

In the first session an account was given of Basle, Arau, and the circumjacent places; and it was considered in what manner better care might be taken of the numerous children, who had not hitherto been under special inspection, and whether schools might not be begun for boys as well as for girls.

In the second session a report was made of Zurich, Winterthur, Stein, Berne, and the Oberland (upperland). After it, Hutton kept the German meeting, from the Watchword, "To you nothing will be impossible." "We to the Lamb become victorious champions." Br. Watteville held the French meeting, German singing hour, and evening blessing.

* Hutton, on the 29th November, wrote to the Count respecting this sister: "The difference between Sr. Höffeli and Br. Bez, which has caused you so much grief at Herrnhut, has been cleared away. She thought she had ground for believing Br. Bez to be wrong, from a certain expression which gave rise to the misunderstanding, and induced her so valiantly to defend her cause. And one should not blame her for that; for a sister who is set over a choir ought never to be interfered with in the fulfilment of her office." Hutton wrote this under a conviction that her conduct was commendable, but that it might be blamed by some persons.

November the 1st, the third session was, for the most part, an open-hearted, blessed band, with relation to the plan at Geneva; and the text for the day, "The Lamb will give grace to his people, the chosen generation, not making one exception," made the wished-for effect still more encouraging.

In the fourth session a statement was given concerning Bundten; whose affairs also occupied the fifth session, which was held on the 2nd of November.

At the sixth session Montbeillard and its concerns were spoken of; together with various general necessary regulations, which were agreed upon at intervening portions of the sessions. Afterward Br. Wallis delivered a discourse from the text, "That ye should shew forth the praises of Him who has called you out of darkness into His marvellous light."

November the 4th. In the seventh and eighth sessions the departure of the brethren and sisters to their respective stations, was arranged; the celebration of the Elders' festival at each place; the better circulation of discourses and accounts translated into French; the quarterly returns of the labourers respecting their stations and choirs, and also an annual one for the New Year's Watch in the Disciple's house; and, finally, some resolutions made at Bethel, in the conference for Switzerland, were brought forward again. The singing meeting was conducted by Br. Watteville; and, it being the anniversary of the departure of his wife to our Saviour, eight years before, he kept a most delightful liturgy for departing home.

November 6th, the ninth session was occupied by the affairs of Montmirail, and the general plan throughout Switzerland; and it concluded with the proposal of the "English deed" relating to the finances, which was supported by the synodal conclusion, instruction, and power of attorney accompanying it.

At the tenth and last session, the safest and most expedient mode of proceeding in the Lord's work, was finally agreed upon.

At the end of this blessed conference, just as the brethren and sisters had concluded, they were called to the Sabbath love-feast; at which they remembered, with tender affection and pleasure, the birth-day of dear Anna Zinzendorf, and the whole beloved family. Directly after it, a meeting took place in Br. Watteville's room, in which this conference had been held; and where also, fifteen years previously, the first

communion was celebrated by the pilgrim congregation. And now the brethren and sisters celebrated, as absolved poor sinners, the sacrament of the body and blood of their best Friend, with inexpressible blessing; and, amidst the overflow of grateful tears, they gave each other the right hand of fellowship, being powerfully strengthened for their future work; and thus, in the happiest manner, they closed the sacred conclave.

On the 10th of November, Hutton and his wife, having enjoyed many blessings at the conference, returned to Geneva, taking with them Sr. Höffeli, accompanied by Br. and Sr. Bez and the brethren David Cranz and Macrait. They accompanied Br. and Sr. Wallis to Berne, and at the desire of the conference held there, they went on the 11th to Arau, where they spent twelve days, to the great joy of the brethren and sisters there, and not unprofitably to themselves. Their visit at Geneva was much blessed; but Br. Bez was immediately taken ill, so that he could do nothing on the 13th but adore and converse with his Friend, in the solitude of the sick chamber.

The 13th was celebrated on the 15th in the different choirs; Br. Cranz joined in it with the people of the country around; Br. Macrait, with the brethren at Mont Brillant; Sr. Bez, with the married sisters and widows, and Sr. Hoffeli, with her single sisters. It was truly a blessed day; prostrated and weeping in the presence of the Saviour of lost sinners, they implored His absolution, favour, and gracious nearness; asking Him to keep their hearts for ever alive to His sufferings on their account. Hutton relates of this meeting, that "the Redeemer's presence was so perceptibly felt as to stop words, prayer, singing, and everything. Such a perception of Thy nearness! O my God! Almost every eye was in tears while we lay prostrate on the ground. About twenty-four persons were present; I cannot, I will not describe it. It was somewhat like the Lord's celebration of his last supper, or as if He had come to fetch us home; but we are all as yet in the body, though not without a feeling and foretaste of what will be experienced when He shall come to close the day and make an end of all trials. When we arose, I could only give out such verses as these:

"O! may our souls and bodies be,
Henceforth from sin's infection free," &c.

" O ! were we free from strange desire," &c.
" Lord, by the power of Thy death," &c.
" We join the ransom'd church of God," &c.
" Thy King upon thee look," &c.*

Hutton, in his report says, " I kept meetings every day at Berne, and (what a scarcely credible wonder! in some of my friends it will awaken surprise,) *singing* meetings too; but it happened thus: I had Br. Fisher by my side; I looked out the verses in the Sharon's book (the Children's Hymn book), and the Liturgy book, and he was precentor. I felt quite at home in the verses; here in Berne it was a lame affair, but it answered because the brethren would have it so. How different from the singing meetings at Herrnhut at morning and evening blessing, and at the communion! This singing, it cannot be denied, is sublime; and if it be surpassed in eternity, O God what will that be! But I can now sing ' Herrnhut what is comparable to thee!' " He goes on: " What I do in German Switzerland, I do it as assistant to Br. Wallis, and I am a tolerably good boy." At his lodgings with Jenner, he kept the evening blessing, with the assistance of his wife, who was his very suitable helpmate in respect of the singing. He spent his time at Berne in peace and love, and met with nothing to excite displeasure. He made acquaintance with the English Ambassador, who dwelt in the country; and offered to return the visit when he came into the town, but Hutton declined the honour; candidly telling him his position in the world, and that he belonged to the Brethren; notwithstanding which, he was very friendly, and addressed two pleasing letters to him, expressing not only consideration but esteem. He, moreover, gave him an introduction to Lausanne, to a certain Mons. Montrond, who had been a major in Piedmont, a French refugèe of a good *renommè et haute noblesse*, and with whom he was glad to become acquainted.

At length, on the 23rd of November, Hutton and his wife proceeded to Lausanne, in a return coach, which they awaited, as it was cheap, being only a hundred batzen for the eighteen hours, which was eighteen batzen less than the diligence or the stage coach. The weather was frightfully bad, but resulted in good, inasmuch as through it they reached their night

* Lutheran Hymn-book, ii. 375, v. 3.

quarters two hours earlier than they intended, at the same place where a clergyman of the Pais de Vaud had stopped. They soon made acquaintance with him, and he gladly accepted an invitation to their fireside, where they treated him with tea. In the course of conversation, Hutton asked what catechism he taught: he named that of *Ostervald*. Hutton asked him, Why not that of *Heidelberg*? he replied, "Ostervald's is more practical." This gave Hutton the opportunity, according to his free manner, of speaking upon the Doctrine and its corruption; how teaching ought be such as to win hearts, so as that the minister might not himself prove to be a castaway, together with the whole of his parish; upon which the minister intimated his belief that Hutton must know Count Zinzendorf, whom he had heard preach when a young student, with others, fifteen or sixteen years before, at Plein Palais, for said he, "you speak just as the man then spoke, of nothing but *sentimens, cœur, &c.*" This pleased Hutton, who rejoiced to meet with one of the auditory of that period. He let him have his say, and found him to be 'no bad boy,' and in truth not far from the kingdom. As Hutton did not know how long his *sejour* would last, he was anxious to sow the seed of the congregation, which, as a member and companion of it, was also his own; and at parting he prayed, "May He enroot, nourish, and give the increase."

On the 24th November, Hutton and his wife arrived at Lausanne: their lodgings were wretched, and nothing was in order; but the people of the house, having a willing mind, did all they could think of to give satisfaction. The husband was from Languedoc, the wife from Geneva, also a soul from Plein Palais, who, when informed of their belonging to the 'Moraves,' did not respect them the less. At the time of the Count's preaching at Plein Royal (1741), she was fifteen years old; and now she had an affectionate attachment to the word of life. This being the birthday of Anna Nitschmann, the single sisters thought much about her, and spent the whole day in a very happy and blissful manner in the presence of their bleeding Bridegroom. Some of the sisters were enabled to partake of the Lord's supper in the Italian church, where they could enjoy it very quietly, almost entirely by themselves; the minister knowing that they were 'Moraves,' for thus they were called, will or nil.

Having an introduction from Miss Latour to her sister, the wife of the Mayor of Lausanne, a position of some importance, he sent it with a note to the Mayor, declaring that himself and the people of the house, were of the Brethren.

On the 28th, among several persons who called at the house, was a French candidate for the ministry, whose *nomme de guerre* was Desombres. To him Hutton quickly told the name of the Friend of his soul, and what he had merited. "His heart was affected, and became tender in a moment, and the bold *petit maitre's* eyes beamed very sweetly. But the *volageretè* does not suffer people to wait till their hour arrives." This person immediately conceived a love for Hutton, who gave a general invitation to his countrymen, of whom there were about twelve in the town; telling them that his purse was not full, but his heart, his house, and his Saviour, were at their service.

Here Hutton and his wife, being well and happy, united with the congregation in the holy communion, which filled their hearts with heavenly joy. Writing to the Count, Hutton says:—"We both joined your ranks, and fully sang our liturgical hymns; and I am sure we enjoyed what you received, for we are members of the same body. He is our Commander-in-chief; the good, the best Elisha, who knows His way across all mountains, to us also. My dear Papa, I embrace you heartily; I love you from my heart." He continues:—

"Br. Wallis has expressed his wish that next spring I should, after he has made his tour, follow him to the German places, particularly Arau and Zwick, in order that he may the less undisturbedly superintend the Montmirail estate, and receive the guests there; an office which he fills with credit to himself and blessing to the cause. But should I find employment among the French here, and at Geneva, among the brethren and sisters, during the illness of Br. Bez (we and Sr. Höffeli being on the best terms); and, perhaps, among the Waldenses, I suspect the time will not allow of my compliance. The desire is not wanting; but, judging from my five days' sojourn here, I have certainly very little time on my hands. What with the visits of the inmates of the house, and their friends, and those made by myself, and with writing, I do not remember ever to have been more fully employed."

"Once more we securely close ourselves within the quadrangular walls of our sanctuary, in the bosom of our congregation, where the Saviour delights to dwell; and we cleave to Him when He is pleased to visit us, which as certainly happens as He exists, notwithstanding the difficulties of the doctrine of ubiquity, which cannot be determined, except by experience. We are also on Golgotha, and continually cling to Him as needy souls, and I am sure, as you well know of me, the confession of our insufficiency is no compliment; but, on the contrary, a painful reality; though He also graciously grants comfort. A Mons. Tschamer, the great orator of Berne, bailiff of Königsfeld, has proffered me his friendship in the kindest terms, on the recommendation of Frederick Watteville, whose steady and lasting friend he has been for fifty years. To judge by his writing on friendship, he is a man of character. I have replied to him in the same terms, and told him that you and Frederick de Watteville are, of all men I ever knew, the most capable of the truest friendship. This Mons. Tschamer is the man who, in an oration before the great council at Berne, observed, that they ought to adhere to the Synod of Berne, on account of the high value set upon it by so great a man as Count Zinzendorf. I inclose his letter, which I beg you to return; it is a *pot-pourrie* (hotch-potch), but contains beautiful passages."

November 30th, Hutton wrote the following to Count Zinzendorf, from Lausanne:—

"Yesterday afternoon, at three o'clock, my wife and I visited the mayor, Mons. Seigneuse, by special invitation. He being one of the noblesse of the country, I found a house like a palace, and a friendly reception.

"We had scarcely begun to speak, when a gentleman entered the room, whom I afterwards learnt to be Mons. Lefort (Hutton elsewhere calls him *Lefavre*), formerly a Dutch clergyman; he calls himself a Hollander, who has resigned his cure, not, as I was told, because of a weak chest; but, as I believe, because of his not being orthodox; at least from his sly manner I took him to be an Arian or a Socinian. He proposed many questions, all which I answered; seizing the opportunity which presented itself of proving, *ad oculum*, the malice of writers. According to my custom I thundered fearlessly, and especially urged the point, that there is

nothing in the world more impudent than the conduct of Arians, and Socinians, and Deists, who have so long exclaimed against unjust treatment and ungrounded imputations from the orthodox, and have been tolerated out of kindness, compassion, and supineness; when they impute, as matters of fact, their wild conjectures and godless inferences, to the Brethren and Count Zinzendorf; adding, that this appeared to me sheer impudence, but that it was the old leaven of the Arians, who had persecuted the Church much oftener, and with more bitterness, with more falsehood, murder, and slaughter, than, as far as I was aware, the orthodox had ever done to them. Such was the spirit of those times; but, that the gentlemen of Geneva, and their like, should have set aside all impartial inquiry, and, with respect to the Brethren, not have observed, with regard to themselves, one single rule which they had been very anxious on every occasion to prescribe to all the world;—this appeared to me base and bigoted, wicked and insolent, and proved, that there are no true moralists but such as believe in the Saviour. This was the substance of what I said.

"The Mayor inquired, what was the distinctive doctrine that made the difference between ourselves and others? I replied, that this difference did not involve doctrine; but was a practical matter, the churches and ourselves agreeing in doctrine; otherwise we could have no Tropus, nor maintain any connection with them; for we were not such *fripons* as to pretend to agree with a church and its members, in order that we might attain our object with more ease; but were convinced that we might and could, hold fellowship with all who sincerely believe their own Protestant doctrine, of the reconciliation of the sinner by the blood of the Saviour, and considered the bond of fellowship to depend upon it; principles which are plainly avowed as well in the Confession of Augsburg, as in all the confessions of the Reformed and Anglican faith. I said further, that we declared that the instant a soul believes this, it (the soul) becomes His property, the softened heart loves Him above all things, becomes devoted to Him with a sincere and fervent zeal; and, in every possible way, seeks to serve Him; and ever communing with Him, desires nothing beyond. This, according to our view, is the character of a believer, and hence he (the Mayor) might see there was no need that any

should differ from us. I could not sufficiently wonder, why any should be gratified at triumphing over us; for that which I had related, was indeed the sum and substance of all our sermons and hymns, the object of all our institutions, and of everything that had passed under my own observation, during the last eighteen years.

" He asked, how is it, that we nevertheless differed? I answered, that it was I, who ought to propose this question, for that we were orthodox, practical Christians. Why do people not accord with us? is, in other words, asking why does the Saviour not become to all, what He is to us? He also asked me, as did the clergyman too, whether I had not found many things in Count Zinzendorf's sermons, that had shocked me? I replied, ' No, none at all;' and if readers would but apply their own rules of criticism, and their so much demanded and commended charity, coolness, and judgment, they would distinguish *traits hardis*, expressions *hazardèes*, as they are pleased to call them; and had they any modesty, they would make a distinction between *raptures poetiques*, and the result, scope, aim, and context. And I believed myself correct in declaring, that no orthodox Christian could object, and others ought to think that he means well, that he is himself convinced of the (to others) foolishness of the cross, although he may manifest too much zeal. But, said the Mayor, what is peculiar in your cause? I replied, Jesus Christ, the Eternal God, Creator of heaven and earth, became man for our sakes, has suffered for us out of love, and His blood is the propitiation for our sins. Believing this, we therefore love Him much, Him the God of our joy and happiness; and Count Zinzendorf was the first, who expressed this peculiar idea, from compassion towards the world; and contends, that no one can believe the fact without loving Him; ' for,' says he, ' it embarrasses me too much to believe of any fellow-man, that he is *fou et fripon* (madman or knave), which every one must necessarily be, who seriously believes the fact, and yet does not, beyond all things, love Him who died for us. I do not like to entertain the thought of men being so awfully ungrateful as to pass by, with open eyes, Him who has done so much for them; and therefore, prefer saying, they do not believe, either of themselves, or by education; but, according to my conviction, faith is given to every anxiously inquiring heart,' &c. But

the Count has been accused by many of heresy; some saying, he did not make enough, and others, that he made too much, of the Father, only in order to have something everywhere to say respecting Zinzendorf. The Count believes, that if we know our Creator and Saviour, we must also believe his words from respect and submission (for to comprehend, is very difficult to the human mind); and from goodwill; and He tells us that He has a Father. Him we worship in the Son. 'No one,' I said, 'believes by nature in a Trinity; we, by grace, altogether believe it, because Jesus has revealed it. But we dislike speaking of it to the world, because the first thing needful is, that people ought to know Him who loves their souls, and to go directly to Him, who has manifested His love and fellowship, by His death upon the cross.' I fear the spirit of this place is to believe nothing, not even common orthodoxy.

"I was loud, and vehement, and positive, as though I had to do with worms, yet my heart was that of a good child—mainly on account of the gentleman present, who appeared to me to be an apostate, that had read all the books written against us, and knew how to quote them with a pedantic, confident, pungent *sang-froid*. The mayor, perhaps, has little belief, but he was more prudent and modest. He was greatly astonished when I assured him, upon my honour, that the Count had not only not borrowed money and failed to repay it, but that he had helped his friends by paying their debts. Having passed this *forum confessionis et declamationis*, I was gentle and withal gracious enough. The result of our visit was that we talked a great deal. His lady, when inquiring after the health of my wife, learned that the doctor advised her to drink red wine instead of the many medicines that she had taken, but now discontinued. We had scarcely reached our abode when a servant came with half-a-dozen bottles of wine, and a message, that if approved, we were to send for more, *sans facon*. This puzzled me, for I expected, or had cause to expect, his displeasure, in consequence of my *fureur*, and now I received a token of his favour. I gave the servant a fee nearly equal to the value of the wine, and expressed my thanks, with *contestation* and astonishment at the present. After having been there two hours and a half I became *abattu*, and dejected respecting the prevailing spirit of Arianism and Socinianism. His

lady, who is a good-natured woman, spoke very kindly to my wife.

"I am, my Papa's JEMMY."

By another letter to the Count, from Hutton, on the 18th of December, we learn that the Mayor and Mayoress became very friendly, and either Hutton with his wife, or his wife alone, visited them almost weekly; he or his lady receiving them very politely, and appearing pleased with their society when opportunities presented, which Hutton always seized, to declare his infinite obligation to the Saviour for His death, and to urge this as his favourite topic of conversation; at the same time, expressing lamentation, that it should not be the chief concern of every one, and stating the object of the Brethren, in all their endeavours to bless souls, to be, by the merit of His sufferings, and to pierce the heart, by the question—Dost thou love Him? yea Him who has redeemed thee, when thou wast His enemy, not with silver or gold, but with His blood? and to ask Christians how it happens, that He constitutes so small a part of their system? "The Brethren (he continued) in other respects like to live in peace with all men, scorn the common notion of making proselytes, complain among themselves of their number being too large, and that their opponents should be so mad as, by their abuse, to drive all men to them."

Thus, by a frank and candid avowal of what the Brethren were, and what they desired, Hutton at once (as it were) foreclosed all opposition; and very soon the Mayor and his lady, his daughter, and other relatives and friends, and perhaps every one in the town, knew him, and began to shew themselves very friendly. In familiar phrase, he became the lion of the day, and the new thing of which people talked. They compared the calumnies of the public journals, and those in the preface to Stinstra's book, with what they observed in him and his wife, and became able to judge for themselves. Hutton scarcely visited or accosted any one without letting him know what he ought to know for time and eternity, in case he should neither see or speak to him again. With some he was *quasi in statu confessionis*, who inquired of the objections that had been made. He answered by naming them, and the result was that soon no one had any to raise, but were quiet, and obliged, at least for the time, to bend beneath the sufferings

and love of Jesus. He reflected, that perhaps at some other time, He might be brought to their remembrance as their eternal refuge and salvation. Thus it was his pleasure to live according to the words, "Cast thy bread upon the waters; give a portion to seven and also to eight, for thou shalt find it after many days." To him it was unimportant whether he himself found it or not, if He only, in whose name he spake, if He only should find it, which undoubtedly He would.

Hutton was nourished by the bread of life, while diligently dispensing it to others, and he seriously believed, concerning every one to whom he spake, that if he should be brought into contact with the blood of the cross, he might, in that moment, become a better man than himself, and that then he should leap for joy. Meanwhile, he lived by the testimony of Jesus, and grew warm under it.

Hutton also made acquaintance with Mons. Court, the correspondent and director of the Languedoc theological seminary in Lausanne. He found it necessary to use great gentleness and circumspection with this man, whose first appearance had impressed him unfavourably. This was confirmed on his first visit, when Hutton, being seized with a violent fit of coughing, was too much exhausted to speak much; he, therefore, to save his chest, only spoke what was absolutely necessary in a compressed and concentrated form; yet it was so effectual that Hutton thought it a pity Mons. Court had been so long apart from the Brethren. But this he attributed to the conduct of Frederick de Watteville, who had called upon him in 1735, and since then, taken little notice of him. "It is he who, as I hear from the Mayor de Montrond, has encouraged the French churches, and united them, when the fanaticism of the Cevennes had nearly ruined all. He has revived their hopes, and effected so much that they are as numerous now as before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and so arranged, that each province and church now has the constitution, which includes a consistory, class, and provincial, as well as national, Synods. He has correspondence, also, with all the ministers, especially those of Languedoc, where the Reformed are the most numerous, whose churches and pastors it was a pleasure to hear him enumerate. It was he to whom Du Plau and Schaul, through whose hands large sums of money contributed by

England passed, addressed themselves in order to maintain the Protestant interest, and through whom the Brethren might keep up a friendly correspondence with the French churches. He was, moreover, the man through whom opinions respecting the Brethren, in consequence of the controversial writings, might be entertained in France, either favourably or otherwise; and in relation to whose acquaintance, Hutton rejoiced with trembling. He learned from him, that there were some zealous ministers in France, who preached Christ like himself, naming Paul Rabaud of Nismes, &c.

Hutton became so far familiar with this Mons. Court as to be on visiting terms, and he offered him the use of his library. When Hutton spoke to him of the Saviour he listened in silence, and became much affected, his eyes were suffused with tears, and he approved of what he heard. Sometimes he was so charmed with the Saviour as to be unable to utter a word. Not that Hutton either attacked him, or attempted to convince him of the need of a Saviour; but he endeavoured by all means to set aside jealousy, in order that his conversations with the *proposants* might not be interrupted; this, indeed, could not well be the case now, inasmuch as both Mons. Court and his son, held intercourse with Hutton. Through Mons. Villettes, the English ambassador at Berne,* a man in high esteem both in person and office, and whose friendship he had studiously cultivated, Hutton was introduced to the principal persons in the town.

Hutton had much interesting conversation with Mons. Court, from whom he learnt that Viala, a pensioner of Count Zinzendorf, was really President of the national Synod; which he could scarcely have believed, thinking it to be a vain boast of that poor man, but now he asked his pardon. The way in which Viala became President was, by his bringing many deputies from the several provinces. Mons. Court had been proposed for the office, as their general agent, and the principal means of encouraging them, and of convoking the Synod; but having good reasons for declining

* Whitehall, Oct. 7, 1749. The king has been pleased to appoint Arthur Villettes, Esq., minister to the Swiss Cantons.—*Gent. Mag.* vol. xix. p. 477. He afterwards became British Resident at the court of Sardinia, wherein he died, July 1st, 1776.—*The same*, vol. xlvi. p. 336.

the presidency, Viala was chosen moderator. He had laboured much among the desert churches; and by appointing Mons. Court as his assessor, they thus presided together. Viala was found to be a man upon whom the Count's pension was not unworthily bestowed, and was more highly esteemed, and laboured with more blessing, than could have been expected from his miserable outward appearance. He was a man of much humility and prudence, serious and pious, and well understood the profession of a desert-preacher.

Hutton, in one of his letters concerning his Swiss acquaintance, suddenly breaks off:—"But my wife calls me—she is my blessed helpmate, and of great use to me in paying and receiving visits among the higher circles; shewing me by her example how to be polite and prudent in my converse with them; she also testifying with me of the Saviour and of the Brethren, particularly among the ladies, who ply her with many questions. She calls me just now to dinner, I must therefore cut and eat; for which, as you have often been on the same account, I am very sorry. Our *menage* is economical, dinner and supper for both of us costing six batzen (9*d*.) a day, and having enough we are content, and being so, there is nothing censurable or niggardly in this."

In his intercourse with Mons. Court, Hutton remarked, that he perceived from French history, which he was now reading, that, to say nothing of the Vaudois and Albigeois, the French Reformed church was a martyr church, whose members had suffered the flame, the gallows, the sword, the dagger, the hatchet, the rack, precipitation from rocks, and drowning, &c., for forty years before they took up arms, and, on this account, he honoured her; but felt anxious that she should not permit herself to be led aside from the sufferings of Christ, by the seductive eloquence, and merely moral sermons of such men as Foster, Tillotson, Saurin, and Ostervald; if she were, she would lose her ability to maintain her ground against hell and its power. But if she adhered to the word of His patience, he (Hutton) would guarantee his life for it, that she would prosper continually, and be saved. He urged that she ought, on the contrary, to distinguish herself among all other Protestants, by ardently preaching Christ and becoming a bulwark against deism, which was spreading in France, and thus to induce all Christians to make common cause against the common enemy of all religion. But he added, if

she should prefer the said writers, and preach after their example, she, like Samson shorn of his locks, would become a blind bond-slave to the enemies of God; there being no essential difference between such preachers and the Papists, who were ever ready to tolerate such preaching, as most certainly conducive of their own soul-enslaving and God-mocking characteristics.

Hutton, as may be perceived, became zealous and warm; but (says he) love still prevailed, "for the Lord our God was with me in His dying beauty, and from His sufferings, a pleasing ray of light seemed to dart, and shed His radiance upon the whole."

Mons. Court had nothing to object, but said there were some *zeles ministres* in France, who would gladly see the *Moraves*, and among whom, Paul Rabaud de Nismes was one.

Hutton then asked, "Is this which I here state, anything more than the very point, on account of which, the Protestants separated from the Papacy, and concerning which, the Tridentine decrees have been so wickedly published? Is it not the point upon which the Protestants agree in their Symbola (confessions of faith), although they act differently? and if it be Moravianism to carry it out in practice, then is it not honourable to them, and its neglect condemnatory of all others?"

Hutton himself, and all the Brethren, with Count Zinzendorf, (of whom Mons. Court had spoken and read so much), desired nothing more than to fill the whole earth with the knowledge of Christ in His sufferings, and love towards the whole race of man; hence it was an inconvenience to the Brethren, and a great pity, that every one who in the present day held this doctrine *affetuoso* or *forte* or even *piano*, if he held it at all, should at once be marked as a Herrnhutter or Morave, designing thereby to stigmatize them; inasmuch as it was neither the aim, nor the desire, of the Moravian church, that all who preach Jesus and Him crucified, should be driven or drawn, within her four walls; but it was truly her heart's longing, that the work of His hands should be directed to Him, and that the Brethren should be free to live in peace and quietness among themselves, and with all mankind.

In relation to the French Protestants, Hutton repeats the remarkable statement, that as far as he could judge from history, they had suffered, for forty years, like unresisting sheep, before they commenced hostilities; and that when, for

the first time, they did take up arms, it was by command of the person then Regent, and not at all arising out of church principles. "This (says he), appears paradoxical even to me; but I can prove and maintain it against all Papists, and that, at other times, when they seized the sword, they had much more right on their side than we generally believe."

Of the four students, with whom he became acquainted at this time, Hutton gives the following account:—

Desombres, from Upper Languedoc, virtuous, but naturally vain; Ladvey, his countryman, not equally vain; Picard of Nismes and Lower Languedoc, who, as well as Desombres, has a soul. These, like all students of their age in academies, were somewhat conceited and self-sufficient. But the fourth, Richard Force, from Castres, or its neighbourhood, of the race of the Albigeois, was a good sheep, an humble, modest, unassuming man. Hutton, who treated the first three as *savans*, discussed doctrinal questions with them; always seizing the first, lest it should be the last, opportunity of proclaiming the Saviour, as dying for sinners. He was, however, obliged to act with extreme caution, knowing the malice of Satan, the spirit of the times, and of the academies, which were full of calumnies against the Brethren. Desombres, at the first interview, was somewhat affected, but not so much in after visits, which were conducted so as to draw him, as well as all others visited by Hutton, by the persuasive bait of the blessed Gospel, to their only Saviour. He spoke from his heart, telling them what he desired of Him for himself in the world, and what he should like every body to have, and what he wished the ministers to possess, so that the sufferings of Christ might be brought before their hearers, not incidentally, and on festival occasions only.

Hutton addressed Mons. Villettes on the subject of this seminary, recommending that it should be aided by contributions from England, to be supplied by the King, in order to preserve among the students the Protestant faith; for he considered it a *coup de Providence*, that the students should all be here when a labourer from the Brethren, a sinner out of His palace, could tell them something of his heavenly Master, who is ever ready to pardon; which could not be done in France. Hutton also looked upon it as very providential, that there should now be in Lausanne a Mayor, who honoured and respected him, and upon whom it de-

pended, whether any one should be tolerated or not, and whose relations hold the principal offices ; and that Mons. Court was still living. He was thankful to know, that he possessed the friendship of Major Montrond, President of the French Chamber here, and Superintendent of the French Hospital, and whose duty it was to receive the exiles from France ; who commended him to every one, and often visited him ; and likewise for the kindness of Mons. Villettes, whose family was from Castres, and who was the benefactor of the seminary. It was gratifying, too, that the English Ambassadors and Consuls had everywhere promoted the cause of the Brethren, and he prayed God's blessing upon England for it.

Mons. Court, knowing all this, looked upon Hutton as he was indeed, the friend of his institution, expressed his thanks to him for it, and became the more favourable to him ; so that Hutton's fears that the students would be induced to shun his society, were removed. He was now sufficiently familiar to speak to Mons. Court on a report that the Protestants in France had persecuted a poor peruke-maker, one Knoll, (who visited France from the Brethren). Hutton declaring it most ungracious, in a minister at Bordeaux, either personally or by proxy, to supply the Mayor of that town with his personal description, for a murderous intent. It appears that this simple-hearted man, not being versed in the controversies of the schoolmen and theologians, had been charged by his betrayers as erring either in expounding Scripture, or in defining doctrine ; which was not his province, nor did he ever pretend to be a theologian, but simply professed to be a pardoned sinner, who only desired, that others should experience the same happiness which, in fellowship with his Saviour, he himself enjoyed. Hutton freely stated, that if his objectors had been dissatisfied with him, on account of his want of judgment, or because of the calumnies published against the Brethren, they ought to have remembered that the spirit of murder, is the spirit of the devil ; they ought also to be ashamed of their conduct, and repentingly put it to themselves, whether it would be pleasurable to be judged by descriptions given of them by their enemies, or how *they* would be gratified at seeing traitors and murderers, hand their portraits and descriptions to bigoted and bloodthirsty intendants ? Mons. Court appeared to know nothing whatever of the affair, and

declared that for several years past there had been no resident minister at Bordeaux. Upon which Hutton pressed the matter no further, being happy of the opportunity thus afforded him of ignoring it. Still he reminded him that such moderation ought to be shewn, and such care taken in judging from calumnious writings, as not to condemn a Church on account of equivocal expressions, used by certain unlearned persons. He spoke thus, because he had been informed that, from ill grounded supposition, the Brethren were looked upon in France as believing neither in the Trinity, nor in God the Father; which points he cleared up to the satisfaction of Mr. Court, whose agency he was desirous of employing, for the purpose of disabusing the minds of his martyr-church, on the subject of the aspersions against the Brethren.

A further pleasure was added to Hutton's experience in the fact, that Mons. Duplau, whom he had known in England, but had then many scruples regarding him, was now truly a very deserving man in the poor church of Lausanne, doing much real good for them.

His visitors also included Mons. Favre, who had been six years minister of the French church in Amsterdam; he became the most cordial of all his new associates, although, as we have seen, he had annoyed him much at the Mayor's, and was believed by Hutton to be the chief promoter of all the calumnies, that had been published in Lausanne, and which he really believed. He was a learned man, and had read much, having a *douceur des savans*, which exercised an injurious influence. He was very fascinating. Hutton, who had treated this man so roughly before the Mayor, thought he had offended him for ever; yet none visited him oftener than he, when he was unwell, nor behaved more politely. "I have," says Hutton, "not sufficiently tried these foxes." It was from him he learned, that the preaching after the style of Foster and Tillotson, had everywhere obtained among the French churches, and that Saurin was the first who introduced this *belle methode*. Hutton told him, that since he himself had learned to consider the Saviour as having died for *his* sins, while he was His enemy, he had become His partizan, and determined follower; so that he would never listen to any man or angel who should attempt to lessen his belief in Him, whether able or not to adduce arguments for

Him against the specious cunning of a crafty enemy. He should, at all hazard, abide with Him; and if unable to advance, then he would weep, and the more deeply adore Him, whom they opposed. "In this matter," said Hutton, "I am a *woman*, and so I wish ever to remain."

Mons. Fabre was modest and polite, and insisted on nothing. The artfulness of such men is such as often to annoy, and sorely sting to the quick, by some equivocal words. Whoever has had to do with such, knows their manner, and how, under a profession of profound veneration for the Bible, they often insidiously attack God, and the foundation of His Word.

Mons. Fabre asked Hutton, "What sort of a man was Foster?" He replied, that himself being a partizan of Jesus, and a promoter of the word of His patience, he could not possibly speak in his favour, and therefore the question should be asked elsewhere: for, belonging to another party, he had nothing whatever to do with him; and on the same principle, he advised Mons. Fabre to do the like in relation to the Brethren, and not malign those with whom he had no connection. Mons. Fabre amused himself with Hutton's confessedly little knowledge of books and men, and let him talk.

At a subsequent meeting Hutton had the opportunity of proving to Mons. Fabre the dishonesty of the *Journal Britannique*, which praised and gave extracts from books of the enemies of the Brethren, while those of the Brethren themselves, were not only mentioned unfavourably, but exhibited in such a manner as though the Brethren had made no answer at all, or only published pamphlets containing threats of the force of the stick, instead of silencing opposition by force of argument. He unfolded to Mons. Fabre the poverty of such writers and journalists, who were the oracles of the day, and eventually became the *tour d'histoire* of the learned public and of future knowledge; exprssing himself, however, thankful for the means of setting Mons. Fabre right. He possessed considerable influence, read every thing, had a fine library, and a house that was the rendezvous of all the *beaux espirits* of the place, and the clergy were on particularly good terms with him. "*Apropos*," says Hutton, in one of his reports of this period, "the clergyman of this parish, Mons. Gavillard, told the young Françillon, who often gives me a call, to mention, that he and the principal inhabitants were making

a collection for the poor bourgeois, numbering several hundreds, who had no claim upon the poor-box. I thanked him for the opportunity, and gave him a louis d'or, which had a good effect; and they are no longer quite sure of a Morave being, after all, such an evil beast as had been represented." Hutton passed among the people of Lausanne for a savant; but lamenting his deficiencies in this respect, he wished he were really and thoroughly so, for he knew that knowledge would neither hurt a sinner nor a saint. He wished that all young men who studied, might acquire a thorough knowledge without ambition, to be used as a weapon with which to assault the strongholds of Satan, which none can so effectually assail, as the really learned; though, as he complained, the learning of his day was chiefly mere *historia literaria*, frivolous *petit-maitre*, and *esprit* like.

He was thought to be rich, which was also a *malheur*, for every one knew that he and his wife dined and supped for six batzen per diem, and saw that his clothes were *unis*, and his stockings not always in the best condition, with a somewhat shabby hat; but he was constrained to give freely, sometimes unwittingly beyond what was customary, and therefore he passed for rich against his will, and always under protest. Yet in reality he was rich; inasmuch as his wants were less than those of most other people, since he only ate and drank to preserve life and health, which was a mystery to many around him.

There were still remaining here four elderly women, a remnant of those who, through Br. Molther's labours, had obtained something for their soul's good; but, from want of cultivation, they now entertained some strange notions. Hutton requested one of them to obtain for him an introduction to three young Vaudois in the college. She came to him, after the lapse of a week, with the answer, that her Saviour had not given her freedom of heart; "beside which, they being young, might laugh at her." Hutton, who did not understand such kind of modesty in an old woman, pretending to serve the Lord, told her, that as she believed our Saviour had hindered her from complying with his request, she should let *that* be her reason, and not tell him of any other; after seriously begging her to have nothing more to do with the matter, he desired her never to mention his name to any one. He soon found other means of introduction, and had meet-

ings with the young Vaudois weekly, but privately, so as not to interfere with his proper object, which at this time was to hold intercourse with learned Frenchmen. The others with whom he formed acquaintance, were a Mons. Desecloire, a nobleman from Livonia, and his lady, a woman of rank, of French descent, and related to the best families in Switzerland, where she was born. She was also related to the Earl of Pembroke, to whom her husband had been tutor. Hutton was indebted to Madame Laubère, of Geneva, and Mons. Villettes, of Berne, for his introduction to them, with whom he was on the footing of an Englishman not unacquainted with the world. Sr. Hutton and the lady were on terms somewhat more familiar. Through these, their circle of acquaintance was much extended; for, it was then the custom, after being introduced to any one, to be called upon and invited, from which there was no escape. Hence their time was so fully taken up in making and receiving calls, as to leave but little for writing, reading, and the common duties of life. Mons. Desecloire introduced Hutton to Baron de Montaulieu, of the house of St. Hippolyte in France, who spoke English, and had a pension and *ordre* from Wurtemberg, and also a pension from Prussia, and was beside *beau-frère* of the Prussian General Forçade.

Hutton also, through Mons. Villettes, became known to an octagenarian Professor, named Pollyer, with whom he exchanged visits. This gentleman was as full of life and activity as a man of forty, and was then employed in writing a catechism of the Old Testament. He was the intimate friend of Schaub, and had known and respected the grandfather of Hutton's wife, when Advocate-general of Neufchatel. He had revised and published the catechism of Ostervald, which was in general use in Switzerland, in the Pais de Vaud. The writings of Ostervald were extensively read here, and even his Reflections, always accompanied the public reading of a chapter of the Bible in the Protestant assemblies in France. "This," thought Hutton, "is a pity, because they are miserably dry." He found the aged Pollyer to be one of the best of these frigid men.

With one Roux, an old minister from France, who preached occasionally here, he also became familiar; and he was acquainted, likewise, with Schracheim, a quack doctor from Hanover, and with Dr. Lewatt and his family. Hutton

finally mentions a solitary visit of civility made him *in posse* by his own countrymen of the academy, with their tutors; and one Salis, from Grand Bündsen, whose physiognomy especially pleased him.

Returning now to the congregation of the Brethren: On the 19th of December they unitedly shared in the blessings of the festival of the Holy Spirit, a great and never to be forgotten day. After which, a period of greater activity appears to have commenced. The little flock, on that day, was favoured to send dear Br. Bez, their former labourer as their deputy, to the church above, where the Saviour, no doubt, permitted him to unite in the liturgy with the heavenly choir. He had been won for Christ during the sojourn of the pilgrim-congregation at Geneva in 1741. Hutton and his wife heard the tidings of his departure on the 21st of December, on reaching Geneva, whither they had hastened from Lausanne sooner than they originally intended, for the purpose of bidding him a last farewell. It was, however, much better that he should leave the weeping congregation here below for the blessed congregation above, than remain a few days longer in this vale of tears, for the sake of bidding farewell to his fellow-creatures. This consideration consoled Hutton and his wife, who wept tears of love in remembrance of him.

They found Sr. Bez, amidst all her sorrow, very much composed, and anointed with a heavenly unction. Her resignation was an honour to the Saviour and His congregation, and an edification to the brethren and sisters at Geneva. To her the loss was particularly severe, for her husband had, in an eminent degree, been her support; she had loved him with the tenderest affection, and she painfully felt how much she needed his counsel.

In order to enable Hutton to be present, the funeral had been postponed; which could the more easily be done as Br. Bez had died in the country, for in the town they made short work of burials, which then, as now, often took place within twenty-four hours after death. Hutton kept a liturgical service both before and after the interment, and addressed a discourse to the little flock; and, on the afternoon of the next day, presided at a love-feast of the congregation, at which the widows were present.

On the 24th, Christmas Eve, meetings were held in three

separate divisions. From eight to ten o'clock for the children, who were in a very lovely spirit, and sung so sweetly that Hutton almost fancied himself in Herrnhut, where he had often been so enraptured as to expect the Saviour would visibly appear among the children, who, with their infant voices, sang His praises in such pleasing strains. The children, some of whom had even composed verses themselves, could hardly cease from expressing their joy in singing suitable hymns; and it was not too much to say, they were, as children ought to be, passionately enraptured with their Saviour's love.

Afterwards, Hutton and his wife spent an hour with the single sisters, who had assembled in Sr. Höffeli's room. They sang, and spoke, and wept with each other, and were happy in the great God who had become the Holy Child in the manger, and Whom they adored, in a town where but few worshipped Him.

From thence, Hutton and his wife went to Br. Preudhomme's, where all the brethren, married sisters, and widows were assembled; and where, after midnight, they began the love-feast, whilst the single sisters celebrated it in their own house.

In all three divisions a powerful feeling of joy prevailed; our Saviour was adored in truth, and it was clearly seen that there were in the French hymn-book many suitable hymns expressive of joyous feelings in Him, only perceivable when sung with a united flock of believers; although when read, in private devotions, the same verses did not appear to bear this character. It was also seen, that this little flock was surely a plant of our heavenly Father, planted by Him to grow and continue, notwithstanding its defects and imperfections. Words were insufficient to express the feelings of all. At two, they retired to rest in a peaceful and blessed mood. This nightly gathering attracted no notice, inasmuch as half the people of the town were in pursuit of worldly pleasures.

On Christmas-day the sisters met in two separate places, as one could not accommodate them all; this was the case also with the brethren. Feeling the Lord's nearness they could confidently expect every blessing at His hands.

At four in the morning of the 26th, the whole flock met for the enjoyment of the Lord's supper, in the Cathedral

church at Geneva, where a separate portion of the building had been assigned for the brethren and sisters, so that they might sit together, and from thence proceed in company to the communion table. Hutton's deafness was somewhat of a blessing to him, as it prevented his hearing a rather uncongregational address, which, as he was told, was delivered on that occasion. They paid little attention to what happened around the place they occupied; and among the many hundreds, perhaps thousands, who thronged the cathedral, they looked only to Him with whom alone they had to do—and He was not far from His poor flock. Returning from the communion, the brethren met at breakfast; and, prostrate, adored their Lord. At these, and subsequent meetings, a blessed liturgical spirit pervaded the assemblies, as had been the case at the holy communion.

During the following days, Hutton had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some Vaudois, whose personal appearance was not very favourable, but from whom he gathered many interesting historical facts. Among other things, he learnt that there was a colony of the Vaudois at Rohrbach, about twelve miles from Darmstadt, which was within the range of visitation from Neuwied or from Marienborn.

On the 31st they kept the watch-night with the children, and all the brethren and sisters, at the house of Br. Preudhomme, which, although much crowded, accommodated all. There, the remarkable incidents of the by-gone year at Neuwied, Geneva, and Mumpelgard (Montbelliard) were related; there, they again experienced Whose they were, and Whose name they bore; and there, surrendering themselves anew to His service, felt inexpressibly happy.

In the evenings of the beginning of the year, 1757 Hutton held several blessed meetings. It was found that, in general, much grace prevailed in the singing meetings; and, although little was to be expected from Hutton as a precentor, beautiful verses were selected, and sung with much pathos by all present.

Several new people came to visit Hutton and his wife, and declared their resolution not to be satisfied until they

were entirely the Lord's. Some who had formerly belonged to the Brethren but had left them, (because, as we say concerning those who run a race, they had not breath enough,) occasionally, when the Brethren were assailed, defended them. The magistrates and clergy also entertained very favourable opinions of their fellow-citizens who belonged to the Brethren. But there was a class of pietists at Geneva who neglected the word of Jesus' reconciliation entirely, teaching other doctrines, and entertaining extravagant notions. In order to save their reputation these people publicly declared their desire not to be considered "Moraves." Their principal leader having once broached the sublime idea, that Christ died, not for our sins, but only for those of Barabbas; Hutton replied, "*and you are one of his* (*Barabbas'*) *progeny.*"

On the 6th of January they held prostration meetings as before, in three divisions. At that of the brethren, Hutton was peculiarly urged to implore the Holy Spirit to reveal, depict, and impress on their hearts the sufferings of our dying God and Saviour, though thereby they should become a bye-word to all the world. The real *Shechinah* was present in their midst. In those days, some of the brethren and sisters, were led to a deeper self-knowledge, and the work of the Spirit, was powerfully manifested among them. A young minister, named Sarasin, who, though not very talented, was a good man, of a good family, and with whom the Huttons had made acquaintance, was seriously impressed when they conversed with him concerning the Saviour. He expressed himself in strong terms of affection for the Brethren and also with astonishment at the calumnies raised against them.

Hutton found many opportunities in Geneva of forming acquaintance with men of the world. He discovered that the preface to Stinstra's work on Fanaticism was written by one Boissier, a native of Vivarez, who published the book when holding an office in Holland, after he had left the family of Professor Lullin, in which he was once private tutor. He was then dead, and, as Hutton says, "*had already got his reply.*" Professor Perdrian was very friendly towards Hutton. He was a nephew of the affable Madame de Loubiere, who invariably inquired after good news from Mons. le Comte (Zinzendorf).

After a cordial leave-taking from Srs. Bez and Höffeli,

and the rest of the sisters and brethren, Hutton and his wife left Geneva, and, encountering some difficulties in crossing the lake, reached Lausanne in safety on the 15th of January, the love of the brethren and sisters, and the peace of God, accompanying them.

On the 21st Hutton wrote to the Count from Lausanne, and at the same time enclosed letters from the brethren and sisters at Geneva, urging the appointment of a minister to succeed Br. Bez, which Hutton heartily seconded, desiring that the Saviour might in that place carry on His own work. He and his wife had spent four weeks there, and had no doubt of the Lord's blessing having been laid upon the bold undertaking of the Pilgrim-congregation, which in 1741 had ventured openly into that "*kennel.*" There were now in it many dear people among the Diaspora, and many more might be won over to the Saviour by conversation; he therefore desired that a married couple should be sent among them, and thought that a learned brother, of good and pleasing manners, would be most suitable; having perceived, in conversation with Professor Perdrian and the young minister Sarasin, that they did not entirely despise the Moraves; and, there being moreover sufficient means in Geneva for the support of a brother and sister. Besides which, Geneva was favourably situated for holding correspondence with France and the Vaudois, as also with the secret Protestants said to be here and there found in the towns of Italy.

Hutton also advocated, for the married women and widows at Geneva, about twenty in number (among whom were some very dear souls), that they should be cared for separately.

In concluding his letter he says:—"We are now again at Lausanne, where we begin to visit and be visited, and have not perceived that the respect of the higher classes, or the affection of Mons. Court and his students, has in the slightest degree cooled down. Would to God I could say that I had won a single student for the Saviour! that would be joyful indeed! I have, however, friends among them, and they can no longer lay anything to the charge of the church of the Brethren; but I wait the Saviour's time, and hope, that the intercourse begun between the Brethren and the French desert-churches, will never be suspended."

On the 17th of February, Hutton and his wife visited Montmirail, where, on the 19th, they participated in the Lord's supper with unspeakable blessing. From thence, after a fortnight's stay, they proceeded to Berne, with the view of making a tour throughout the German Diaspora in the surrounding country. They left Lausanne on the 19th of March, and on the 27th of May returned from their tour in German Switzerland, accompanied from Winterthur by the married Sr. Kauffmann, and the single Sr. Schulzer, who were on a visit. Here they continued until the 20th of June, when they again left for Lausanne, where they remained from the 1st to the 12th of July. From that period, until the 29th of August, they were absent; but on that day they returned, and resided in Lausanne until the 3rd of October.

During Hutton's sojourn in Switzerland he was made useful to "dear Huber, who, on the 4th of August, was called before the seat of grace as a penitential sinner."*

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* Huber was born at Basle, Oct. 25, 1698. His father Jean Jacques Huber, was Minister of the great and lesser Councils, and, at the same time, Sheriff of Reichen. His mother's name was Catharine Weissen. His parents gave him a good education, and, on leaving school, he learned the profession of apothecary at Frankfort. He served afterwards in apothecary shops at Manheim, Nürnberg, Bamberg, Coblentz, and subsequently engaged himself at Amsterdam on board an East India ship, in which he sailed to Batavia. He afterwards proceeded to Madagascar, where he followed his profession for three years, during which time he was often obliged to serve in a military capacity against the natives, and was several times severely wounded. Having a great desire to see foreign countries, he visited China and Hindustan, where he was presented to the Great Mogul, as a brave Switzer. But he travelled further, in order to see the pearl fishery and the diamond mines. He visited Ceylon, and many other islands on both sides the Line (equator), and was often in danger among "crocodiles, apes, and other wild beasts," and even among cannibals. At last he came a second time to Batavia, just when the great conspiracy of the Indians to massacre all the Europeans, was discovered. From thence he set out upon his return to Europe, on board the "Ampstelfen," which was soon after lost in a hurricane; and of 600 men no more were saved than 80. These were, moreover, stripped stark naked by the inhabitants on whose shore they were wrecked, and by whom they were driven away. In this calamitous condition, having only one firelock and a compass, they travelled nine weeks, enduring excessive heat, nakedness, and hunger, and sustaining themselves along the sea coast with tortoises and sea-muscles. At length this miserable crew, reduced to 60 in number, with much difficulty reached Batavia. Huber soon after embarked

While Hutton and his wife resided at Lausanne they were visited by Count Zinzendorf. He remained with them from the 8th to the 11th of November, when, after much pleasing conversation with Hutton, he and his company returned to Montmirail. Hutton had accompanied the Count as far as Schaffhausen, for on the 2nd of December, replying to a letter from him, he says he was disappointed at the badness of the road between Schaffhausen and Basle, which it seems he had been advised to take on his way to Königsfeld, whence his letter was despatched.

At Basle he visited Pastor Ryhiner several times after the Count had left, and found him friendly and cordial in his way. He also waited on the clerk of the Council, Mons. Iselin, to whom he delivered letters from the Count; here, likewise, he found a Mons. Wolleb. Both of them were very friendly, and he had an opportunity of speaking to them of the Saviour, and of His double claim upon us as the Creator and Saviour of the world, and that we should not begin to enter upon philosophical intricacies. They were greatly pleased. Next day (Sunday) he dined with pastor Ryhiner, whose daughter, on her return from church, told her father that she had learned from Mr. Iselin, the clerk of the council, that his grandfather, Fesh, the head master of the Guilds, had conversed with him on the cause of the Brethren, and informed him that he had been favoured with an opportunity of seeing Count Zinzendorf, with whom he was greatly pleased, and of conversing with the Englishman,

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again for Europe, arrived safely at Amsterdam, and eventually reached Basle. However, he again felt an inclination to go to the East Indies, but his parents endeavoured to dissuade him. In this they succeeded by a proposal of marriage with the daughter of the renowned Professor in physic, Zwinger (see Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary, vol. xxxii. pp. 464, 465). They were united in 1729, lived happily together for twenty-eight years, and brought up a family. Huber had, in his many voyages, contracted something rough and unruly, which attended him continually, but he had therewith a frank and honest disposition of mind. In the year 1739, when he saw the Brethren visiting the houses of his wife's brothers and sisters, he became concerned for his salvation. Other visits of the Brethren were blessed to him, and his great surprise was, that they could love such an one as him; and he often desired, with tears, to have the same loving heart towards the Saviour and His people. His remains were buried at Corneaux, where the parson, Petitpierre, made a pleasing funeral sermon on the occasion.

Mr. Hutton, and was obliged to confess that he had discovered nothing but what was excellent and solid; and that while Mons. Fesh thus conversed his eyes were filled with tears. Pastor Ryhiner and his daughter also wept for joy. After dinner they were joined by Dr. Ryhiner, the Pastor's son, and his wife.

On Monday, Hutton saw Mons. Iselin again, and after setting him right on some silly things he had listened to about the Brethren, he lent him their Ritual, with which he was much pleased.

"On the Sunday," writes Hutton, "a wicked minister (Pastor Buxtorff) abused us. One of his hearers, Stiehler by name, who had been dismissed from our Society, in order to express his disgust at this fellow's sermon, rose up, walked through the whole length of the church, and went out; and in the evening brought several people to our meeting, who have since come again. See the Daily word, 'Leave nothing behind, notwithstanding the reproaches of fools.' My mouth was opened, and it seemed as if some one would reap an abiding blessing. One part of our hearers assembled every evening in the house of the widow Oberried, who is ill; the other, either in the house of Raillard or of Peter Gemuseus, or of Councillor Ryhiner, or of Jerome Gemuseus, a rich stocking manufacturer. Haensler, one of Annoni's friends, whom I saw at the house of Gemuseus, also attends our services."

Hutton also had visited a friend of Count Zinzendorf, named Sulger, who seemed almost gained over, and his wife spoke of it with tears. He attended the meetings, and it was with difficulty he could be kept from "*exorbitancy*" on occasion of Pastor Buxtorff's abuse of the Brethren, which, however, seems to have done them rather a service. On this occasion Hutton went to Riechen, and addressed a meeting of about thirty souls, two of whom were from Wiel; many tears were shed, and the peace of God filled their hearts. He returned to Basle by way of Wiel. He thought a brother might find full employment in Basle and the neighbourhood, where were many worthy people. Speaking of Pastor Burkhardt, of Basle, Hutton says, "I was averse to visit him, because I believe he must have blushed to have been guilty of the lamentable folly of not calling upon the Count. I detest all such foolish and mad actions, which are

usually termed *prudentes mesures*, but on the eve of my leaving Basle I must endeavour to give him a call."

On the 2nd of December, Hutton met Nicholas de Watteville at Aarau, and found Tschamer charmed with the Count's letter to him. At Basle the Count's visit to Gemuseus, Stähli, Merian, and others, was much blessed, and at Aarau the people were as in a dream, scarcely knowing how to express themselves at having the one thing needful dispensed to them. He says, "Sr. Ochs will not go this time to Berne. Nicholas de Watteville and I go from Aarau,* after some delay, by way of Langenthal, and not through Basle. Dear Br. Cossart has set out from Montbelliard to proceed thence to his destined place of labour. I shall now turn my face towards Lausanne, and about the end of January, or beginning of February, start from thence to Montmirail, and towards the end of the same month I shall think of setting out for Germany, though at present I know not how."

Concerning this visit to Basle, Hutton reported to Count Zinzendorf:—

"As regards the special work in Basle, we adopted the following plan:—My wife has spoken several times with all the individual female members, both of the old and new Society, and will continue to do so. In some instances, this has been done with much blessing. Sr. Uhl gave her an opportunity of seeing all the single sisters in her presence; a work of the Holy Spirit is clearly perceptible in many. With the men I allowed things to take their own course, scarcely asking one of them about the state of his heart, or any other direct question; but waited until the conversation came round naturally to those points. Raillard several times conversed freely about his heart. With all his faults and imperfections, he is the very man in whose house, above all others, a visiting brother may lodge most comfortably. Regarding his heart's state I have the best hopes. He is by no means incurable, and, therefore, must not be cut off. Stähli I treat in a very gentle manner; as it were like a toy, and with much circumspection, because Br. Johannes has appointed him overseer of the brethren, with the understanding that Raillard should assist in keeping meetings,

* Where, in 1712, the treaty of peace was concluded between the Protestant and Catholic Cantons.—*Cox, Travels in Switzerland*, i. p. 125.

though not to have their arrangement in his own hands, or be considered as the first man. I deal with him also in this spirit, and venture nothing rashly, because the people, especially the new comers, are much attached to Raillard, who keeps an open house, and is always to be found at home; besides which, he pretty well knows how to treat the people, so that I am rather uncertain as to the proper way of arranging all these matters. I have thought of a kind of Helpers' conference for Basle, for which suitable men might easily be found, who for some years past have acted in the capacity of helpers.

"With Srs. Hüber and Uhl, we live in general on most friendly terms. I exhorted Macrait, when he was visiting here, to speak with the men separately, which he has done in several cases, much to my satisfaction; more particularly in the example of Pastor Benken, who values him much. In this way Macrait may visit anywhere in Switzerland with blessing. At Geneva, things go on pleasantly, and in mutual harmony among the souls."

Hutton received the following letter from Dr. Stählin of Basle, dated the 7th of December:—

"Everybody here is displeased at your sudden departure, and because you did not pass through Basle on your return from Aarau, as we expected you would do. The thing cannot now be helped; therefore, the sooner you come again the better, and all will be well. Mons. Iselin, the town clerk, sends his kind love to you; he gave me a letter last week, requesting me to forward it to the Ordinary (Count Zinzendorf), at Ebersdorff, which I did. I called upon him and left the first volume of 'the London Sermons,' by Zinzendorff. He was very friendly, entering into conversation on various subjects, and made many inquiries, to which, according to the grace given me, I briefly replied. He asked for the *Discourses of Count Zinzendorf*, delivered at Zeist, in which there are some points, according to *Stinstra's book on Fanaticism*, which he could not rightly comprehend; but as that book adduces only some passages taken out of their proper connection, Iselin wished to see the entire discourses. Shall I procure a copy for him, if he desires to have it? For I myself do not possess one, nor have I read the book. Iselin expressed his pleasure at having seen and spoken with Papa (*i.e.* Zinzendorf), and wishes very much to have some of his doubts removed by the Count himself. He told me that, in

his letter, he had asked his opinion on one and another topic. As far as I can see, his doubts refer to non-essential matters; the chief matter seems as yet hidden from his learned and philosophic mind. But patience—our Saviour can in a moment change everything. Iselin expressed great dissatisfaction at Buxtorf's slanderous sermon, and contended that such a man had no right to say a single word, as he must be conscious of his own guiltiness on each and every point with which he finds fault in others. In general, this Pastor exposes everybody. It is said that he told Schickler,* (whom he publicly exposed on account of his having walked out of the church in a very noisy manner, and to whom he granted his full pardon when the latter justified his conduct in a satisfactory way), that he (Schickler) must also forgive him; for he confessed he had said rather too much. Meanwhile all is quiet here, and no questions of moment are mooted on any subject. We wait with longing what has been promised us with relation to our spiritual charge, and hope to see it soon carried out; the more so, as under present circumstances, it is very much required. Pastor Ryhiner is still very friendly, and much pleased with his visit to our dearly beloved Papa. O! that there were a man among us who had grace sufficient to deal with this dear man in a manner suited to his present sentiments, and also with many others, whose minds have been stirred up through the late visit of Count Zinzendorf. May our dear Saviour soon, yea very soon, fulfil His thoughts of peace, which He has begun to reveal to our poor city of Basle. I look forward with joy to the accomplishment of our desires, and in the meantime give Him heart and hand to be and remain, to my life's end, His own faithful though poor sinner. In this spirit, dear Br. Hutton, I embrace you as your "STAEHLIN."

Hutton, on the 9th of December, wrote to the Count from Montmirail, in English:—"I received, yesterday, letters from Cossart, dated Montbelliard, December 2d. He pressed me and my wife, in the name of all the brethren and sisters there, to come soon and visit them. He believes it almost indispensably necessary, that a sister should visit there soon. Wallises cannot possibly go, having too many other things to do; and the dear Lausanne, where I shall be with

* Called Stiehler at p. 347.

much more courage since Papa has been there, will, in all probability, take up my time this winter if my wife be able to travel, which I much fear, as she has been so violently ill these eleven days, with miliaria (miliary fever), and is still but poorly; except for this illness, which has held her so long, I had been willing enough to have her there, and at Basle, where she would be blessed to the daughters of Fadet, Ryhiner, &c., for a while; but the sickness makes me an inhabitant of dear Montmirail, probably for some time. In the meantime, I wrote to my dear Court and Madame Seneschen, and shall to others at Lausanne, whilst I stay here. At Geneva, they have desired us to come and keep the feast of Christmas and the New Year. You see, therefore, that your own Jemmy, who is so much wished for at different places, is by our dear Saviour, in all probability, kept at Montmirail for some good purpose. I shall probably visit at Neufchatel and in the neighbourhood, so as not to be far from hence, in case my wife be so ill again as she has been; for such illnesses come and go and return again, with a weak person as she is. Whatever thy dear heart has to write to me, you will, I hope, find time.

"I have read this morning with great pleasure in our liturgies, those extracts out of the Greek liturgies. They are worth while, but I fear you have quite exhausted those two volumes in quarto.

"I have read with pleasure, *Jurieux Pastoral Letters*, because there is therein an extract of the ancient church's dogmas and liturgical ideas. Verily those people used to pray to the Father, through the Son; but I am not convinced that they knew the Son so well as Demuth* in Herrnhut. My wife, who was very poorly when I wrote to you yesterday, has had a good night. This is written, Dec. 10; but she has been very bad, as my letter to Bienel (Benigna von Zinzendorf), will have informed you; and that makes me puzzled still more about her journey; and to come without her, would spoil the pleasure of my visit; for, when we are at a distance, I am always in pain about her. However, she will get well towards spring, as I hope; and our journey is always remembered by me as an object which is continu-

* This seems to be the youth Joseph Demuth, then 13 years of age, having been born in 1744, at Hernhaag. He died at Herrnhut in 1766.—*Gottes Acker*. p. 11.

ally before my eyes. However, between this time and the spring, my wife may be quite recovered. She sends her love to you and mamma. I am, Papa's own JEMMY."

On December the 24th, Hutton sent to Count Zinzendorf a letter he had received from Mons. Court; which is referred to above.

On the 7th of March, 1758, the distressing news was received in London, by way of Holland, that the ship *Irene* had been captured by a French privateer; and on the 13th letters arrived from the brethren Jacobsen and Schmaling, dated Denaud in France, stating that they, with the crew, and Benjamin Garrison, were prisoners of war; that Br. Henry Ohlringshaw lay sick at Brest, and Br. Schout had been left behind in Cape Breton. Captain Jacobsen, in his letter, also mentioned that his vessel, the *Irene*, as the captors were taking her into Cape Breton, had been lost, with the whole of her cargo, but the people were all saved. Br. Gambold, on the 14th, referred to this subject; and it being a memorial day of "*The imprisoned of the Lord*," he stated that our congregation, from its beginning, had been always honoured by having some brethren or other in prison for His sake.

From Christmas 1757, we have no notice of Hutton until the 1st of September, 1758, when Count Zinzendorf wrote to him from Amsterdam. It appears, he and his wife were then in Switzerland, and being straitened in their means, had applied to the Count for assistance, which he afforded, by referring Hutton to Dürninger—who held money of the Count's in his hands, and would supply what was required for their support. The Count adds:—"I would gladly have sent something to our dear Court, in Lausaune, but, though not suffering want, we are too poor."

The Count left Hutton at full liberty to pay him a visit during that, or the following month, if convenient; after which, from November, until June, 1759, he would have to be at his post in French Switzerland, when he would expect him at Neuwied. Hutton, however, does not appear to have availed himself of the Count's invitation; for, from the 14th of September, 1758, to the 2nd of Jauuary, 1759, he and his wife were at Basle. The following is a memorial of their proceedings in that town, and its vicinity.

On the 14th of September, some of the most well-known members of the society at Basle, held a love-feast on occasion of Hutton's birth-day. After each benedictory verse, which was sung for him, Hutton, without any previous arrangement, responded in a verse expressive of a prayer, or confession, or confirmation. This was a very blessed introduction for him on his arrival at Basle. Shortly afterward they organized meetings, which were held every evening in the different localities, but in small companies, to avoid exciting much notice. The numbers, however, increased so rapidly, that it became expedient, occasionally, to omit the meetings, which, at one time, was done for eight days, until the report of "large gatherings in a certain house" should die away. At the same time, some alarm was created by a rumour, that Pastor Buxtorff, of Little Basle, had publicly drawn the attention of his hearers to the movements of the Brethren. This, however, though to a certain extent true, was not an injury to their cause. Meanwhile, Hutton and his wife visited at Benken, Muttely, Bratteln, Reichen, and Wyll.

After a short interval, they recommenced meetings, but never more than twice in succession, at one and the same place; sometimes in one locality, and sometimes in another. Many new people joined them at these assemblies, of both sexes, for whom they held separate meetings. In the midst of this activity, Hutton received letters from the Disciple's house, informing him, that it had been proposed to send him, *ad interim*, to Basle, because no labourer for the service of that society had yet been found; for that the news of his visit there had given great pleasure, and led them to desire that the brethren at Basle might be brought into the same pleasing course that was manifest among the sisters; that at least as many men might be won for our Saviour in Basle as in Geneva, &c. This encouraged Hutton to labour faithfully among the men, and to endeavour to bring them more closely together.

Fewer scruples were, therefore, raised against admitting men to those meetings, which were special for strangers; hence, generally, about thirty men were present from the town, whereas, previously, the number had been from six to nine only. Hutton was of opinion, that if a regular labourer were appointed, more fully conversant with the spiritual care of souls than himself, a real work of grace might be established among the several men who attended; some

of whom were new people, others the old awakened, and several were such as had withdrawn themselves on account of misunderstandings at some former period. These meetings were held without the least disturbance, until the end of the year, in gatherings of from thirty to seventy persons. The Saviour's presence was often perceptibly felt, and, in general, Hutton and his wife were very happy in their midst. The singing meetings of from ten to twenty persons, in private houses, without any previous notice, were often remarkably edifying; and the peculiar character of the great festivals, such as November the 13th, Christmas, and other memorial days of the Brethren, was sustained with rich blessing, so as to shew the Diaspora-work in this place 'to be much nearer to the Bridegroom and His Bride,' than could otherwise have been expected.

Hutton's visits to Benken were mostly confined to the holding of meetings, and complimentary calls upon the clergyman, who was much beleaguered by evil disposed persons, endeavouring to excite prejudice, by false reports, against the Brethren. The clergyman himself, although a weak-minded man, was very friendly, and was treated by the Brethren with kindness and candour. It was Hutton's chief aim to cultivate an open and frank intercourse with him, though it was necessary to be cautious in conversation. To speak boldly to him on the one thing needful, he felt that he could, and must; yet, circumspection was needed, on account of his scruples and objections, and in order to obviate possible misunderstanding.

The unmarried females in this parish enjoyed the faithful labours of Sr. Uhl, from Basle, and of a very gifted sister resident in the place, named Ursula Doctor. The single men had good leaders, in the person of the Schoolmaster, and a few others. But there were none to take the lead among the married people, until the married pair from Basle should be appointed to take the oversight of them. At present, they were content with occasional meetings, and the reading of the weekly accounts,* which gave them much joy and edification.

In the general meeting of the men, Hutton found himself less at home than elsewhere; but, among the females, he was

* The weekly accounts appear to have been records of proceedings of the different Congregations of the Brethren, and to have commenced from the beginning of the year 1747, or earlier.

much pleased to find many dear and pious souls, who at some future time, might prove very useful in the service of the Lord.

At Muttely it was customary for the visitor to call first upon the clergyman, Mons. Annoni, and attend his preaching. Meetings were held here at which sixty, eighty, and even a hundred persons, were present, without exciting much notice. Hutton, who was enabled to commend the doctrine of atonement by Jesus Christ, and his sufferings, with warmth of heart and a joyous spirit, as though it had never before been propounded, and never would again; had a peculiar feeling towards these dear souls, among whom a revival now took place, and an earnest inquiry after the one thing needful.

Some of the sisters here, who had a certain Sr. Schmidt for their leader, listened with gladness to the exhortations of Hutton and his wife. Some of the single women enjoyed the counsel of Sr. Uhl, others those of Sr. Hüber. The newly awakened requiring especial care, Hutton anticipated much good from Muttely, if a couple from the Congregation, accustomed to a country life, and adapted to labour among such people, should ever be appointed to the charge of this Diaspora; in which case, also, more might be effected at Bratteln, distant about an hour's walk further. At a meeting held there, by Hutton, in a large room, it was well filled with attentive hearers, mostly females, among whom his heart was enlarged. Here the Schoolmaster's wife acted as assistant among the females. A lame tailor had charge of the males, with whom he held meetings, read sermons, and so forth. These were all in close connection with the Society at Basle; and it was determined to aid them in future by supplying them with the weekly accounts.

From Bratteln a walk of about an hour would bring them to the Rhine, and beyond the river, a further walk of about an hour and a quarter enabled them to reach Riechen, a village about five miles distant from Basle, where was a very precious, well-trained, and lively little flock of about thirty persons, old and young. During Hutton's stay at Basle, by the meetings held by him adopting all the peculiar usages of the Brethren, they resembled in spirit and character one of their well organized settlements. Among this flock were many in whose society Hutton was extremely happy, as they were a humble and devoted people. Two

brethren, Samuel Wenk and Meyerhofer, were particularly distinguished in this little community of peace, and presided at their meetings. The married women, as well as the widows, were all well conducted persons. The single woman, Roschette, was assistant to the six or seven unmarried women, under the direction of Sr. Uhl of Basle. These people, once a week, brought the produce of their farms to market in Basle; so that they were seen by the brethren and sisters as often as though they were residing there. Hutton and his wife, and Sr. Uhl, visited them occasionally in much love and joy, and with mutual edification. From thence to

Wyll, which is in the duchy of Baden, is a distance of about two English miles. This is a little town, a mile from the river, containing about a thousand inhabitants. It was here, and not in the town of Basle, that Hutton and his wife lived, as in a hermitage, during their stay in this locality. Hutton, in a letter dated the 21st of December, had written an account of this place to Count Zinzendorf.

Every Friday, the great market day, from fifty to seventy of the peasantry came, from all the above places, to the meetings at Basle. On account of their number, they were divided into two companies. The females, who had recently joined the Society, were allowed a so-called strangers' meeting, at which many others, desiring information, attended, so that it resembled a public preaching. And, had the Brethren been called to *preach* the Gospel here, they would have done well to encourage such meetings: but, as the chief object was to edify those who were united with the Brethren, it was questioned, whether the course pursued in these meetings were the right one. Hutton expressed surprise that during the fourteen weeks of his sojourn at Basle and its neighbourhood, he should have been able to hold from ten to fifteen meetings weekly with so little observation from without. On the last day of the year, the night-watch was in two divisions; the first commencing at six o'clock with about fifty persons: several being prevented by indisposition from attending. The second meeting, from ten until after midnight, was attended by the brethren and their wives, the widows, single sisters and married sisters, and some friends as guests, whose wives were Sisters; for example, Peter and Jerome Gemuseus and Von der Mühle, into whose

hearts some sparks had fallen. They felt the Saviour's presence, and many tears were shed before Him.

During this sojourn in Basle and its vicinity, Hutton, according to his custom, cultivated a friendly intercourse with several men of the world; of whom the most remarkable were the Town-clerk, Mons. Iselin, Alderman Wolleb, Councillor Dietrich, and his son; Professor Burkhardt, theological candidate; the Stähelins, brothers of the Brethren's Doctor Stähelin, and Pastor Ryhiner and his daughter. All of whom, and many others, knew Hutton to be a Moravian brother, and yet treated him in a very friendly and cordial manner.

Councillors Ryhiner and Keller continued their friendship with him, as did also Frederick Zwinger, Professor of medicine, the brother of Sr. Hueber. He was also slightly acquainted with Profesor Beck, who avowed great esteem for the Brethren. In short, Hutton had no enemies in Basle, but among the pharisees and false brethren, whom he carefully shunned. He says, "I was once, indeed, misled by hearing of a company of men who relished the Berlin and Pennsylvanian Discourses, and whose acquaintance I sought on that account. According to the 17th of John, I offered my whole heart and soul to them, but in vain. I now try with all my might to forget them, lest I should become very indignantly distressed about my own fruitless attempts, and their prejudices and settled notions, which prevented them from exercising brotherly love. I call to mind our Saviour's command respecting the shaking the very dust from off our feet."

On the opening of the new year, the second meeting of the night-watch was concluded, at about half-past twelve, with much blessing. The good people at Basle having been used, on former occasions, to have a separate meeting for the sisters at the end of the year, could not understand why it should not have been so now. Hutton found the Swiss by no means unsocial, but made, as it were, for festival days; for all who came in contact with the Brethren, from the congregations, had such a spirit for festival days as was seldom met with among Lutherans, and they entered upon the new year with feelings of heavenly joy. They were in spirit with the whole body of the Brethren, and implored our Saviour to remain in eternal communion with them; and that they might be sprinkled with his precious blood, and enjoy his

unspeakable presence. Hutton thus concludes his account of the meeting:—"There is certainly no such people in the whole world as the Brethren; who have such heavenly liturgical assemblings, and whom the Saviour loves so tenderly, because He has revealed himself to them in all His suffering comeliness! I am truly thankful that I myself, and my dear partner, are members of this His body, and we unitedly commend ourselves to the Congregation's continued and faithful remembrance as its poor children."

On the 10th of January, we find, by the following letter, that Hutton and his wife were in Paris, to which city they had travelled by way of Lyons; but the cause of this apparently sudden movement does not appear. The letter was in English, and addressed to Br. Cossart, in London:—

"You see I have got safe and well hither. I arrived here on the 8th, at night, with my wife, in the diligence from Lyons. We had rainy weather the most part of the way, and the wind was rather cold. The company pretty friendly, and of different sorts;—a Spanish-French officer, a surgeon of a French regiment, a merchant of Lyons, a counsellor of the parliament of Grenoble and his servant, a procureur of St Augustine reformez, and my wife and I. The company would fain convert me; but I said, 'No!' I would not change my religion; for the sufferings of my Saviour had so touched my heart, that I could not but love Him, and all mankind; and though I had the fortune to be born out of their religion, yet I had not that hatred against them, which the character of a schismatic usually brought along with him. I had a great respect for them, and for their honouring our Saviour's sufferings so much, that they called Him their *Bon Dieu;* stating that I adored His suffering humanity, and it touched my heart so much when I thought thereon, that I dared not think much about it. They asked me, if I believed in the real presence? I said, I was Lutheran in that point entirely; that I believed the real presence so firmly as I believed that I had that spoon in my hand, and that communion implied something more than simply to eat 'in remembrance of Him;' and if a thousand angels, and ten thousand devils would tell me that it was merely commemorative of his death, I could tell them, I have felt the real presence.* When these people

* This must not be understood in the Romanist sense of transubstantiation; but, in the sense of the Saviour's presence so often experienced in the meetings of the Brethren. See p. 354, line 6.

perceived with what a *gout* I spoke of the sufferings and humanity of my Saviour, and my cheerful open declaration, that though I was of another religion, yet I loved every man who loved the humanity of his God, they were touched and struck. The French officer in the Spanish service, and the merchant of Lyons, and the counsellor of Grenoble, and the monk, said one to another: 'That is *un bon enfant*.' I loved them, and spared them not, nor they me, and we loved one another heartily. I had reason to be satisfied with them. They wondered I was not of the Pretender's party. I told them, no true Frenchman could be of the Pretender's party, nor no true Englishman either; for, the religion and liberty of every true Englishman obliged him to be against the Pretender. But my favourite point is the sufferings of my Saviour; for nothing touches my heart like that:

O Dearest Saviour, might my heart
Be given up to thee!
O might it, to be always Thine,
My highest pleasure be.

Thy love, with such a jealous flame,
Would have me wholly Thine;
Thy blood so shed, demands that I
Should be no longer mine!

But Lord, what lovest Thou in me?
(Thou seest me as I am!)
Yet if Thou choosest still to love,
Thy choice I will not blame.

Ah Lord! it was the only way,
The only Master-Art,
To conquer such a soul as mine,
And break so hard a heart.

Here I confess to all the world,
I ne'er had loved Thee,
Hadst Thou not dy'd for me, and first
Shewn such a Love to me.

O Love, O bleeding Love, I would
Always with Thee remain:
O let my soul with Thee yet more
An inward knowledge gain.

"I went to Mons. Verron, but there was nothing there for me. I received nothing at all from thee.

"I lodge at a little house, up one pair of stairs in the rue Quineampoix, a 'la Ville de Frankfort,' but the address to me is (pray tell it to my friends), à Mons. James Hutton, chez Messieurs Robert Dufour et comp. Banquieres à Paris.

My tender love to everybody, my relations and my friends, and to Frederic Marschall, in a very particular manner, (Pray do not forget it); to Böhlers, Müllers, &c.

"J. HUTTON."

His stay in Paris must have been very short, for on the 23rd of the same month, we find him again at Wyll, in Switzerland, whence he addressed a letter, "a son Excellence le Baron de Wallbrun, Conselier Privie de S. R. G. (His Royal Grandeur) le Margraf de Baden et Grand Baillif de Saussenbourg et de Röteln à Lorrach," in defence of the Brethren, against whom an ordonnance had been published in 1748, &c.

The subjoined letter, dated April the 10th, of this year, was addressed by Count Zinzendorf to Hutton, who was then in French Switzerland. Although some passages of it are not now explainable, from the want of the letter to which it was a reply, it throws light upon the character of Hutton, and on the monetary transactions of the years of financial distress, as well as upon the character of the Count himself.

"MY DEAR BR. HUTTON,

"Your chimera with the French I leave to yourself and Mons. Villettes. I do not, neither should I ever, learn to think thus. Our loss is great when we cease to be *cives universi;* but we at once cease to be such when, either in thought or word, we take a one-sided party view. I shall be very cautious in imagining you capable of such an undertaking; *my* secretary is certainly not of any particular nation, yet, while I well know that an Englishman's nationality is of vast importance in his own estimation, I congratulate myself that, being nothing, my course cannot be disturbed. Where force and *avanie* (Turkish extortion) exist, there one takes the *quid pro quo*, all remonstrance availing nothing; but where things are reasonably conducted, no Hutton need fear an arrest by an army in his way to Count Zinzendorf or to Herrnhuth, either with or without a passport. At times you appear to me like a certain abbè in France, who fancied that a price would be set on his head by the Parliament of England, because he had written something in a book published against the *successio episcopalis* there. Now, my good Hutton, what shall I say? I trust the Saviour will not permit you to depart entirely from the blessed

grunz ideas—your reflections upon the news I wrote to you sound very much like it; I will, therefore, not trouble you with any more. Still, I would have you procure a copy of the letter I wrote to Mr. Franke, who, I think, is gone to Geneva. The letter of Mr. Burkhardt is pleasing. I suppose Mr. Beyer will soon be in your neighbourhood; enjoin it upon him not to make any official journeys, but merely a visit, and to be careful that what transpires may be opportune. Persons, under a first impulse, often think they have weighty commissions to execute, and sometimes give definitive answers to questions according to their own fancy. This I do not approve.

"Your excessive anxiety about Metcalf (he was one of the deacons in the great diaconate council in England in 1752 and 1753) is needless. He is a good man, but a *polypragmon*, (a busy-body) who puts one in continual bodily fear, and with the very best intention, causes some mishap. Two months prior to May, 1755, he went round to all the creditors, and assured them, that interest would be paid on their claims, although it was not my intention to pay any. In the Beaufort* affair he made a *brouilla mirei*, and the matter has now been more than five years in hand; and in regard to receiving and disbursing money, he is not in the smallest degree better than the other English deacons; for to demand money among one's connections, *i.e.* among one's friends, for a certain purpose, and apply it to another, gives a death-blow to credit all over the world.

"Have you my Lord Granville's letter to me, relating to the important services of the Brethren in America? Since then things have gone beyond that, and I will send it you unasked, for dangerous people might intercept it, and then what might be the consequence? My principle is, that a patriot is a brave man, and because he is a patriot he is the enemy of no one. Patriotism consists, not in words, and upholding of the parties, but in real service, *e.g.* if I risk my life to save that of a fellow-man, whether friend or foe. This at present in America is the *ipsissimus casus*."

On the 14th of June, Hutton, apparently answering the above, sent the Count, from Montmirail, a copy of the required letter, together with extracts from the divinity lec-

* Ground at Chelsea.

tures of Professor Burkhardt, which he much approved. He then goes on to say:—"I lately had a very hearty conversation about our affairs with the elder Petitpierre, who, when pastor of the French church at Dublin, was acquainted with the brethren Berzelius and Nyberg. He seemed to have pleasure in seeing the folly of our opponents demonstrated, and at the same time, to experience the tender love of our Saviour, and the comfort only to be found in true Christianity—Christ the Lover crucified. He is at present one of the preachers at Neufchatel. That Petitpierre whom you know was lately very friendly, and I trust will so continue, as well as the one at Corneau. I know of none in these parts who are at present otherwise minded. The other day I communicated part of a letter I had received from Lausanne, to Mons. Bertrand, pastor of the French church at Berne, a man illustrious in the learned world, employed by their Excellencies at Berne to draw up new, or, rather, revise the old canons and ecclesiastical ordinances, and renew the doctrine of grace and of Christ, according to their views, in the Pais de Vaud. This he has lately completed, to my great edification. It was through Mons. Villettes that I made his acquaintance. He is greatly esteemed among the *souverains* of Berne. I wrote him a letter, acquainting him that Mons. D'Alembert had powerfully refuted the answer of the clergy of Geneva, on his accusing them of Socinianism and almost Deism; and that my friend Favre, formerly minister of the French in Amsterdam, now at Lausanne, had written me at the same time, at the end of his account, respecting Mons. D'Alembert.

"By this letter of Bertrand to me you learn his thoughts of the Brethren, and justly so; he has the ear of the principal men in Berne, and at the same time is much esteemed as a man of letters in many parts of Europe; and, to me it is the more gratifying, as he has been thought by many to be inimical to us. Professor Stapfer, of Berne, is also full of friendly sentiments towards our people. I believe I mentioned the friendliness of Siner of Saanen, with one eye, an old friend of Frederick Watteville, a man most generally esteemed at Berne; also the great poet and philosopher, Haller.

"Yesterday I wrote down the names of those at Lausanne with whom I have made acquaintance, and who have

honoured Mons. Hutton, the English Moravian, with some distinction, and can see but one of them who has been wholly gained to the Saviour. I find many who respect me, and I them, particularly during the last month, and they are the most intimate with me. The whole number is about three hundred, among whom there are between seventy and ninety friendly disposed towards us; the majority are conformed to the empty world. We are still looked upon as a phantom and an enigma. My dear wife, at Lausanne, as a holy person, kisses your and mamma's hands. Lift up your hands, and bless us as one person."

Of the year 1760 nothing has been discovered relating to the proceedings of either Hutton or his wife; and his life from the 14th of June, 1759, to the 16th of July, 1763, would be almost a blank to us, except for a letter, which he wrote on the 22nd of July, 1761 or 1762, and a few notices in subsequent correspondence, which indicate that he continued to labour in Switzerland until his return home in 1763.

But in the month of May of this year the departure to immortal life of Count Zinzendorf, with whom he had been associated, and under whom he had laboured so many years, with mutual blessing and profit to themselves and the world, was to Hutton a severe loss. Between the Count and him truly unrestrained and Christian fellowship was most affectionately maintained.* But, after the Count's death, changes necessarily occurred in the concerns of the Unity, which created in his mind much dissatisfaction. This he did not fail to express, as will be seen in some parts of his subsequent correspondence, which throw considerable light on the history of the Brethren, as well as on that of his own life.

It will not be improper to introduce here an interesting document written by Hutton, to Spangenberg, on the 27th of December, 1767. It contains his proposal for "An abridged Memoir of the Count, to be prefixed to Spangenberg's larger biography of the same." This document, written, not under the influence of feelings which must have been excited at the time of the bereavement, but in the

* See Hutton's letters, wherein he describes the character of Count Zinzendorf. Appendix III.

calmer moments of reflection, after a lapse of nearly seven years and a half, sets forth the character of his departed brother with such truth-speaking effect, that to give it in any other form would lessen its excellence.

"DEAR BROTHER SPANGENBERG,

"I have often thought of a biography of my dear old friend, for which you have been gathering the materials during the last four years. I presume you will find so much matter, that the work will become far less compendious than you expected. Should this be the case, you may probably find it useful to prefix a small outline to the larger work; perhaps in the following manner:

"Something, though not very much, should be said about his ancestors; on which point a considerable amount of suitable and useful information might be published, with much truth and a certain degree of honour; both as regards his paternal and maternal ancestors, without, however, opening out too wide a field. He often remembered his maternal grandmother, under whose eyes he was educated, during the first years of his life, with much animation and the tenderest regard. Such-like subjects might easily be inserted in a note.

"It should be a memoir resembling those in Bayle's Dictionary, containing a general outline of his life, his journeys, his writings, and his controversies, to which he was compelled, by the fact that his opponents, not comprehending his sentiments, perverted his words, and from his real or supposed principles, drew false conclusions, or took offence at his paradoxical sentiments; whilst he aimed at nothing but the truth, which was undeniably contained in those sentiments; or, because he laid such stress upon well-known truths of the catechism, which are familiar to every school boy trained up in the orthodox faith, as though they were new discoveries, because his own heart and soul at the moment were so full of them, and he himself so lived in them, that it really often did seem as if these truths were uttered for the very first time. This method of speaking, quite peculiar to himself, called forth much contention; partly *ex odio*, out of hatred, and partly because these truths in reality did not make that impression upon his opponents, nor appear of such importance to them; but chiefly because their unbelief was

brought to light in the clearest manner by these very striking and paradoxical sentiments.

"A general outline should also, in such a sketch, be given of his tastes, his mode of address, his writings, and object in publishing them; his views respecting the congregation, and partial success in carrying them out; the difficulties and oppositions he encountered; his mistakes in many points; his method of reducing everything to its natural simple elements; and, when called for, of speaking very plainly respecting certain subjects connected with the marriage state, without reference to his own person, and without figure and ambiguity; his aim being to render the procreation of children honourable. All prove him to have been a real practical philosopher, for the good of the whole human family, but especially of those who were in immediate connection with him. To this must be added, his high regard for persons and actions swayed by grace; his low estimation of everything the world calls great, when viewed merely in the light of its fancied greatness. His idea, that every person of rank joining our church, and professing faith in the rejected and crucified Saviour, should renounce the vanities of this world, and class himself at once among all the other brethren as one of their number (although it is not well, when persons of low rank take advantage of the condescension of those above them; for, to be humble-minded befits the low as well as the high); he himself only regarding whatever tended to the spread of the Gospel; and the promotion of an evangelical walk and conversation outweighed, with him, a thousand other less important considerations.

"It was the delight of his heart to cement the union of souls through a deep impression of Christ's death and person, however they might differ in education, religious sentiments, opinions, and preconceived notions, and to establish among them a spiritual communion which would stand the test of every trial. He bowed to all and everything which he conceived to be the mind and will of Christ; no matter whether it concerned the yielding up of some principle, or of a system, or the circumstances and execution of affairs; whether as to time or place, or any other particular consideration.

"His conception of the love and goodness of Christ, of His infinite glory, and deep humiliation, was so genuine and

thorough, that no one can form a correct estimate of his conduct, except the man who has a similar conception, and retains it deeply in his own heart; or that he can for a moment enter into such a state of mind, even though in imagination only; and then judge, how a soul so noble, a person so sanguine and highly gifted, and a real poet by birth, will act under such feelings and in such a spirit; more especially if such be the pervading spirit that animates the man at all times.

"The harmlessness of such a system as that which he pursued might be easily proved by the effects it has produced, and is still producing. The pleasing fruits, and their real blessedness, resulting from his system and work, are apparent and manifest to all who look upon the man, '*sine odio et ira*, without malice and hatred.' His walk with God, and his converse with Him, which he oftentimes continued for hours, are well known to us; but, whether it would be prudent to publish them to the world, is another question.

"In short, he had many excellent qualities in common with other believers; but, as he was called to a special work, the whole course and tenor of his life, in many points, materially differed from that of other men of God. As regards the essentials of faith and salvation, he possessed nothing but what every believer can and must have; yea, often may have in a higher degree than Zinzendorf; forasmuch as he is neither necessitated to take that interest in other people's affairs which Zinzendorf, owing to his position, was compelled to exhibit; nor to experience the many sorrows which the care of the congregation imposed upon his mind. As long as he lived it was, '*Ecclesia plantanda*,' a church that had to be planted, and those who have succeeded him are in the same position; faithful souls should, therefore, have more compassion towards them, and support them with their prayers, instead of stigmatizing and complaining of them.

"Among his various peculiarities, he held a maxim very different from many other zealous servants of God; he was extremely circumspect in preaching the Gospel to individual souls, apprehending that harm might accrue to them by his discourses, if he should address them at an improper time, before that God had opened their hearts. In this matter we dare not pass a severe sentence upon him, but must let him

stand or fall to his own Master, whose he was, and by whose Spirit he allowed himself, under all circumstances, to be instructed in the line of conduct presented to his view.

"Though he was a warm friend of many men of the world, whose salvation he anxiously desired, yet he never spoke to them on the subject, at an unseasonable time. He often meditated on the words of Christ, 'That ye may be the children of your Father who is in heaven; who sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.'

"It was a maxim with him, that simple and kind-hearted persons are not suitable companions for the devil, but that those of a mischief-making and factious spirit, are only fit to be his bosom friends.

"He would often forget to eat and sleep, when engaged in anything of importance. He never came to the dinner-table in proper time, and then often in a great hurry. A few pages full of such peculiarities of the man would be read with much pleasure. He loved a simple diet, and cared little for wine; lemonade and tea were his favourite drinks. When no longer able to travel on foot, he met with some singular experiences on his journeys, with which a page or two might easily be filled.

"He was very witty, cheerful, and sociable, relishing the delights of human friendship as much as any man. He was a true friend, ready to forgive with all his heart; and, but for his own special calling, the duties of which imposed many cares upon him, he would, while being the most affectionate and virtuous, have also been one of the most lively companions whom you could anywhere have met. These qualities were united in him. He entertained the most loving ideas about true friendship, although his vehemence, like a whirlwind, sometimes destroyed the brightest hopes.

"The principal features of his character, and whatever was most prominent and peculiar in the general outline of his life, his writings, and his designs, would form a small memoir, which might be enlarged upon, and combined with the history of our church, whose controversies might be incorporated with the larger biography.

"This is what I have thought on the subject, and what I wished to communicate to my dear old friend Spangenberg.

"I am his poor sickly,

"December 27th, 1767. "JACOBUS HUTTON."

"P.S.—There is a memoir of Erasmus, in Jean Le Clerc's 'Bibliotheca Christiana,' compiled from his letters, which may form a very useful pattern."

The following letter, (referred to at p. 363), dated Geneva, July 22nd, (1761 or 1762), is addressed to Br. Abraham de Gersdorff at Zeist. It alludes to the conduct of Br. Knoll, one of the Diaspora labourers in Switzerland, and expresses dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Directing Board of the Unity, in relation to the behaviour of Sr. Latour and others towards Sr. Höffeli, who had consequently been removed from her office as single sisters' labouress.*

"MY VERY DEAREST ABRAHAM,

"I have already written too much respecting Br. Knoll (the wig-maker already mentioned), as no notice has been taken of my remarks, excepting in some observations about my violent temper, which grieved me, but were of advantage to him. I certainly wish that I had never been charged with the commission regarding this brother, and that I had written very much less about this whole business. I rejoice that he has not been ruined. But I did think, when the matter was settled, and had been spoken of in Holland, that we should at last hear the unmingled truth † respecting it. Nevertheless, I am quite satisfied with the issue of the whole affair. But I am by no means satisfied in relation to the case of Sr. Latour, because the contents of my letter have been unnoticed. For you say in your letter, 'Whenever there are two parties [differing between each other], our rule always is, to call away the labourer or labouress, whether blameworthy or not, and this was the case with Sr. Höffeli.' I also heard from Sr. Gritli, and gathered from the letters of Nicholas de Watteville, that you had construed the affair in this spirit, although my report of it proved in the most circumstantial manner the very reverse. I was, therefore, very much vexed; because I clearly saw that all my pains-taking, in writing so circumstantially, were of no

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* Anna Catharina Höffeli was born at Berne, 28th Oct. 1709, and was buried at Herrnhut, 26th March, 1774.—Der Gottes-acker zu Herrnhut, 1822, p. 36, No. 1674.

† Germ.—"Get to drink some pure wine."

avail. Yet it has been a lesson to me, by which I hope to profit in future.

"The following was the case of Sr. Latour:—Her object was to resist Sr. Höffeli, the congregation's labouress, and hinder her work, by causing a division; and since Sr. Latour persuaded the society members to make common cause with her, she certainly had herself formed a party (or division); but all the other sisters expressed their gratitude to God, and thanked the Congregation, for their labouress. If that is to be called a forming of two parties, well; be it so. I will say no more about it. Sr. Höffeli, being no longer here, I must submit to the event. Perhaps our Saviour desired that it should be so; the *informatio facti* was not to that effect. But, thank the Lord, all this is now at an end. Sr. Gritli endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the peaceable sisters here, who had been favourable to Sr. Höffeli, and those belonging to the division; and, contrary to my views and protest, the matter was improperly treated; for I argued, that a reconciliation neither ought nor could be attempted, until Sr. Latour's sentiments were altered; for, otherwise, the pure milk would be mingled with poison. As, however, it had become the mode to disregard my words, I was not listened to; and, in direct contravention of my warning and entreaty, they held a meeting for reconciliation on the 20th, and to no end; and, on the 21st, the former bitterness prevailed; but, on the 22nd, it was done away with. Such was the state of the case. Thank God, this too has blown over! But, respecting the various reports and reasonings advanced, I do not feel at ease, neither can I ever be satisfied with them. I must now leave it, being myself in too many things worthy of blame. Yet this one thing I wish to say:—It never was a law, in any church, nor should it any where be the rule, that upon eight or nine ungodly persons combining to form a party, the innocent labourer should be called away, and be, moreover, stigmatized with the blame. It is an exceedingly bad example, and Satan will certainly endeavour to take advantage of it in other cases. I will not make any great stir about it. Sr. Höffeli may have been called away for other reasons, known only to our Saviour. I repeat, that to create a party spirit, and tolerate it in our congregations and Diaspora, is establishing a very dangerous precedent.

"As to the recall of Br. Wallis, I have nothing further

to say. Our Saviour governs His own congregation, and whatever is done by Him, is for her sake. He will cause all things in her and her transactions, to work together for good, and not permit the prejudices entertained against one or another person to be continued long. Unto Him we live, and unto Him we die.

"The Srs. Latour, L'Eshelle, and Tallot, thus far conduct themselves very well; and as long as this continues, I greatly rejoice; none has bestowed, as myself and my wife have done, the tenth part of the pains to keep them from evil, and for their welfare; for our Saviour has granted us the favour to allure them from Satan, without sacrificing principle, for that I never do. They love Sr. Gritli very much, which she returns by her love for them; the same, I hope, may be said of Sr. Langkopf, so at least it appears; though, in my opinion, there is no real foundation, as yet, laid in her heart.

"Michael Preudhomme has been sick, and nigh unto death; but is now somewhat better. The hopelessness of his recovery has been a great edification to Sr. Latour and others. Whether he will depart at this time, we cannot at present foresee; it seems, he may yet have to continue among us a little longer:—he is very happy. HUTTON."

In this letter we see the high sense of justice which pervaded the mind of Hutton. He spurned at the conduct of such as were willing, for the sake of present quiet, to allow the very evil they deprecated to be tolerated and continued.

The very questionable course adopted by the Directing Board of the Unity in the matter of Sr. Höffeli was not, as we have seen, approved by Hutton. The Brethren did not view the case in the same light as he did; and, not at all understanding him, found objections to his mode of proceeding towards men of the world; thus mutual confidence was shaken, which will easily account for his recall. Accordingly we find him at Herrnhut on the 16th of July in this year (1763). He had just arrived from Switzerland, where he had been treated with the greatest affection and kindness, and where he felt love and confidence towards all around him; we ought not to be surprised, therefore, when we hear him complaining of the discouragements he

met with from his brethren and sisters, in his attempts to seek out, in his peculiar way, subjects for the Redeemer's kingdom, from among the men of this world. Nor did he hesitate to express his dissatisfaction at this treatment. "But discontent," he acknowledges, "although human, is at all times wrong, and oftentimes becomes sin."

Hutton knew that his intercourse with the world could never be regulated according to certain fixed rules and forms; it so happened, however, that in Switzerland he became acquainted with many persons without seeking them; for they came in his way, and he in theirs, and he felt himself at perfect liberty to appear cheerfully before the public, and cultivate a free intercourse with all classes of society. By these means he availed himself of opportunities of speaking to one and another, of waiting upon them, and meeting them on their own ground; which portion of his calling he could not possibly arrange by any previously defined plan. In his letter to the Directing Board, of this date, he declared, that he had, in this respect, made up his mind to be singular; and, after deeply considering the subject, was of opinion that it would be the best, safest, and most satisfactory way to put his intercourse with the world down to the account of James Hutton the Englishman. Should his intercourse with the world bring honour to our Saviour, all would be well; and, since it was well known that he had found a home, through grace, in the church of the Brethren, this might be put down to their account. But if it should end in anything disagreeable, or contrary to the practice of the Brethren, then, as a matter of course, it would go to the account of the Englishman. According to this rule he always spoke and acted during his sojourn in Switzerland. He well knew that the Brethren would never spend time, as he did, in busying himself with, and speaking of, state affairs; but they should bear in mind that he was an Englishman, and a very eccentric brother, and the only one of them all whose mind was bent upon these things; that he was an extraordinary brother, with whom the Brethren, according to their generous practice towards all men, patiently bore, and whom they permitted to follow his own course, so long as the conduct pursued did not prove hurtful to their cause. This he always affirmed, at every suitable opportunity. It was what every one knew with whom he

came in contact. This open declaration of his mind led the Brethren to conclude, that on his return to England, inconvenience might be felt, on account of his opinions being opposed to those of Br. John Nitschmann, under whose authority he was willing to visit and report; but, in a general way, he would not consult him beforehand as to whom he should visit. Perceiving also the scruples of the Brethren, as to his attending conferences, he was willing to abstain therefrom, until his mind should be changed.

In the course of a conversation, relative to his return to England, it was said to him, "*You will not like to be active in England;*" and it appears the Brethren were afraid of his participation in Congregational matters, for they directed him to refer all such to Br. John Nitschmann, which he would have done as a matter of course. Fearing his activity, they allotted him work for which he had no inclination; although, if the question had turned upon claims and rights, he had real pretensions to urge: for the Church of the Brethren had not appointed him labourer among his countrymen, but the Saviour, and His people, long before the Brethren had appeared in England at all. But he had been purposely kept from active service in England since 1746; and as the Brethren had been brought into those financial difficulties, to which we have frequently referred, he considered it a happy circumstance that he never had any share therein, although it might happen that his Brethren were not on that account particularly pleased with him. Of this he had been convinced, that to be active from a sense of duty, or as a matter of right, was neither good nor proper for him; and he was not at liberty to enter upon active service of his own free will. But the intimation of his Brethren regarding him, that he should *not* be active, imposed as a *law* upon him, almost brought the sin of being active into operation, yet not altogether. He was vexed with the so-called "*exclusivum*," yet probably would have been ten times more embarrassed, vexed, and very melancholy, had activity, not suited to his present circumstances, been compulsorily imposed upon him. Perhaps it would have been much better had the Brethren said nothing about the matter, unless under our Saviour's direction, of which it would have been his happiness to be assured. A word to that effect, from *His* mouth, would be acceptable, but as coming from the Brethren *only*, it was less so.

The work to which allusion is made above, was, to get the affair of Sr. Stonehouse's bequest, and other diaconate matters, brought to a close; the Brethren, Spangenberg in particular, considering it incumbent upon them to do all in their power to remove the uneasiness occasioned by the English affairs, although it might be with less gain to themselves; to which end Hutton made and executed a will, dated the 21st of July, in which is the following clause, sufficiently indicating the cause of Spangenberg's anxiety; for, as things now stood, had Hutton been called home by our Saviour, his heir would have inherited all the property of the Brethren, in England and America, of which the title was legally vested, without reservation, in him alone.

"Item: I give to my dear friend John West, of Fetter Lane, and late of Thames Street, London, silk dyer; to him I give, devise, and bequeath, to him and his assigns, in consideration of his friendship and many excellent qualities, all and every the estate and estates left to me by the will of the late Mary Stonehouse, to come to me after the death of her husband; as also the great house at Chelsea, with all its appurtenances, known by the name of Lindsey House; as also all my right and title to the land in North Carolina, granted to me by the Earl of Granville; as also all and every other lands, houses, chapels, or other buildings which I shall die possessed of, subject to all mortgages, debts, or incumbrances which shall be upon them; and in case of his decease without disposing of them, I give and bequeath the several estates and houses, which I leave to John West, to my dear friend Benjamin La Trobe, minister of the Unitas Fratrum, now or lately residing at Pudsey, in Yorkshire, in consideration of his excellent qualities and friendship for me; to the said Benjamin LaTrobe, and his assigns, I leave, give, devise, and bequeath these several estates."

This being done, and it having been determined that Hutton should not remain in Herrnhut, he proceeded to England by the way of Frankfort, where he had left his beds, books, and clothes, &c., and arrived at Lindsey House, Chelsea, on the 23rd of August, where he agreed to reside, upon the condition of his being allowed to have his own separate housekeeping.

Next day, Hutton and his wife met the brethren and si sters in Fetter Lane, at a meeting, in which an account

was read of the Divine preservation they had experienced during the late war; which caused a real emotion of joy and gratitude, so that the reading of the account was often interrupted by an overflow of tears. At the conclusion all united in singing praise to the Lord, for such wonders of His power and grace.

On the 28th, Sunday, the announcement of Hutton's return appears to have caused a great influx of strangers, of various sects, to the public meetings; among whom he had the pleasure to meet many of his old acquaintance, and likewise the joy of seeing the members of the congregation happily united in the bond of love and peace. On a subsequent occasion Hutton and his wife met the married choir, and were delighted to renew their former communion with its members; both those to whom they were formerly known, and those who had, during their absence, been added to the choir. They expressed their affection by going round among them, and greeting each respectively. All were rejoiced to see among them once more persons so justly endeared to them of old. Between the 13th and 30th, they renewed their former intimacy with the brethren and sisters in Bath and Bristol; and on their return resumed their labours in visiting for the benefit of souls.

On the 8th of November, Hutton attended a conference at Bedford, to which he had been invited by a letter from Br. Johannes, and returned on the 14th; from which time he officiated at various meetings, at one of which he spoke with a warm heart on the Watch-word, "Goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life," &c. He urged its truth, notwithstanding the tribulations and trials that had to be endured in the present life. On another occasion he held a short, but blessed and seasonable, discourse on the Watch-word, "In Thy light shall we see light;" shewing that no man arrives at truth and certainty in the concerns of his soul, until the sufferings of his incarnate Saviour shine into his heart, and he thereby obtains grace as a sinner: "afterwards we have a light indeed for our poor being, if it be true that we thus know Him: but that *must* be truth; otherwise one, after many good appearances, is liable to be carried away, at one time or another, by various winds of doctrine, deluded by some spirit of error, or overpowered afresh by one's former natural corruptions," &c.

After the meeting of the 26th of December, he and his wife went by stage coach to Bedford, where they remained till after the close of the year.

They returned to London the 16th of January, 1764, accompanied by Sr. Hutton's brother, Brandt, whom they had gone to visit; and who, on the 20th of March, left England for Holland, after labouring successfully for a considerable period of time in Oxford, &c.*

The birth-day of Sr. Hutton, April the 4th, was commemorated at Lindsey House, by visits of congratulation from the brethren and sisters.

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* There is an interesting autobiography of him extant, from which the following notices are taken. Abraham Louis Brandt was born at Neufchatel in Switzerland, and was blessed with a religious education; but early impressions died away—disease and bodily pain, however, revived them; and, after much mental struggling, he unreservedly gave himself up to the direction and service of the Saviour, through the instrumentality of his sister (Hutton's wife), and a schoolfellow, Städler. Coming to England, after a short sojourn in Paris, he was kindly received by his brother-in-law, with whom he resided when the London Congregation was settled; and was received into it in 1743, at the end of which year, he went to Herrnhut. In 1749 he instructed the youth at Great Hennersdorf in drawing; and, in 1757 received a call to serve the single brethren at Neuwied. He subsequently returned to England, and was engaged in the work of the Lord, among the learned in the city of Oxford, and in the surrounding villages. From Oxford he removed to Bedford, where he continued, as labourer of the single brethren, until 1764, when he went to Astrachan, as agent to several brethren who were sent to Russia. In the next year he removed to Sarepta; and was afterwards eleven years in Moscow. From this city, at his particular request, he retired in 1776 to Sarepta; where he peacefully departed, on the 20th of July, 1797, in his eighty-first year, universally beloved and respected, as a true and faithful servant of Jesus, in whose service he had been uncommonly useful. An artist by nature and practice, he became deservedly eminent in oil painting; as is proved by many of his pictures, one of which, of a large size, is in the chapel at Sarepta, and represents the Saviour, with the disciple Thomas in the act of putting his hand to his side, and surrounded by the other disciples. Suspended over the minister's chair, in the house of the single brethren at Herrnhut, is another large one, the Sepulture of Christ; and there are several other pieces of his, in oil, in the small meeting room at the same place. The mezzotinto portrait of John Cennick, published by Hinton in 1785, was engraved from the original painting by Br. Brandt; and he was also the painter of the portrait of Bishop Gambold, engraved by J. Spilsbury, and published as the Act directs, Dec. 10, 1771, by J. West, 10, Nevill's Court, Fetter Lane.

Hutton continued to hold meetings at Chelsea, and occasionally in London; at one of which he delivered an address on the one subject which engrossed his whole soul, "I determined not to know anything, save Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

On the 15th of May, a notice was received from the Directing Board of the Unity, addressed to the brethren Gambold, Hutton, and others, and dated on the 3rd, intimating that a General Synod would be held at Marienborn. The necessary circulars having been sent to the various congregations, the notice was duly acknowledged on the 18th by the brethren Brodersen, Gambold, and Hutton, severally, on the same sheet, and addressed to Br. Spangenberg: — that of Hutton was as follows: "I see with reverence that there is to be a Synod, and that sundry matters are to be carefully revised. My whole heart and poor soul earnestly desire prosperity and blessing to the undertaking, through the presence of our Saviour, and thereby a sound mind, unction, faithfulness, candour, and humility, which His presence alone can bestow. These are the chief thoughts which occupy my mind. Should my ears permit me to hear the subjects that will be discussed, it will doubtless prove a great blessing to my soul. I am His patient at the pool of Bethesda; my ailments attend me to bed, abide with me throughout the night, rise with me in the morning, and accompany me throughout the day.

"I am your poor JEMMY."

On the 12th of June, the seven appointed deputies, &c., from England, set off for Germany, to be present at the Synod; Hutton and Br. Charlesworth going by way of France, the rest through Holland; and on the 10th of July the tidings of their safe arrival, and of the opening of the Synod, at Marienborn, were joyously received. On the afternoon of the 13th of September, Hutton arrived at Lindsey House, from the Synod, having travelled through France. The brethren who returned by way of Holland had a boisterous passage, and sprung their mast.

Between this and the 26th, the governing body of the Unity having entirely removed from England, preparations were made for the removal of its archives from Lindsey House to Zeist, which was effected by Br. Wollin, in a

Rotterdam vessel, that sailed on the 8th of October. He returned on November the 5th, after a tedious passage.

Probably under synodal direction, Hutton made a visitation to the brethren in Ockbrook and Fulneck, and perhaps spent some time with his relations in Derbyshire; he returned on the 25th of October.

It was in this year that Br. Jens Haven, having seen in a French map that the names of some of the bays and capes on the coast of Labrador, were proper and pure Greenlandish words, expressive of the nature of those places, as adapted for fishing, &c., was confirmed in the opinion that the Esquimaux and Greenlanders were originally one and the same people. He had been employed some years in the Greenland mission, and had acquired so much of the language as qualified him to make a more full discovery of that country than had hitherto been made; and being desirous of becoming instrumental in the conversion of those people, he mentioned the matter to the Brethren, who gladly gave their consent. Coming to England, he met with a French pilot from Quebec, who had traded with the Esquimaux, of whom he learnt several of their words, which strengthened him in the opinion that the Esquimaux and Greenlanders were one people. The matter being mentioned to Government, and particularly to Commodore Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland; he was willing to give any assistance in his power. Jens Haven, being thus encouraged, proceeded to Newfoundland, and after many difficulties and dangers (people there, being afraid of the Esquimaux, who were notoriously treacherous and murderous, could scarcely be persuaded to venture near them), he, at length, met with some Esquimaux, with whom, to the astonishment of all the Europeans, he conversed very peaceably and lovingly, and thus commenced an intercourse with that barbarous race. Upon reporting this, at his return, the Lords of Trade and Plantations, willing to forward everything which might be a means of peaceably carrying on the extensive fishery on these coasts, encouraged the Brethren to establish a mission among the Esquimaux. Accordingly, the Brn. Drachart, Jens Haven, John Hill, and Schletzer, went thither in 1765, treated with the Esquimaux, and promised to settle among them. But the execution of this promise was obstructed for some time; however, on the Brethren availing themselves of the interest excited among the nobility, especially the

Princess Dowager of Wales, by an Esquimaux woman, named Mickaak, who had recently been brought to London, now addressed the Government with success, and everything was satisfactorily arranged. A tract of land was granted by the King in Council to the Brethren, and the undertaking was begun; some brethren having bought and fitted out a vessel for the purpose of conveying the missionaries thither. Details of the incidents connected with the obtaining of this Grant will be given in the course of the narrative.

The year 1765 opens with the complaint of the great neglect of public worship, which became a source of lamentation; as was also the neglect of the Sabbath-day, as a day of rest and public devotion.

On the return, in the previous November, of Br. Wollin, he brought intelligence which seems to have enkindled the desire of renewing afresh the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. It appears that Hutton had, as early as October, 1752, "brought together the Brethren belonging to it," but the sad news received in November, concerning Br. Erhard,* seems to have prevented the adoption of any effective measures, and Hutton being out of the country nothing further was done. The intelligence above referred to, was that Br. Jens Haven had returned from Newfoundland, "having seen the Esquimaux, understood their language, been prospered by our Saviour, and approved of, and beloved by men." Stimulated by these glad tidings, the Brethren determined now to set about the establishment of the mission in Labrador; and Jens Haven having arrived in London from Holland, a conference was held at Lindsey House on the 11th of January, concerning this matter. Next day Br. Brodersen waited on Mr. Pownal, who belonged to the Board of Trade and Plantations; he was received in a very friendly manner. They had a long conversation concerning Labrador, and the character and institutions of the Brethren. Another conference was held on the 14th, and on the 15th

* On the 5th of May, 1752, he had set off, with four brethren, designing to go to "Terra Labrador in the West Indies," and "with a few persons belonging to the ship, after building a house in Terra Labrador, been left behind there." It was afterwards ascertained that the Esquimaux had murdered Erhard and six others. The expense of their outfit had exceeded £1600.

Br. Brodersen saw Mr. Pownal again. He and Hutton, and Jens Haven waited also on the Governor of Newfoundland and Labrador, Commodore Palliser, just then returned to England, who received them very affectionately.

On the 4th of February, Br. Johann (Nitschmann) having received letters from the Directors on the subject of the Labrador affair, there was a conference on that account. In consequence of which, Br. Brodersen and Jens Haven, on the 5th, visited Governor Palliser again, and acquainted him with the resolution which the Brethren had adopted.

On the morning of the 18th a conference was held at Lindsey House, concerning the proceeding about Labrador.

On the 26th, being the first sitting of the Board of Trade, after a petition of the Brethren concerning Labrador had been drawn up and agreed to, the appointed deputies, namely, the brethren Brodersen, Metcalf, Jens Haven, and John Hill, waited on the Secretary, and had an audience of the Lords, who received them in a very friendly manner, to whom they presented the petition. Hutton, at the same time, as Secretary of the Unity, gave in the proper credentials, from Count Henry (Reuss), as Lord-Advocate. When these Brethren referred to the Watchword of the day, it strengthened their hope. On the next day, Br. Brodersen and Jens Haven waited upon Commodore Palliser, and acquainted him with the contents of the petition, and he exhibited much satisfaction.

A conference was again held, on the 18th of March, at Lindsey House, concerning the Labrador affair; at which it was resolved to present also a petition to the King, which was accordingly drawn up; and the Brn. Brodersen and Haven, being deputed to present it, went, on the forenoon of the 8th of April, with Hutton, to wait upon his Majesty; but the King being indisposed in his health, the petition could not then be delivered.

On the 11th of April, after the Brethren had been in much concern how to deliver their petition safely into the King's own hands, Br. Brodersen and Jens Haven seized an opportunity of presenting it, just as his Majesty was going from Buckingham House into St. James's, when no other petition besides was delivered; and they had the pleasure of observing that he very condescendingly opened the window of his chair on purpose to receive it, and also that he began reading it.

On the forenoon of the 15th, it was resolved, at a special conference, that the Deputies of the Brethren wait to-morrow on the Board of Trade, and push the matter concerning the grant of land on the coast of Labrador, as much as possible to an issue. Accordingly, on the 16th, the four deputies went to the Board, and though there was no regular sitting, they were allowed an opportunity of explaining the necessity of having the matter speedily concluded; and they were desired to attend at the next meeting, on the 23rd.

On the 17th, in order to remove apprehended difficulties, and pave the way for the deputation, Hutton, in his official capacity, addressed a long letter to Lord Hillsborough, the First Lord Commissioner of the Board of Trade, &c.; although, strictly speaking, his duty in this matter as Secretary of the Unity, ceased upon his presenting the diploma of the Lord-Advocate, empowering the four deputies to treat. After stating that his brethren had kindly dispensed with his attending the Board, on account of his deafness, an infirmity the more to be lamented as it deprived him of the pleasure he doubtless would have derived from a free conversation with a person of his Lordship's character, which exhibited an air of humanity in his whole behaviour; and apologising for addressing him in writing, he urged a full inquiry into the objects of the Brethren in requiring the tracts of land along the coast of Labrador, to be conceded entirely to them, as prayed for in the memorial, in order to satisfy the Brethren who had dictated its terms; and argued, that the undertaking was altogether voluntary, attended with great hazard and large expense, which must be raised by voluntary contribution, inasmuch as the deputies were instructed not to accept pecuniary aid from the Government; that an entire property in the land, as the lords of the soil, was really necessary; as, in order to reclaim the converted from their vagabond way of life, they must be separated from their heathen countrymen, and formed into societies; and that the civilization of the murderous savages, of that inhospitable coast, which could not be attained by other means, would be a national benefit. The present settlement of the question was most desirable, as well for the encouragement of the four brethren who were this year to proceed on the mission, as to satisfy the supporters of the undertaking that there was a fair prospect of success in the attempt. He also requested, that the captain of the vessel

in which the brethren were to sail, should be instructed to regulate his course and conduct as much as possible in conformity with their desires, so long as he continued on the coast to which they were bound.

On the 23rd, the deputies, waiting on the Board of Trade, at length received an answer to their proposal, which hitherto, through the multiplicity of business the Board had to dispatch, could not be obtained. The Lords were very friendly and hearty, declared their persuasion of the good intentions of the Brethren, and their readiness to do all that they were able for them; only that it was not in their power to make a grant, which belonged exclusively to the Sovereign in Council, nor was it practicable at present to procure one. But after the Brethren had once surveyed the coast and country, which they all much desired that they would do, and until which nothing further could be done; they would render all assistance in their power towards the obtaining of the grant; and that they had good hopes in that respect.

Since the matter could be pressed no further at present, the brethren interested in the matter were thankful to our Saviour, even for this, and for the cordial inclination observed in all persons with whom they had to do. The four missionaries, therefore, prepared for their voyage; and after they had been presented to the Lords of Trade, a very respectful and hearty recommendatory letter was received from that Board, on the 29th, under its official seal, in favour of those brethren, and their voyage; as also, soon after, a like one from Commodore Palliser, Governor of Newfoundland and Terra Labrador, to all His Majesty's subjects in those parts, in favour of the same.

On the 30th, Bp. John Nitschmann had a farewell conference with the missionaries in his room; where, delivering to them their instructions from the Directory, he advised them as to their conduct on ship-board. At the congregation meeting, Br. Brodersen also took notice of the "pilgrim-affair," as a strong instance of the glory and nearness of the Lord among the Brethren; and then, Br. John, administering the holy communion to them, most affectionately implored, for their souls and bodies, the Lord's protection and blessing. Upon which they took a tender leave, and, about midnight, set out, accompanied by some married brethren, for Portsmouth, there to embark. The four pil-

grim brothers were John Hill, Jens Haven, Christian Drachart, and Andrew Schlözer.*

Hutton, who had found it necessary to act independently of the Directory at Zeist, not because of indifference, but from want of explicitness in its instructions—an almost necessary consequence of a governing body being at a distance—in reporting to that body, on the 7th of May, intimates, that the Board of Trade had looked rather cautiously on the application of the Brethren, under the apprehension, that being foreigners, and having risked life and property to a large extent as traders, they were seeking to redeem their loss, by raising a separate government at the expense of the English nation; and that this prejudice had been removed by his letter to Lord Hillsborough.

The time at which Hutton first became acquainted with the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Franklin is unknown; but, as they were both employed in printing the Journals and Sermons of Mr. Whitefield, it is probable their correspondence began as early as the year 1739, and their personal intimacy in 1757, when the Doctor was sent to England, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, whose proprietors had declined bearing the expenses of the government.

The Doctor, at the beginning of 1756, in defending the province against the French, had visited the stations of the Brethren at Bethlehem and Gnadenhutten, and taken so much interest in the affairs of the Christian Indians, that when, through the jealousy of the European settlers, some of them had been massacred, and the remainder consigned to destruction, by the same ruthless murderers, he interposed his influence, and, in January, 1764, wrote and published a pamphlet in their defence. At the end of the latter year, the Doctor was again sent on a mission to London, with the view of procuring a change in the government of Pennsylvania; and then Hutton, desirous of expressing the thanks of his Brethren and himself for the Doctor's generous interference in behalf of their Indian brethren, and of acquainting himself with the position of affairs in relation to the province, then in a very disturbed state, made a personal visit to the Doctor, who acted for the colonists; as well as to Penn, the principal proprietor, and to Hamilton, the agent for the proprietors.

* Called Schletzer at p. 377.

Hutton also visited General Oglethorpe, on the subject of an American episcopate, then under consideration; and, on the 21st of March, reported as follows, to the Directing Board of the Unity.

"March 21, 1765.

"I have been with Franklin, and thanked him for having acted and written for the Indian brethren. I was glad to see such a man, who did not think it a trouble to help us; and concerning whom I had heard so much from the brethren. My brethren and myself were very much obliged to him for his exertions on account of the Indians. He told me, that, nevertheless, more than sixty Indians had lost their lives on that occasion. He inquired after Spangenberg, Böhler, and others. I told him that he had the good wishes of all our people. He further inquired whether Spangenberg and Böhler would ever return again to America? and when? To which I replied, that I could not tell. He was just on the point of going out; but received me in a very friendly manner, though he was very cautious, and on his guard as it were: so it appeared to me.

"I also saw Penn, whom I asked where Hamilton lived. Penn was very friendly in his way, and made special inquiries after Br. Spangenberg. Of Penn, I learned, that Franklin had not taken any steps, as yet, to alter the form of government. Penn considers Franklin's plans as a foolish undertaking, which they will not carry out, as he thinks. He also remarked, that I might possibly be sent for to be examined, whether the Proprietary Governors had adopted any oppressive measures? I told him, that I had never once heard our Brethren make any complaint about the Proprietary Governors: at least, I never had heard any thing of the kind.

"From him I went to Hamilton, whom I found to be a very sensible and prudent man. I assured him of the high regard of the Brethren. He expressed his great esteem for Br. Spangenberg, and all the Brethren; was very cordial, and pleased that he was remembered by them in love. I perceived, in course of conversation, that he did not know, during the two months which he has spent here, that Franklin has made some progress in his cause. You must know, that Franklin is Commissioner against the Proprietors, while Hamilton is acting for them. I shall narrowly watch

their further proceedings, and report to you, without deciding either for the one or the other party. If I be asked, whether my Brethren complain of the conduct of the Proprietors, I shall answer, that I know nothing of the kind. We owe much gratitude to Penn, for his valuable testimonies concerning the Brethren, on more than one occasion.

"I have also been to Oglethorpe, to inquire how matters stood with regard to *Bishops** of the English church in America. The time is not yet come. It might be done in Quebec and Florida; perhaps also in Virginia. Halifax does not seem to be as ready for it, as the English Bishops and the King. The matter will have to be carefully done, on account of the Dissenters; in order not to offend them in New England and Pennsylvania. Oglethorpe is employed in this matter, in making proposals and plans. At any rate it will never do any harm. I am,

"Your JEMMY."

"March 22nd, 1765.

"P.S.—Oglethorpe also told me, that Lord Egmont contemplates sending some ships round Cape Horn, on a voyage of discovery on the west coast of America, and near California, where the Russians are said to have made some discoveries. If our Saviour approves of it, and it be His holy will, I think a brother would get a free passage on board one of these ships in the service of our Saviour."

Hutton received the following answer to this communication:—

"Herrnhuth, April the 10th, 1765.

"DEAR BROTHER HUTTON,

"Your letter of March the 22nd has been read in the Directory to-day with great satisfaction; short as it was, it was exceedingly pleasing to us. I am now, by the Resolution of the Directory, to write you our answer to it.

"And, first, I am to salute you very affectionately from us all, and to assure you that your visits to Franklin, Penn,

* No Bishops were appointed in America till after the Revolution; before that time, the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, was in the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.—*Sparks' Life of Benj. Franklin*, vol. ii. p. 216, *note*; vii. p. 437, *note*. In 1769, when controversy ran high, respecting the expediency of having an American bishop of the Episcopalian Church, the design of sending a Bishop to America, which, in 1750-1, had been zealously advocated by Dr. Secker, was dropped.

Hamilton, and Oglethorpe, have been very agreeable to us; and we beg you will occasionally continue them, and relate to us how you find things from time to time. For it is a very interesting thing for us to know, with some certainty, how the great ones in England are disposed towards us; as we have so many congregations in the English dominions, and desire still further to propagate the Gospel among the heathen in that very extensive empire.

"Upon the points of conversation with Penn and Hamilton, we have nothing to observe, concerning the answer you gave them, namely:—That you never had heard our Brethren make any complaint against the Proprietaries' Governors and their measures.

"The country was in a great combustion about this affair before I left Pennsylvania. Petitions to the King, on both sides of the question, were laid before us to sign; but, after due consideration, we thought proper to stand neuter in these debates; and I hope our brethren in Pennsylvania continue so to this day. For the people in that country say a great deal for and against the point in question; and we found it impossible to determine which was right or wrong. If therefore, as Mr. Penn intimated, you should be called upon to give your testimony in this affair, you are in the right to abide by your answer already given. Whenever you wait upon the abovementioned gentlemen, pray give our compliments to them, *i.e.* Br. Spangenberg's and mine, as they know us so well, and were so kind as to inquire after us.

"Your account about English vessels sailing to the South Sea, in order to discover the west coast of America, has put us upon a serious consideration, and we are to pay attention to it, whether two brethren might not make the voyage for our purpose? You will, therefore, communicate on this with Br. Nitschmann and the Conference, and, at the same time, get all the intelligence possible, relating to that intended voyage; as to the time when the vessels will sail; also, how long they may be supposed to be on their voyage; and what probability appears of a couple of brethren being allowed to take this voyage, with an intention to a future propagation of the Gospel in those parts. We shall, in due time, look for a solid answer from you.

"We were rejoiced to find our old friend, General Oglethorpe, named in your letter; and that you have access to

him. If a compliment from Br. Johannes [de Watteville], Spangenberg, myself, and others who are known to him, would be agreeable, please to deliver a very hearty one.

"Now, my good Jemmy! accept a hearty salutation from Br. Johannes, Leonhard [Dober], Cossart, Watteville, Neisser, Gregor, and myself; your loving Br.

"PETRUS [BOEHLER].

"Give also our kind love to your dear wife, in which my wife heartily unites."

The return of Hutton to England seems to have given a fresh impetus to the surviving members of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

Efforts, indeed, had not been wanting, during his absence, to restore the Society to its former activity. It is recorded, that "on the 3rd of August, 1757, in the afternoon, was a love-feast of some of the brethren who had given their names towards reviving the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. Br. Frederick Neisser came from Lindsey House to be present at it. After reading the result of the deliberations of the late general Conference on this head, and also the Statutes, and some other minutes of the old Society, begun in 1741, Br. Frederick asked all present whether it was their desire to be members of, and constitute such a Society now; and mentioned some of the matters of which they were to take cognizance. Then the brethren were requested, against the next meeting, to propose their Committee and Secretary. A letter, which was afterwards read from Br. Iles, in Antigua, particularly put the brethren in mind of the Missions;" yet, from this time, little appears to have been done, until, in the afternoon of February 18th, 1765, a love-feast was held at Fetter Lane, with the *ten* members of the Old Society, who were fellow communicants, and still here, in order to the revival thereof.

On the morning of the 4th of April, Br. Johann (Nitschmann), and other labourers, assembled at Lindsey House, to congratulate Sr. Hutton on her birth-day.

On Easter Sunday, April the 7th, early in the morning, the brethren and sisters went in procession, their customary manner, to the burial ground in Sharon (Chelsea). "The Saviour held His hand over them this time also, so that they met with no disturbance, and the whole observance was con-

ducted with proper decorum and blessing. Upon entering the hall, Br. Brodersen commenced by singing, after which the brethren and sisters, forming a circle round the burial-ground, and their friends and strangers standing behind them, the noble Easter Morning Litany was recited with reverential awe by Br. Brodersen, who then remembered by name the servants and handmaids of our Saviour, also the three little girls, who had been called home during the last year, out of the London congregation. Then followed the agape, at which, after reading the history of our Saviour's resurrection, out of the Evangelists, interspersed with suitable verses, the Brn. Brodersen and Hutton explained the meaning and intent of the Easter Morning Litany; and, finally, the former spoke on the Daily Texts, and closed this lovely and happy solemnity with the *Te Agnum*."

Between the 12th and 22nd of May, a Provincial Synod was held at Lindsey House, at which Hutton and his wife were present. The minutes of the last General Synod being taken as the basis of the proceedings, point after point was practically and attentively considered, with particular application to this country; embracing the subject of our Saviour's immediate government among His people; of congregations, both in settlements and in towns; and also the Diaspora, and the character and mind of true congregation-members; of the Unity as a whole, and the necessary concurrence of each part to its support; of choirs and children's nurseries; of doctrine and liturgy, &c. The concerns of each congregation were severally treated of in committees. During the course of the several conferences, gratitude was expressed, that our dear and faithful Lord had been indeed sensibly and undeniably near to them; had afforded them His aid; had given them, in many matters, clearness and comfort, and particularly a spirit of love and harmony. At the close of this Synod, all who had been present at it, bound themselves by a pledge to the Head of the Church and to one another, upon the general principles which had now been established, to be more decidedly His faithful souls.

In June, 1765, Hutton wrote to the Directory, giving his reasons for introducing, in the petition to the King for a grant of land at Labrador, the names of Br. Post and Mr. Penn, the Brethren being apprehensive lest they should be involved, as siding with either the one or the other party in

America. He satisfactorily shewed, that the conduct of the former, in consequence of his influence in restoring peace with the Indians, had been publicly recognized, and honourably mentioned in a letter from Lord Granville to the late Count Zinzendorf; and, that the latter had only been referred to with the view of his vouching for what he was known not to be inclined to disown; a course which by no means sanctioned the idea of the Brethren having sided with him, although he was known to possess the favour of the Court and of its ministers.

At the General Synod, held in July of this year, it was agreed, that as Hutton had hitherto been styled Secretary of the Unity, and sometimes Secretary of the College of Advocacy, and had also subscribed himself in public documents, for example the deed concerning Wachovia in America, as Secretary of the Unitas Fratrum; and as the possessions which are in his name admit of no alteration herein; he be therefore requested to continue in this quality. To this request of the Synod, he cheerfully consented.

During the year, Hutton, besides engaging most zealously in the concerns of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, was also employed in home and foreign correspondence, and in attending meetings occasionally. In July, he read before the congregation the results of the late synodal conferences; and also a delightful account from Br. Caldwell, of his first very successful visit to Scotland, where he was followed by such numbers of people, that no place of worship could contain them; so that he preached in the fields to assembled thousands, and his invitations to preach every where multiplied. Hutton also edified the general meetings with accounts from the Indian brethren and sisters in North America.

On the 14th of September, the whole family at Lindsey House had a hearty love-feast with Hutton, on occasion of his birth-day; and on the 10th of November, the anniversary of the London congregation, he related some particulars of its course, and of the Saviour's great goodness to the brethren and sisters, notwithstanding their poverty and deficiency: very solidly reminding all of the calling and election of each. This produced a perceptible spirit of humility, and of longing to be more entirely the Lord's.

With a view to the renewal of the applications to the Board of Trade, for a grant of land on the coast of Labrador, Br. Brodersen, on the 3rd of February, visited Mr. Pownal at his desire, and found him very friendly; and an opportunity was thus given for some seasonable general remarks.

On the 2nd and 3rd of March there were conferences concerning Labrador; the necessary instructions having been received from the Directory. The presence of the Lord was in their midst; and on the 4th, Hutton reported to Brodersen the particulars of his interview with Commodore Palliser, as follows:

"4th March, 1766.

"I was with Palliser, who was as friendly as ever, and told me that the late arrival of the schooner last year was a pure misfortune, and certainly not by design. That the reconnoitring voyage did not succeed better, was only one of those fatalities to which seafaring men are always liable. I gave him to understand, that I was greatly surprised at the conduct of Sir Thomas Adams, who had treated our four brethren as enlisted interpreters, whom he might keep near himself, or send away, and order about, as though they were under his command. Palliser replied, that this was simply a mistake of Mr. Hill, and certainly not intended, although it appeared to be so. I told him, that not only had Mr. Hill been much grieved at it, but Mr. Jens Haven more so, and Mr. Hutton much more so still; and, although we respected Mr. Palliser much, and knew that he was well acquainted with us, and wished us well, yet we were not sure that he would always entertain the same views respecting us; and that, in my opinion, our people ought, in future, to be protected against such misunderstandings as might prove impediments to their work, which had been undertaken for the national benefit. Such conduct would make us indifferent respecting the whole undertaking, and assuredly the Directors of our congregations would enter upon no new sphere, without all their agents being effectually protected, and, at the least, made sure of civil treatment. Were the Directors to require less, they would forfeit the confidence of their constituents; whose contributions would cease, if things were *not* conducted according to their mind; and, as I had last year impressed this upon him, so I wished to do the same now. He gave me to understand, that while he was as favourably disposed towards our cause as possible,

yet he neither wished to exclude any other party from fishing along the coast of Labrador, nor to do any thing that might have the semblance of granting a monopoly. I remarked, that to any one taking the trouble to read our memorials, presented in the last and present years, it would be easy to see the extent of our wishes; nothing less than which could or would be accepted.

"I asked him if Labrador belonged to Newfoundland? He said, that hitherto it had always been so considered. I found, however, that this whole region has no right settlement; there being neither a proper charter, nor a regularly appointed government for the whole coast, every thing being under royal patent; and, as respects the fishing grounds and the like, all are dependent upon the will of the Governor for the time being. Hence, in the present year, some fishing parties, feeling themselves aggrieved, are for bringing their grievances before the Houses of Parliament, in the hope that the affairs of Newfoundland and Labrador may be put upon a just and legal footing, which has not been the case hitherto.

"To-morrow, March 5th, he (Palliser) will confer with several gentlemen on the subject, and let me know, in a few days, how matters stand, and when they will come before Parliament. Thus far our conversation.

"It may be, therefore, my dear Br. Brodersen, that we shall not be able to come to any definite conclusion, until these affairs are settled, and yet you will, I trust, do all that is practicable. The ships will sail in April, probably earlier than last year. He (Palliser) himself, will go towards the end of April, such being his present expectation. In the sketch of the memorial, there is not a word respecting the protection which our brethren ought to have against the overbearing conduct of the sailors. Our Directing Board may probably have been ordered by our Saviour to take no notice of this matter, in which case we ought to have been informed. Perhaps they may have forgotten it; but I have not. We must now patiently await the issue. Hoping to see you here to-morrow, I am, your poor Br.

"HUTTON."

"P. S.—Palliser was throughout very friendly; but, it almost seems to me that people think we desire a monopoly, or an exclusive property in the territory, which, by a certain class, is looked upon as somewhat dangerous. Time will shew."

On the 6th of March, a second Memorial of the Brethren to the Board of Trade, together with the Petition to His Majesty, was delivered to the said Board.

"*To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, the Memorial of Christian Brodersen, Charles Metcalf, and John Hill, on the part and by order of the Unitas Fratrum:*

"SHEWETH,

"That whereas the voyage for visiting the coast of Terra Labrador, as proposed by the Unitas Fratrum, and approved by your Lordships, was last year undertaken by our four brethren, John Hill, Christian Drachart, Jens Haven, and Christian Andrew Schlözer, on board of His Majesty's ships; and our said brethren, at their safe return, delivered in a report of this their undertaking to your Lordships, whereby it appears, that the supposition of the Brethren was well grounded; namely, that the nation of the Esquimaux was one and the same with that of the Greenlanders in Davis's Streights, among whom the Unitas Fratrum hath, for these thirty years, had a settlement for the conversion of the heathen. For, two of the said four brethren, having lived formerly as missionaries in Davis's Streights, did now find, that the language, manners, and dress of the Esquimaux, agree perfectly with those of the Greenlanders; and thus the Unitas Fratrum have all probable reasons to hope, that they are in a capacity to serve these poor heathen with the Gospel of Christ.

"Therefore, we, the underwritten, on the part and by order of the Unitas Fratrum, return your Lordships our most humble thanks for the aid your Lordships were pleased to give to the said four brethren of the Unity, in promoting their last year's voyage, which we hope may, in time to come, also be of benefit to the British nation.

"And, as your Lordships have hitherto been pleased to express satisfaction at this undertaking, and an inclination to promote it still farther, the Unitas Fratrum cannot doubt but that your Lordships will be kind enough to grant them your concurrence in the still remaining execution thereof.

"And, as the first step is now already taken, and the ac-

quaintance of the Brethren with the inhabitants of the coast of Labrador, is actually so far established, that the Brethren are confident of their being in a condition to go and settle among them, yea, have repeatedly been invited thereto by the natives themselves, the Unitas Fratrum have it much at heart, that the needful preparation may, as soon as possible, be made, for a solid and actual settlement of the Brethren on the said coast.

"And here we beg leave to refer your Lordships to our humble Memorial, which we had the honour to present on February the 26th, 1765, wherein we, with all submission, petition, that His Majesty would vouchsafe to grant to the Unitas Fratrum, a grant of four hundred thousand acres of land, in four different places, on the coast of Labrador; and graciously favour them with such immunities as are necessary for obtaining the aim of this important undertaking.

"But whereas the voyage of last year, for visiting the coast of Terra Labrador, did not fully answer our expectation, as will appear by the report thereof presented to your Lordships; and but a small tract of that coast was actually visited; the Brethren are, as yet, informed with certainty but of one part of the coast, where the Esquimaux dwell for a constancy.

"Your Memorialists, therefore, at this time, humbly beg, that out of the above number of four hundred thousand acres of land, at first one hundred thousand acres only may be granted, of land situated in the so-called Esquimaux Bay, where those Esquimanx dwell whom the Brethren met, and spoke with, last year; and, that the rights, immunities, and privileges we petitioned for in our aforesaid Memorial of last year, may be inserted in the grant thereof.

"For this end, we make bold at this time also, to deliver into your Lordships' hands our humble Petition to His Majesty, entreating your Lordships, with due submission, to deliver and recommend to His Majesty the said Petition; and, by supporting the same, to effectuate, that a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land, in Esquimaux Bay, may, as soon as can be, be given to the Unitas Fratrum, in behalf of the Society of the Church of the Brethren, for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen within the English dominions.

"In our Memorial to your Lordships, dated the 23rd of February, 1765, we mentioned what those immunities were, which we hold indispensably needful for promoting the Mission among the Esquimaux, and we herewith repeat our humble desire, that they may be granted and expressed in the grant of land we are petitioning for; and, therefore, beg your Lordships to excuse our inserting them once more, as follows:—

"1. That His Majesty would be pleased graciously to consent, that one hundred thousand acres of land in Esquimaux Bay be given, by a royal grant, to the Unitas Fratrum, in behalf of their Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen within the English dominions, as their legal property; in such a manner, that nobody be at liberty to settle on any part of the said one hundred thousand acres of land, without first obtaining leave from the Unitas Fratrum.

"2. That the Brethren may be empowered, by such grant, to take possession of such land in Esquimaux Bay, and to fix at pleasure on bays and navigable rivers, with shores on both sides thereof; to give to the same their different names; to make draughts and maps thereof, in order to lay them before the Board of Trade. The whole of the land not to exceed one hundred thousand acres. And, as the land cannot well at present be surveyed, that a conscientious computation be allowed, until it can be surveyed.

"3. That whereas the conversion of the savage natives of Terra Labrador, is the only aim and reason, why the Brethren offer themselves to make a settlement on that coast, at their very great expense, and at the hazard of their lives; they may be permitted, now and in time to come, without any the least molestation, or hindrance, to travel from one end of the coast of Terra Labrador to the other, to visit the savages, and, occasionally, also, to trade with them. Yea, in case any of the Esquimaux should, as the Greenlanders in Davis's Streight have done, and still do, desire to settle among the Brethren, these then may be at liberty to let them dwell on part of the said one hundred thousand acres of land; this being, among others, a chief reason, why we petition for that quantity of land.

"4. That the Brethren may have full liberty, like other

British subjects, to send ships of English bottom to the coast of Terra Labrador, and into the bays as well as inland seas of that country, and back again to any port of the English dominions, or other ports where British ships may lawfully trade.

"5. That, as the Brethren, with regard to the Fishing and Trade, in no wise ask for an exclusive right, or anything like it; yet, that they at no time whatsoever may be excluded from, or restrained in, these two means of earning their livelihood, but enjoy an equal right and privilege herein; with all other loyal subjects of Great Britain. And, that the Brethren, on that part of the coast where they settle, may be invested with the right of forming harbours, not by any means so as to exclude others, or to hinder the ships of any British subject from entering the said harbours; but yet, that ships and their crews be bound, while there, to conform to the orders and regulations made in our Settlement, agreeably to the laws of Great Britain.

"6. That, for the maintaining of good order in such Settlement, the Brethren who shall be established there, may have a right to propose to the Governor of Terra Labrador, such persons as may be fit for it, of whom he may choose one or more, to be legally, and in the name of his Majesty, commissioned to the office of Justice of the Peace.

"7. That such Justice or Justices of the Peace, may be empowered, in his Majesty's name, to keep the peace and good order, as well among such crews of ships, who may go on shore there, as among others. And, in case of any offence; in the name of his Majesty, to deal with the offenders, as a Justice of the Peace, according to the laws of Great Britain.

"We humbly beg your Lordships favourably to receive this our Memorial, to excuse any fault or defect in the style or form, and we recommend the whole affair to your Lordships' wise consideration and care; not doubting but that, as the only aim of this our Memorial is no other than the promoting of the honour of God, and the salvation of poor heathen; wherefrom, at the same time, a real benefit may undoubtedly accrue to the commerce of the English nation, God will incline the heart of his Majesty, and of your Lordships, to

forward this undertaking, and to enable us, as soon as possible, to make the beginning of this Mission.

"We beg leave to subscribe ourselves,

"Your Lordships devoted humble sevants,

"CHRISTIAN BRODERSEN.
"CHARLES METCALF.
"JOHN HILL."

"London, March the 6th, 1766."

"*To the King's most excellent Majesty: The humble Petition of Christian Brodersen, Charles Metcalf, and John Hill, deputies of the Unitas Fratrum, concerning a proposed Mission and Settlement on the Coast of Terra Labrador:*

"SHEWETH,

"That your Petitioners, with all submission, and with hearts full of attachment to your Majesty's most excellent person and Royal Family, and also to your Majesty's just and most gracious Government, from whom our people have always, in all parts of the world, met with every necessary protection and favour, beg leave, in all humility, to lay before your Majesty the desires of the Unitas Fratrum with regard to a grant of land on Terra Labrador, for the use of the Mission intended by our Brethren to be undertaken in those parts; and for the proper reception of those Savages who may happen to be converted by the preaching of the Gospel, in divers parts of that barbarous country.

"The Unitas Fratrum hath, for these thirty years and upwards, had Missionaries in Davis's Streights, whose labour has been blessed to the conversion of the savage Greenlanders of that country. These Missionaries were induced to suppose that the so-called Esquimaux in Terra Labrador were one and the same nation with the Greenlanders in Davis's Streights; and thence naturally concluded that, knowing their language, they would be able to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to these Heathen also, in their own language; and, therefore, were very desirous to come at this nation on the Coast of Terra Labrador.

"The right honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, have procured the Brethren this wished-for opportunity; and four of our brethren, two of

whom were formerly Missionaries in Davis's Streights, had, last year, a passage granted them in your Majesty's ships to the Coast of Terra Labrador.

"The brethren had the great satisfaction to find the language, manners, and dress of the Esquimaux perfectly agreeing with those of the Greenlanders. The natives of Terra Labrador themselves, on hearing the brethren speak to them in their own language, received them with joy, and declared them their friends and countrymen; insomuch, that our brethren did not scruple, without being armed or protected by any man, to stay even all night with them alone; which hitherto, as far as we know, no European ever ventured to do. An extensive report of last year's voyage of our brethren hath been presented to the Board of Trade.

"The Unitas Fratrum wishes ardently that the Brethren may be able to make a solid Settlement in those parts of Terra Labrador where the Esquimaux dwell.

"And we, your Majesty's Petitioners, in behalf of the Unitas Fratrum, beg leave to approach your Royal Throne, most humbly petitioning, that it might please your Majesty graciously to favour this important undertaking, and to vouchsafe unto the Unitas Fratrum, in behalf of the Society of the Church of the Brethren for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen within the English dominions, four tracts of land, in four different parts of the Coast of Terra Labrador, each of one hundred thousand acres. But, as our Brethren are, as yet, not informed, with certainty, of more than one part of that Coast where the Esquimaux dwell for a constancy; therefore, your Majesty's Petitioners most humbly beg, that, out of the above number of four hundred thousand acres of land, for the present, only one hundred thousand acres of land in Esquimaux Bay may be given, by a Royal Grant, to the Unitas Fratrum, in behalf of their said Society; and, that such rights, immunities, and privileges may be inserted in the Royal Grant, as are necessary for promoting the conversion of the Heathen; the particulars whereof we have expressed in our Memorial to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, whereof we beg to annex a copy.

"We have the less reason to doubt of your Majesty's accepting of, and graciously granting our humble Petition, as your Majesty's royal humanity and gracious inclination

with regard to the conversion of the Heathen are so well known. And we humbly presume to hope, that a Settlement of that kind on the Coast of Terra Labrador may likewise, in time, prove of benefit to the commerce of your Majesty's subjects, and to the interest of your Majesty's Crown; seeing the Brethren have well grounded reasons to expect that the Esquimaux, through Divine assistance, may be made a Christian and civilized people, by the preaching of the Gospel, as well as the Greenlanders; and that thereby the trade of your Majesty's subjects with them may be rendered much more easy than hitherto.

"We humbly beg leave to recommend to your Majesty's gracious notice and Royal favour our whole people, our Settlements in your Majesty's dominions, and more especially our Missions among the Heathen on the continent and islands of America: And, that your Majesty would be pleased to give the orders in the Terra Labrador affair, which to your Majesty's wisdom and goodness shall seem fitting.

"And your Petitioners shall ever pray, with the most sincere and loyal affection, that God may grant your Majesty long life, and a most happy and glorious reign.

"We beg leave to subscribe ourselves, your Majesty's most devoted humble subjects and servants,

"CHRISTIAN BRODERSEN.
"CHARLES METCALF.
"JOHN HILL."

"London, March the 6th, 1766."

On the 7th, the Brn. Metcalf and Hutton had an interview with the Earl of Egmont, and presented to him the following Paper:

"Your Lordship will, perhaps, recollect, that the Unitas Fratrum (having in the years 1752-53, at the expense of above £1600, and the loss of seven lives of persons treacherously murdered at that time, tried to come at the knowledge of the Esquimaux, for the sake of instructing them in Christianity), have lately been able, by their missionaries, to converse peaceably with those barbarians, in their own native language, for two years successively; and have been able to mediate a sort of peace between them and the English nation last year, during the presence of Commodore Palliser, on the coast of Labrador.

"The said Unitas Fratrum have just delivered in to the Board of Trade a Memorial; and, through the Board, a Petition to the King, for a grant of land on Terra Labrador, in order to settle there, and establish missions of theirs on that coast, and thereby to induce the Esquimaux to settle near the said Missionaries; by which means they will the more probably be able to civilize them, after their reception of the Gospel.

"In their Memorial, they have desired that the land may be granted to the Unitas Fratrum, in behalf of their Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen in the English dominions; and that no person be allowed to settle on the land so granted them, without their leave. The spot they have pitched upon, for their first settlement, is Esquimaux Bay, where those very Indians dwell, with whom our people have conversed for these two last years, and by whom they have been invited to settle there. They desire also, that, in future, whenever they shall discover other spots where the Esquimaux reside, or shall choose to reside, they may, in such case, have land granted to them in three other such places. They further desire liberty to travel amongst, and trade occasionally with, all the Indians on those coasts; and, in common with other British subjects, to have the right of free fishing, and freighting or sending ships of British bottom, to and from that coast among the bays and inlets; and, from thence, to any port of the English dominions, or others, where British ships may lawfully trade.

"They ask for no monopoly or exclusive right; yet they desire to be not hindered from earning their livelihood, but insist only, that nobody may settle on the land granted or to be granted to us, without our leave; and that the crews of all vessels trading at, or near to, our settlements there, be bound, while there, to conform to orders and regulations made, or to be made, in our settlements, consistent with the laws of Great Britain. And, to that end, that we have liberty to propose proper persons for Justices of the Peace there, who shall be empowered to keep peace and good order.

"What we desire of your Lordship is, as much as lies in your Lordship, to favour this design, either in council, or, if it should, in any wise, be referred to your Lordship; be-

lieving that your Lordship is, without doubt, sufficiently apprised of the benefit that would result to the English nation from civilizing such barbarians, whom it will be impossible, even if they should be persuaded to listen to the Gospel, to keep in the profession of Christianity, unless special good order be maintained among the crews of those vessels which frequent that coast. And that there appears neither possibility nor probability of converting these people, but by the messengers of the Unitas Fratrum, who can speak their language; and who, having been more than thirty years used to the Greenlanders, who resemble the Esquimaux in every respect, are acquainted with the best method of treating them, and are personally known to, and beloved by those of them who live at Esquimaux Bay.

"Need it be added, that the Unitas Fratrum propose to settle on those lands, at their own expense?"

Report of the interview with the Earl of Egmont.

"March 7th, 1766.

"We went yesterday to Lord Egmont, according to agreement, to whom, on coming in, the above paper was given, as the contents of what we wished to speak to his Lordship about. He said he did not doubt but that the Crown would grant us a tract of land, and inquired how much? He was told that, for the present, we wanted 100,000 acres in Esquimaux Bay; and, that when, on being there, we should find other parts of the coast which would be proper and agreeable for the Esquimaux to settle on round about us, that then we should want in three other places 100,000 more in each. He said he thought the Crown would not object against our having more land than what we now applied for, if we should find it necessary after we went thither. He then inquired, what our government was, and who our governors were? He was told that we had Bishops, and priests, and deacons, and syndics. But, who is the chief? He was told, we had no man amongst us since Count Zinzendorf, who, if he could have been persuaded to it, would have been, and was the very properest person in the world, as every way worthy. We were then interrupted by the coming in of his Secretary; and so the further explication of this matter, and the giving him an account of the Directory

and the Synod, which might have been done, but for that interruption, and from his proceeding to other questions, was prevented. He then asked, how numerous our people were? and was told, that, including not our members only, but those connected with us in all parts of the world, there might, perhaps, be about one hundred thousand. He then hinted his suspicion, that the application for this grant looked like a desire for a monopoly or exclusive right, which he did not suppose the Crown had either the will or the power to confer. To this it was replied, that our Memorial only demanded that the land required should be our real property, upon which no man should settle without our consent; and that, for the purposes of the Mission, it would be absolutely necessary that we should be vested with special power to keep order among all strangers who should come there to fish or trade, and might occasion quarrels and scandals, by making too free with the women. He inquired how we proposed to preserve this order and good government? and was told, that we had proposed to name persons to be Justices of the Peace, subject to approval of the Crown. He asked, if in cases of life and death, that would be sufficient? We said, that, among our own people, by God's grace, we had, hitherto, no occasion for such procedure; but, when the Crown shall, as it now seemed likely, have established a proper legal form of government for that whole country, then we shall, in common with our neighbours, enjoy the benefit of such an establishment, under the same civil government. He said the Crown would expect us to people this land within a certain number of years; and asked the time we should require for that purpose? He was answered, that, at present, we could not say. He said that the Crown would expect a quit-rent; which was not at all responded to. But one of us said, that nothing but the enthusiasm of our people for the conversion of the natives, was the motive of any one going thither; that the whole coast was not worth a shilling, except as it gave us a free opportunity of spending our money, and hazarding our lives for the alone sake of converting the natives; and, certainly, not with the view of profit to ourselves. He seemed to look upon it not quite in that light; and said it was but reasonable that we should have profit. He was told, that our principal object was, indeed, the conversion of the heathen; yet we wished not to be hindered

from earning our livelihood; that our Greenland mission had been of considerable yearly cost to us for more than thirty years past. He inquired to whom the grant should be made? And he was told, to some members of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. He asked our principles as to the 'bearing of arms,' for he thought, that no man could or would be against defending himself. On which it was told him, that some of our people had, indeed, such scruples, but not all. In the government of New York, and other places, our enemies, having taken a fancy to enroll our missionaries by force, we had been obliged, to prevent such things, to apply to Parliament, which had accordingly passed two laws in our favour; it was a fact, however, that during the last war, Bethlehem had been an asylum and a sort of citadel, in which many hundred people, besides our own, had been protected; as was the case also at our settlement in North Carolina. He inquired if the Board of Trade had rejected our Memorial? and was told, that they seemed inclined to favour it; and that we had just then presented a fresh Memorial, and also a Petition to the King. We were often interrupted by divers messages to his Lordship from other people, and, seeing that time pressed, we took our leave; upon which he said he would do us all the service that lay in his power.

"We perceived him to be a very prudent and cautious statesman, who endeavours to know what he is about, and is no flatterer. He seemed much surprised and alarmed at the quantity of land desired by us on bays and rivers, as if that would, in effect, make us too much masters of the whole; and, added to this, the demand for trade, and the freighting of ships, and the right of fishing, did not altogether, as it seemed, prove to him our evangelical disinterestedness; although he was told that the Esquimaux, on account of their way of living, required much elbow-room; and that, in order to earn our livelihood in such a place, we must be at liberty to trade. There was, however, no kind of sneer or indecency in mentioning his doubts. He was told, in the course of the conversation, that, in all probability, our settlers would be none but missionaries, or their assistants, and such only as were really necessary. He was also told, that, although we did all we could to attach the Esquimaux to the *red* flag; under which, they would be protected from the violence

of parties, against whom they could not be protected under the *white* flag; yet they, on being forbidden to trade with the French, would neither appear to understand it, nor be bound by it. For, although they seem to be as stupid as brute animals, they have, in some things, as much cunning as is to be found in any old fox of an European statesman. This was particularly told him by one of us; in order to prevent our becoming answerable for the Esquimaux either trading or not trading with the French, with which we could meddle in no way, except by our good advice.

"We also saw Palliser, and read to him the paper given in to Lord Egmont, as an abstract or view of our present application to the Board of Trade; it being conjectured, that the idea of our aiming at a kind of, real or supposed, prejudicial monopoly, is the idea of himself and others, the removal of which, was the object of that paper. He was wary, and yet, to us, appeared perplexed in his looks. He told us, he intended to speak with Lord Egmont on the settling of the whole government of Newfoundland and Labrador; and the case, he thought, would be brought before Parliament in the present year.

"CHARLES METCALF.
"J. HUTTON."

On the 8th, having received a message from the Board of Trade, appointing the deputies, in the Labrador affair, to attend in a few days; the Brethren, not knowing sufficiently how to act on some eventual suppositions, requested, and in course of time obtained, further advice from the Directory.

On the 12th, the Brn. Hutton and Hill waited on Commodore Palliser, which visit is thus reported to the Directory:—

"March 12th, 1766.

"Hutton and Hill went to Commodore Palliser; who, on being asked what he thought; for he had had the opportunity of seeing the Lords of Trade,—whether our Memorial would be complied with; or, the grant to us, meet with difficulties? said, he thought it would be proper for us to have the grant of a small piece of land for our mission; but, as neither the Government, nor we ourselves, knew the exact nature of the land and coast, he thought the Government would not grant us hundreds of thousands of acres at present; nor

until they knew, after examining the coast (which they intended should be done this year), whether it might or might not be found to be very improper to make so large a grant there. For his part, he could not conceive for what purpose we wanted such large quantities of land; nor, that so much was necessary for the purpose of a mission only. He could not but think it necessary, that Esquimaux Bay should first be better known and examined. He thought we might now go to Esquimaux Bay; and made no doubt but he should be empowered to grant us legally a convenient spot for our mission; either on the coast, or on some island in that Bay, in which we might begin our mission; and, that afterwards, in time, and as we should really want more land from time to time; that then, he did not doubt, but as much land would be granted us as should appear requisite. To which it was answered: That there seemed to be some fundamental mistake in this whole affair; that the gentlemen, perhaps, imagined we were petitioning for some great favour for ourselves, which it behoved them to consider well before they granted it; that abatements were to be made, and much wisdom employed, lest they should do too much for a people, who, having undertaken at their desire, to begin a settlement there, in order to civilize the Esquimaux, asked for no other favour, than the only possible means of preserving the Esquimaux in peace. Which would be, and was thought to be such a favour and benefit to the English nation, as to deserve their thanks; that it had been said by Lord Egmont, that the Crown expected quit-rents for all grants of lands made by it; whereas, the more land we embraced, the more would Government be obliged to us; and ought the rather to give us a bounty, than receive quit-rent; because of the real benefit which would accrue to the Government, and none whatever to us; who, however, asked for no pecuniary aid. That as to the land being unknown to the Government, it was equally unknown to us, except that it was of no value. That, in this whole affair, they might, if they pleased, look upon us as spiritual Don Quixotes, undertaking, reckless of their lives or expense, things which were acknowledged to be so beneficial to the English nation, for the sake of only fulfilling their quixotic endeavours to convert the Heathen. That the requiring so large a quantity of land, was only to keep Europeans at a proper distance, and to give room enough for

all the Esquimaux to be at ease, and quiet on it, so as to induce them to settle near the missionaries; which, after many years' experience, appeared to be the only possible means of effecting any lasting good. That we would never expose the Heathen to the double damnation of being perverted from the Gospel, with our eyes open to that danger, which, in our judgment, would be the case, if Europeans should settle near them at pleasure, and continue there during winter. That it would be better to leave them ignorant of the Gospel, than to be under such fears of their drawing back from it by force of evil example, or by quarrelling, and brutal lust. As to the land itself, Hutton assured the Commodore, most solemnly; that, for his part, he would not, for any purposes of profit, give a shilling for the grant of a hundred thousand acres; neither should any worldly profit induce him to live in such a climate—and so were our other brethren disposed. That, therefore, if the gentlemen would look at the matter in its true light, they ought to reckon themselves greatly obliged to the Brethren, and the Brethren in no way obliged to the Government herein; excepting for the giving them an opportunity of hazard and cost, for the sake of converting the Heathen; which indeed was their only object, business, and passion here. To prevent loss of time, and further mistake, we desired Palliser not to amuse himself, or suffer any one to amuse him, with the hope of our going to Labrador without the grant being made in the manner we had desired it; for we had only asked it under the certain knowledge of its absolute necessity, and therefore could undertake nothing without it; moreover, as the land belonged in reality to the Esquimaux, and we desired it for their sakes only, and not for our own, we could conceive of no reason why the gentlemen here, should make any difficulty as to the quantity. Palliser, being struck with this, asked warmly, and with apparent indignation, whether it were our intention to make the Esquimaux dispute with Britain for the land? Hutton laughed at him for so silly a question, and so it passed off: but Hutton told him, it seemed that Sir Thomas Adams not only suspected us, but had taken the liberty of expressing his suspicions, by telling our brethren, during the visit on that coast, 'So, gentlemen, you want to keep the Esquimaux to yourselves!' For Hutton, on his part, scorned as much all such imputations as the

makers of them; and he knew that gentlemen who could think so of the Brethren, had not the honour to know them; otherwise, such suspicions would be impossible. Palliser said, 'Pogh, pogh;' which is as much as saying, 'Don't mind what Sir Thomas Adams has said,'—as though that was of no importance, and desired us not to think more of it. On our repeating, that we had desired the grant on the certain knowledge of its entire necessity; and, on his repeating that he thought the Government could not, as yet, grant us so much land; and stating, that although he was so much for our going there, yet, if he were in the administration himself, he should not know how to make us such a grant;—Hutton said, 'Well, Sir, the Government will do as they find proper; certainly nobody can force them to act contrary to their judgment; neither, at the same time, must our Brethren be forced to act contrary to theirs; and in case we did not first get the grant, none of us would go to Labrador, this year, nor until we had it.' Palliser thereupon said, 'Why, then, we must do without you.' Hutton told him, that in all probability nothing, as yet, could be depended upon with the Esquimaux — quarrels might ensue, and the breach grow wider than ever; notwithstanding, that the door for peace had been opened by us, and so much done. Except the Esquimaux became, by God's blessing on our labours, real Christians; and until that every other European, who went thither, under the best order, also; I believed they would at last, after much quarrelling and bloodshedding, be obliged to have recourse to us, when it would no longer be easy, either for them or for us, to restore tranquillity. Lastly, we desired him to tell any Lords, as occasion might serve, that we should not go without the grant. He told us, that he would say nothing to the Lords in prejudice of our scheme.

"Since it appeared to us, that Palliser had perhaps been the principal raiser of these objections to our grant; that he had hopes of getting us under his control in the present year, as we were in effect last year; and, after all that, voting against our having such grant—and thus making use of us in subserviency to his own honour and glory—at the same time suspecting us; and, perhaps, considering us suspected by others, we were the more plain with him. Yet, our frankness was mixed with much cordiality and affection—his hand on Hutton's hand, and Hutton's hand

on his shoulder—'shot for shot, friendly and warm,' according to the time; without the least air of reserve, and still hearty on our side. Yet, after all, I am persuaded, that nothing but our asking for so much land, could have caused one single suspicion in their minds against us, which at present, they cannot but entertain. I suppose, however, that our Saviour knows it to be absolutely necessary; and He means us well. Had we been willing to be their servants, and at their disposal, and asked nothing like exclusive grants, we might have been carried on all their hearts and hands. But it is now as it is, and I think, if we get the grant, it must be the Lord's doing, and will be marvellous in my eyes. I, for my part, am as ready to be as smooth with them, and as accommodating as our Lord shall order; or, as plain as I choose, naturally, to be; for, in my conscience, I look upon it, that we are doing England a real service, at our hazard and expense; and, therefore, we can, with reason, be bold. I have, consequently, volunteered to speak to the disagreeable part of the business, and thus leave foreigners out of the blame. Hutton cares little for any of their displeasure at him personally—no love will probably be lost between them and Hutton; but he wishes they may love his Brethren, and never suspect or be displeased at *them;* because the Brethren are the best friends of every government, and always only mean to do our Saviour service punctually for the best. Therefore, I have been, in this whole affair, *without commission from you;* literally a Don Quixote; and it has each time been so specially ordered. They, or even you, may blame me therein—I must bear it.

"From Palliser we went directly to Lord Dartmouth, which was quite another kind of visit. He received us very politely; and we began with desiring him to bring our matter at the Board of Trade, soon forward. He said he would lose no time; and that our Memorial had been read the other day at the Board. We thanked him, and said, we had another thing to mention to his Lordship, namely: That our Brethren had had a Mission these thirty years in Greenland; that a few years ago we sent one of our brethren to Greenland, to write on the spot the natural history, and also a history of the Mission in that land, which he had finished in German in two large octavo volumes. This was now preparing for the press in English; but, as it would be some time before it could be ready, we were desirous of presenting that book in

German to his Majesty, which, we doubted not, would do him pleasure, and give him an idea of that people, who had been discovered to be the same with the Esquimaux, and of our labour and usefulness among the heathen; and by it the necessity of the natives settling around us, would be seen. And we begged the favour of his Lordship's undertaking to present the book to his Majesty, which he very readily assured us, he would most certainly do. He inquired after our success among the Greenlanders; and, among other things, on Hutton's saying, 'I wish I was but the tenth-part as good as some of those Greenlanders, who have so strong an impression in their hearts and minds of our Saviour's death and love, that no amusement, care, or business of this life, lessens or makes them at all lose it; that being their one only affair'—his Lordship seemed delightfully struck, and his whole countenance shewed that he felt something. He said that our going, last year, to the Esquimaux had already been of much service. We told him, we thanked God that it had. We only wished that the peace with them might be lasting, and desired him not to he surprised or alarmed at the quantity of land demanded by us, because it was necessary in order to keep the Esquimaux quiet, and not from any mercenary views of ours; that we should be empowered to keep other Europeans from settling there; and to oblige such as might be there occasionally, to conduct themselves properly. He asked us, whether we meant to take land far up the country. I told him I thought not, but only on the bays and rivers, and in such quantities only, and in such manner, as that the Esquimaux might induce one another, from time to time, to settle there, and near to our dwellings. That the Esquimaux and Greenlanders, were naturally rovers and vagabonds, and would never settle, unless they had room enough, and spots suitable for their purposes. He asked whether Esquimaux Bay, was particularly famous for fish? We told him we thought the Indians had chosen to live there for privacy; that all we knew was, they lived there, and their inviting us there, was our inducement to fix on that spot; of the nature of the coast, bays, or anything relating thereto, we knew nothing further. Br. Hill said, that as far northward as Davis's Inlet our brethren had found fish, but of a kind neither so good or so fat as that to the southward. He inquired if we intended to prevent other Eng-

lishmen from fishing there? We said, No—we only required that whoever came, should be as orderly and quiet there, as the Scotch on the Sabbath-day; and since no law in England could be made, as had been made by the King of Denmark, to regulate every lustful motion of the hot-brained sailors, so the only way so prevent quarrelling and violence, would be to grant us an absolute property in the land, upon which none should be allowed to stay, but during their good behaviour. He understood us, and said he thought ours a very proper people for the undertaking. He asked us, whether we intended to make a settlement this year? We said that upon receiving the required grant, only two of us, capable of speaking the language, would go to Esquimaux Bay, converse more with the natives, with the view of preparing them for our coming to live among them; and select places, with their consent, for us to build upon. But the grant was absolutely necessary, as the proper means of securing the Gospel to the hearts of the heathen; for it would be better to leave them in a state of nature—much better that they should never hear the Gospel at all, than that, through seduction or force, by means of spirituous liquors, quarrels, lusts, and bad neighbourhood, they should draw back from the Gospel. Therefore, without the grant being first secured, the Brethren could not in conscience go to Labrador. He assured us he would do all in his power, consistent with the interests of the English, to further our grant. And so we took our leave; he repeating his promise to deliver our book.

"Our conversation with Lord Dartmouth was, on our side, in much love, tender respect, and the highest decency, and on his part it was equally so. We left him with tears of love and pleasure. We also told his Lordship that, in the year 1752, our first adventurers had cut a turf, and taken possession of the land for the Crown of Great Britain."

The Brethren several times, between the 7th and 14th of March, attended the Board of Trade; but, at length, as the matter had remained so long in suspense, it was found necessary to declare to two leading persons, that unless a grant were made, none of the Brethren could go this year to Labrador.

On the 18th of April, the whole matter had been referred to his Majesty in Council.

The following letter of Jens Haven, and the reply to it,

concur in evincing the necessity of the proposed settlement on the coast of Labrador.

To Captain George Olive, at Poole.

"London, April 18, 1766.

"DEAR SIR,—I returned from visiting my friends in Germany, to London, on April the 7th. I am sorry I had not the opportunity of seeing you in town before you went back to Poole. I could not, indeed, well expect an answer to the letter I left for you with your brother, as there was hardly anything in it that deserved an answer. And, as I then wrote, nothing has occurred in my absence that is of any importance worth mentioning. Our Petition was, on March the 6th, delivered in at the Board of Trade, and now we are told, that the whole affair is laid before his Majesty in Council. But, the season being already so far advanced, I, for my part, can scarcely think that we shall go to the coast of Terra Labrador this year; for we have declared over and over again to the Board of Trade, as well as to Governor Palliser, that we are firmly resolved not to go, except we be first secured, by a grant, of being settled on a safe footing upon Terra Labrador; and this, dear Sir, agrees with that advice of a true friend, which you was so kind as to give me at St. John's, and for which I still return you thanks, for I have ever since found it most necessary. Meanwhile, I am resolved to stay in London till I see the issue of this affair; though, at that slow rate of going on, there is hardly a possibility of seeing an end of it before the Newfoundland fleet sails.

"I wish and pray to our good Lord and Saviour, that He Himself may order and direct this important affair to the glory of His own name, and to the salvation of those poor Heathen.

"I confess I am not without apprehensions how it will go, if none of us, who speak their language, and know their ways, should go along with those who go to that coast. But it is not in our power to help it; for what can be more reasonable than our offer of venturing our lives, and bearing all the expenses ourselves, on this only condition, that we be protected by the Government from being disturbed by other Europeans?

"I should be glad of a couple of lines from you, dear Sir, and shall take it as a favour if you will let me know,

whether any of your ships go this year to the coast of Labrador?

"I beg to be remembered to Mr. and Mrs. Gaden; and remain, honoured Sir, your much obliged, humble servant,

"JENS HAVEN."

To Mr. Jens Haven, Fetter Lane, London.

"Poole, 24 May, 1766.

"SIR,—Your favour of the 18th ultimo I received, and should have answered it sooner had I anything of consequence to reply to. I note what you say regarding your scheme on Terra Labrador, and much approve of your resolutions not to proceed there until you are well satisfied that you will be secured against all interruptions from any Europeans that may go that way.

"I am informed, there will be several vessels on that coast this season from Bristol, but none from hence. For my own part, I have no notion of sending that way, unless you were there, or, at least, some of your friends. When anything of that kind happens, I should be glad to know, as I shall remain in England this season; and, if I can render you or your friends any services here, you will please to let me know, and believe me to be your sincere friend and humble servant,

"GEO. OLIVE."*

Br. Jens Haven having been sent for, went on the 19th of April to Commodore Palliser, to whom he repeated his firm resolution not to proceed this year to Labrador, unless the grant were previously made; after which a conference was held on the affair.

The Brn. Brodersen and Metcalf had a satisfactory interview with Lord Egmont, concerning Terra Labrador, on the 22nd of April.

On the 21st of May the Brn. Brodersen and Metcalf wrote to Mr. Pownal, to inquire, if there were any prospect of the Memorials being agreed to this year; and they received an answer, on the 22nd, saying, that the Lords of Trade had, in a representation to his Majesty, recommended, that an instruction should be given to the Governor of New-

*Probably Mayor of Poole in 1778, at which period the whole mercantile capital of this place was concentered in the Newfoundland trade. Sam *Hist. of Poole*, pp. 239. 397.

foundland to assist the laudable and pious doings of the Society of the Brethren, as much as possible, and to allow the Missionaries to occupy such a tract of land, and in such a situation, upon the Labrador coast, as they should find convenient for their purpose.

Here the matter appears to have rested until the 28th of October, when the Brn. Brodersen and Metcalf again addressed the Board of Trade, requesting, that when any prospect presented itself of the Brethren's Petition to his Majesty being granted, they might be early informed thereof, in order to make the requisite preparation for the undertaking; for, since nothing had been heard in answer to the Memorial presented in the spring of the year, the brethren, who had last year been on the coast of Labrador, were now with their friends in Germany, awaiting the issue of the affair.

Among the remarkable incidents of the year 1766 was the renewal of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in which Hutton largely shared. This took place on the 10th of March, when the old members of the Society met, and agreed afresh to their statutes, and chose four Committee brethren, a Secretary, and servant. The subscribing members were—

1. James Hutton, ex-officio member of the Committee.
2. Daniel Shepley.
3. Thomas Knight, Committee-man; elected Treasurer, on the 13th Dec.
4. John Edmonds, Committee-man.
5. Robert Syms.
6. Joseph Hodges, servant.
7. William Oxley, Secretary.
8. John West, Committee-man.
9. Charles Metcalf, Committee-man.
10. Philip Hurlock, Assistant to the Committee.

The translation and printing of The History of the Mission of the Brethren in Greenland, by Br. Cranz, was one of the first things that engaged the attention of the renewed Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. It had been published in Germany, and its translation into English was sanctioned by the General Synod of July, 1765.

It appears, that the task of translating, was originally committed to Br. Parminter. He had nearly completed the first volume, in February, 1766; when the further and speedy pro-

secution of the work was considered. In the month of May, an eager desire for its appearance was expressed, and in September, the translation being completed, Br. Gambold stated, it would ere long be published. This was effected on the 17th of December, when a copy was furnished to each member of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; and about eighty copies were distributed among the nobility and gentry; in order that the Government, (which, through the Board of Trade, had desired the Brethren to settle among the Esquimaux,) might have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the method adopted by them among the heathen, before they proceeded in the matter. It was also hoped that the work would be blessed to many souls.

Although the work, in a pecuniary sense, was by no means profitable; yet the distribution of the copies among the higher ranks, produced the happiest effects, by removing the prejudice which had been excited in the public mind, through the writings of the Bishop of Exeter, and others.

The island of Grenada having been added to Great Britain, some gentlemen, who had jointly bought a large plantation there, expressed a wish, that the Brethren should send out missionaries for the benefit of the negroes on the island. Hutton, on the 25th of March, applied to the Directing Board of the Unity on the subject; but, as many of the negroes had most likely been baptized by Roman priests, the Board, in all probability declined the application, on the principle maintained by the Brethren, not to establish stations in mission places where any professedly Christian church had already been established; and no further notice respecting the island of Grenada is any where to be found.

On the 2nd of June, the Brn. Wollin and Hutton, at the bedside of the married brother, Joseph Syms, commended his soul into the hands of his Redeemer; and he, departing happily, left upon every heart a particular sensation of love, and of thankfulness for the grace bestowed upon him.

At the love-feast of the single brethren, held on the 31st of August, Br. Böhler observed, that London had sent more single brethren into the service of our Saviour, than any congregation in England, except, perhaps, Fulneck; the number is said to have amounted to nearly two hundred.

October the 13th, some benedictory verses were sung for

Hutton and his wife, and Sr. Anna Rosel, the provincial Disciples, for the next month.

On the 15th, it was observed, that the custom of *mourning at burials*, had of late very much increased. It was thought proper to mention it to the congregation, that the conforming to the world, in such a manner, might be laid aside.

In this month, a serious conference was held, concerning the methods to be taken to secure the estates of the Brethren in England, in the most safe and satisfactory manner. Hutton, and other brethren, had reported six or seven times to the Directory, that in this special business, for which he came to England, nothing had as yet been done; it being the opinion of all parties, that to be active in the matter, at present, would be rather hurtful to the cause. This was a source of grief to him, for he says, "I hope this is the last time, that I shall have occasion to write about this 'ravage of my peace of mind.' For I can truly say, that peace and quietness, in the enjoyment of the love of my brethren, is my warm desire. My heart and mind, my soul and whole nature, stand in need of His mercy, and the renewed sprinkling of His blood: and I am not able to apply myself, except for a very short time, to any task. It would be a real punishment to me, if I were bound to any particular duty. I do indeed take this or the other walk on some business, according to our Saviour's directions; but am thankful that I am not constantly yoked to some regular office. I long for a constant enjoyment of His grace; because I have deserved wrath. This is my office, and this is my present activity. Whilst I thank you with all my heart for your assiduity, faithfulness and zeal, and your loving disposition, and wish you every prosperity in your work; I beg you to allow me the contemplation of His grace, which I cannot do without, and for it I apply daily to Him. Thus I have portrayed my heart to you on paper.

"What you write respecting the share that England ought to take, is very good. My letter on that subject was probably tainted with our national sense of rectitude or uprightness. I duly received an acknowledgment from my dear old Petrus, by post. I wished it had come a year earlier. Farewell! I must conclude. Salute my dear Frederick Watteville. I am for ever, and especially, his

"JEMMY.

"I embrace you all tenderly with true sincerity."

Oct. the 19th, Hutton and Wollin, attended the dying bed of Br. William Thacker, whose soul our Saviour took happily to Himself, at about six in the morning.

At the anniversary of the London congregation, a good deal was spoken of the grace perceived, when the congregation was first settled, of the faithfulness of our Saviour; in His leading of her since that time; of His views with her; and of the covenant made at the beginning; which is solemnly renewed at such times; and Hutton delivered a discourse on the Watch-word, "When thou hast eaten, and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God:" from whence he took occasion to speak of the religious stir, without much reality here in London, before the Brethren brought the simple Gospel of our Saviour's atonement; the receiving and enjoying of which, alone enable us to bless the Lord our God rightly.

As to Hutton's state of mind, Br. Böhler, in a report of his visitation in the English congregations this year, says: "Br. and Sr. Hutton were both very cheerful, and thankful, that they were privileged to attend the Provincial Synod. They took leave of us with much cordiality. Hutton still feels about his having been called away from Switzerland; and having now little or nothing to do; but most of all from a misgiving, as though the Directing Board did not love him. I have given him every explanation in my power on that score; but I fear it did not altogether satisfy him."

Hutton himself, addressing the Directing Board, in November, says:

"I feel an inward impulse this day to write to you, and to assure you once again of my love. I am, alas! still the same wretched Jemmy, very much dissatisfied with myself. What I implore for myself is an *enthusiastic* faith on our Saviour; that is, a faith that will enable me to approach Him with my unutterable wretchedness; to cleave to Him like a burdock that cannot be shaken off; and to be regarded by Him with such unmerited love on His part, until I am become, through grace, another kind of man, than at present I am. I can represent Him to myself just exactly such a Saviour as He must be, if He is to make me happy. His blood has power and virtue enough to make me a new creature; and the blood which He shed, and Himself carried into the holiest of holies, has atoned for all my sins; but, the perception of it, must become more fixed and constant in my heart; and at

the happy hour, my whole spirit, soul and body be transported to Him. This is what I long to experience; and I very much wish to enjoy your enthusiastic love towards me to the end of my days.

"We salute you all most cordially as your

"JEMMY AND LOUISE."

"Nov. 20th, 1766."

Hutton was not alone in this depression of spirit, arising out of an apprehension of being severed from the affection of the brethren of the Directing Board. Br. Böhler writes respecting Br. Metcalf, "He thinks that the brethren have no confidence in him; which makes him distrustful, and gloomy." But it was thought that his uneasiness might be gradually removed if the Unity's Wardens College would, at last, settle his accounts; which might also be of some help to him in his own concerns. He also suffered much from severe bodily disorder.

On the 31st of December, Hutton made a report to the Directory, of his interview with the Earl of Shelburne. It is so full of varied information respecting the Brethren, as to make it desirable to give the whole at length.

"December 31, 1766. I went to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, to which America now belongs more than ever; and on whom the Board of Trade is now dependent.

"He asked me about our numbers? I know them not; but, they are many thousands. 'Do you think, twenty thousands?' I suppose more; but know not exactly. 'Are you rich?' Not many of us; but every one contributes to the carrying on of the cause of Christ, according to his circumstances; freely, and often largely; and the number of contributions makes up what is required. 'Are you, Sir, rich?' No, my Lord, I am happy, and contented with my condition, and that is enough for me. 'Were you bred to any business?' I was a bookseller; but left off business these twenty-one years. 'Why do you not concentrate yourselves together, and go all to America?' We have very large settlements already in America. 'Where are your chief settlements?' In Pennsylvania, and North Carolina; also missions in St. Thomas, &c.; beginnings too in Jamaica and Antigua; and

a trial in Barbadoes. We are designing to build a town in North Carolina. 'Pray, who are your chiefs?' At the Synod in Marienborn, the Directory was chosen by lot, out of those persons who had the most votes on a ballot. 'What is their authority?' My Lord, we are vastly glad of their advice and assistance in all cases—for example; when the Board of Trade desired us to send Missionaries, and make a settlement on Labrador, we were glad to address ourselves to the Directory, who alone could procure us proper persons for this purpose; by their recommending and proposing the undertaking to those who were suited for it, and could speak the language. The constitution of our Church is such, that the Directory represents the Synod, and the Synod represents the whole community. 'I have been at a settlement of yours in Holland, which seemed to me, at that time, to look a little desolated?' At present, my Lord, I think it in a flourishing condition. They are now building a meeting-hall, for which about £1000 were very soon subscribed. 'Does every thing which is earned among you, belong to the community?' No, my Lord; but people contribute occasionally out of what they earn. Among the single brethren, there are masters who content themselves with their maintenance; and pay wages to their journeymen; who, out of their wages, contribute as liberally as the master gives his profit towards the necessities and support of the house. 'Are they industrious?' Remarkably so. 'Have you many people at Chelsea?' No, my Lord. 'What do you then, with that large house?' When our nobility and gentry and colonists, come from abroad, they are received into it. 'Who does the house belong to?' My brethren thought, that, as the house must belong to some one person, let Hutton, a disinterested person, have it; we shall always use it. 'Can you leave it by will to whom you please?' It is freehold, my Lord; but your Lordship may well imagine, that I can leave it but to one of the same mind and intent with myself, and who will put it always to its intended use. When that best of creatures, Count Zinzendorf, was alive, he had many of our gentry and people about him there. That was truly a noble-minded man, who, for his own person wanted little, but mortgaged his whole fortune over and over, and redeemed and mortgaged it again for the service of the Brethren; and was far from sparing, or laying

up for himself, treasures on earth. 'I should be obliged to you, if you would shew me that house?' It would do me honour and pleasure to shew it to your Lordship, and to receive you with open heart. 'Will you give me leave to bring Lady Shelburne, and half a dozen persons besides?' No—only Lady Shelburne. She is the daughter of our great friend, Lord Granville. 'Pray, how do your children go on? Do they take after their parents?' Yes, God be praised! Ingenuous and affectionate treatment, without force and violence, we find has a blessed effect on their education. We once thought otherwise; but we succeed better by gentleness. We do all we can to prevent that servile imitation and hypocrisy which severity always, or, at least, is most likely, to produce. O! my Lord, could you but see the heartiness of our children, you would be touched. The Emperor Joseph the Second, my Lord, was charmed with them at his visit in Herrnhuth (of which I gave his Lordship the particulars, and especially the '*gute nacht lieber Kayser*,' Good night, dear Emperor.) I told him also of the visit to the single sisters in their best clothes, and at their work. 'Have you no such houses hereabouts?' Not nearer than Bedford; and in Yorkshire. 'Do, then, men and women live together?' No, my Lord, only man and wife; the single sisters in one house, sleeping all in a great saloon; and the single brethren in another, at a distance; and no tête-a-tête is allowed between any two of the different sex. 'But do you encourage matrimony?' To be sure we do. 'Did the Emperor pass the night at Herrnhuth?' Yes, much to his satisfaction; our brethren being his only guards. 'Pray, on what footing are you with the Methodists?' They kick us wherever they can. 'But are they more your enemies than they are enemies of the Established Church?' Yes, my Lord, I think they are, and the more so, as they may look upon us as their rivals: and as we avoid making much show of what passes in our own hearts: preferring the secret man of the heart, and the happiness there, rather than to make any parade of such happiness. 'Do you attack them?' No, my Lord; *that* would be contrary to our heart and customs. But, my Lord, have you read our Greenland History? 'Not yet; we are now so hurried with business.' It was published, my Lord, in English, in order that the Government, who had, through the Board of Trade, desired

us to make a settlement on the Esquimaux coast, might know our method with the heathen beforehand; and thus, first be able to judge for themselves, whether it would be proper for them to embark with us. The Government might also see from it, how necessary it had become, to gather the heathen to dwell together, on a particular spot or spots, around their Missionaries, in order to their being quiet, (undisturbed,) leaving off their vagabond way, and becoming Christians indeed. I then gave him a very short account of our steps hitherto. 'I will read the book,' said his Lordship. You, I said, will do well so to do, the better to be able to understand us and our scheme. We made the King a present of the book in German; and, if we had had two copies at the time, would have given one to the Queen; but now, we should be glad for her to have an English one, when she might see how it is translated; which would exercise her in the knowledge of the language. As the King has had a German copy, it might be thought to be forcing it upon him to give him an English one also; but if he had the book in English, he might present it to her Majesty, as an English lesson. My Lord smiled, and said, 'Let me have it; I will take it for her or him.' I mean it, my Lord, for the Queen; so that if she get it through the King's hand, that, to be sure, will be most agreeable to her Majesty. 'If,' said his Lordship, 'I can be of any service to you in the Esquimaux affair, I certainly will.'

"This is the substance; but there is no painting the amiable and loving freedom between us. He seated me on the canopy, and found it not too troublesome to make me hear: nor did he complain of his breast being fatigued. I suppose I was about an hour with him. He approved of the list of parties, to whom we proposed to present the Greenland History. "JAMES HUTTON."

That Hutton had a real cause for complaining of the Directing Board, is very apparent from a letter he wrote to Spangenberg on the 10th of February of this year, respecting a proposal made to the Board through Br. Marshall, who had been enjoined secrecy in relation to it. Hutton, conjecturing that it concerned the purchase of property at Salem, in

America, wrote to expedite the affair, lest circumstances should transpire to exclude the possibility of the object being ever attained. This letter he concludes thus:—"I must ask pardon for troubling you in a matter of such uncertainty, but my mind was forcibly impelled to do so, which must be my apology to myself, for giving myself any particular trouble about our affairs; having *never had these three years*, if I remember right, *one single answer to any one letter of mine*, on any affair I wrote to the Directory about. That will not remove from me the necessity of writing, when I hope to hint at any thing of service, although it takes away all the pleasure of doing so. I am your old poor sickly "JEMMY."

On the 29th of March, not receiving any answer to the above, and the opportunity of making the purchase alluded to having been lost, he wrote again to Spangenberg; in which, animadverting in strong terms on the conduct of the Directory, in declining what appeared to him to be a very favourable offer of land, which he calls the "Seven Counties;" he says, "I suppose you have been directed by our Saviour, to give a negative to this proposal; if so, there is no more to be said. But if the proposal have been rejected without His direction, I cannot but say, that a fair opportunity has been lost, which is now not to be retrieved; and, if our Elder Brother intended thereby to help us to pay our debts, we have disappointed *Him*. The zeal to serve us was, in part, one of the fruits of the Greenland History. The quit-rents in arrears would have furnished two-thirds of the purchase money, and the timber and quit-rents in two or three years, the other third; and, besides the quit-rents, two hundred thousand acres of choice land would have been at our disposal, some of which is very valuable." In this letter he acquiesces in the propriety of another name being added to his own in the title-deeds of the property of the Brethren in Wachovia; which would be a relief, although not very complimentary to him.

It appears from some scattered notices regarding the old Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, that its members had been taught a lesson of caution, for they had involved themselves in pecuniary liabilities, which it had been found difficult to meet. Hence, Hutton, especially now that the affairs of the Brethren were so rigidly

brought under the Directing Board, did not think it right that he and his colleagues should personally incur liabilities, and at the same time, be subject to the control of a foreign power, to which no responsibility attached; and he, therefore, frankly declared his mind on this, as he usually did on other subjects that disturbed him. This brought forth the following explanation from Br. Spangenberg, in the name of the Directory:—

"As regards the Society [for the Furtherance of the Gospel], we never anticipated your fears. We regretted that both the English and Dutch Societies had ceased to exist. Some pleasing events, which had occurred during the time of their continuance, came to our recollection; this led us to ask, What may have been the cause of their decline, and subsequent entire ruin? The desire was expressed, 'O! that they might be revived again!' not so much for the sake of our brethren and sisters, who assist, and cheerfully contribute, even though there is no organised Society, but for the sake of our Christian friends, to whom these Societies were a source of blessing, and who were thankful to have an opportunity of giving their contributions towards the furtherance of the Gospel. If the Society were renewed again, and its existence became known among the people, many, I trust, would feel called upon to take an interest in its welfare. We are sure that our dear Lord would approve of it; and, therefore, we commissioned a brother to draw up a plan. But there was always a something in the way, and the matter was delayed for a long time. At last I found the old rules; we made a few alterations here and there, in all simplicity, and without aiming at anything artificial. These rules we then sent to you.

"I should not be sorry if the Society consisted of only poor brethren and sisters, provided they were known to be faithful, honest, and prudent in applying the means placed at their disposal to the proper object; for the great purpose would be attained of giving the friends of the Brethren, and of the Gospel they preach among heathen nations, an opportunity of bestowing their contributions. There is a collection for the Missions to the Heathen among the brethren and sisters; hence, for their sakes, no Society is needed. The Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel has still another object in view. When our brethren and sisters go

out on their missions, they are not always able to purchase every requisite; to pack up, and make agreements with the captains or merchants; to get everything settled at the custom-house; to procure boats for their conveyance on shipboard; and the like. But when there are persons who consider it to be their duty to assist the brethren and sisters, who venture their lives and their all to serve our Saviour Jesus Christ, O! what a comfort is this to them! How much they thank our Saviour for it! How they bless the brethren and sisters, who undertake all this trouble on their account!

"Meanwhile, I should be glad if you would let us know your scruples on this, or other subjects, without delay. We certainly do not wish to see the Society *compelled to make debts*. This it need not do; for the mission diacony will always back them, and second their plans. I can assure you, that we often thank the Lord, with melted hearts, for the faithfulness, activity, and willing and successful services of this diacony. Therefore, my dearly beloved James, I beg you to let us know what you think is wanting in the rules, or what is superfluous; or how you wish this, or the other part, to be altered. We shall take nothing amiss. And, if the rules are already signed, tell us whether you think, that misunderstandings might be obviated by an additional declaration, of one kind or another, on our part. That our ordained brethren should be members, and have a vote, is quite in accordance with the object I named above. But this is not the case with regard to the borrowing of capitals, and *compelling the Society to refund them*. None should be allowed to do this, except under his own personal pledge of repayment. I do not mean the case, which may often happen, when ten, twenty, or even fifty pounds, at the request of the mission diacony, are either lent or borrowed; but I mean the taking up of capitals, for which the members of the Society are to be made responsible, and liable to payment. I once had to pay a sum of four hundred pounds. I asked the Society to borrow this sum of somebody. 'No,' said they, 'we will not do it; this is a blessing which belongs to us, and of which we will not be deprived. We will rather endeavour to make up the amount among ourselves; whoever has not money ready at his disposal, may at once say what he can and will contribute.' This was forthwith done; and, within a quarter of an hour, the whole sum was

provided for. This is the best way of effecting it, and I like it best; for there is nothing pleasant in the contracting of debts.

"And now, my dearest James, you, who have been so many years among us, and have enjoyed many rich blessings with us, do not now give way to melancholy, either through misunderstanding, or through timidity, or self-love. The Lord is with us, and blesses us. It was but the day before yesterday that a splendid proposal was made to us by the Royal Danish Company for the coast of Guinea, which made us almost shout for joy. When you read it, you will be prompted to adoration, and grow angry with the people who are so long thinking about whether they may let the Brethren go to Labrador. James Vernon said to me, more than thirty years ago, 'The Brethren are like a swarm of bees; we will catch them: they will yield us luscious honey.'"

This letter seems to have had its desired effect; and, the difficulties, which had pressed upon the mind of Hutton, being removed, he and his brethren entered upon their undertaking with renewed activity, especially in respect of the mission on the coast of Labrador.

In answer to this letter from Spangenberg, which was received on the 28th of March, Hutton, on the following day, wrote:—

"Your last long and loving letter, without date, came here March 28th. Do not write to me *Esquire*. I have no money to keep up the title. I have written every thing I had to say about the Society [for the Furtherance of the Gospel] in my former letter. Self-love was only injured, because I had no advice of it, and I had written ten or twelve months before respecting it, in quality of an old active *referendarius* of the old Society, and not as an occasional attendant in the Economates Conference. All the other points in my previous letter to you, were related merely historically, not as containing my present views. The time for the renewal of the Society was urgent. It must have been formed at once; there was not time left to inform you of my objections. I certainly made them known to Br. Petrus privately, in synod at Fulneck, by a note—so much for this.

"My dejection of mind chiefly regards myself. May the

Saviour soon appear to me in His bleeding form. That is all I need for comfort, and the cure of my desperate sickness; for all else besides, a remedy is at hand.

"As it is to be hoped there are no pietists in Guinea, the Danish Company will act differently with us, from what they did at Tranquebar.*

"If we did not require a grant, all the world would be glad to have us at Labrador; but this (grant) is the knotty point.

"The Marquis of Tavistock, son of the Duke of Bedford, fractured his skull while hunting a few days ago. When the surgeon informed him of his danger, he spoke of a crucified Saviour being his comfort and dependence. I presume he had heard *that* doctrine in our chapel at Bedford, which produced fruit in his last moments. For this doctrine is seldom spoken of, except by such as are condemned to be hanged, and by the poor. It is a gratifying fact, that this Marquis spoke in favour of the Brethren, on several occasions, among the higher circles. He is now at rest."

In the year 1763, some hundreds of citizens represented to the magistrates of the Republic of Geneva, that there had recently happened divers infractions of the laws in the procedures in criminal causes, at the same time specifying these laws, and their infractions. The magistrates denied the allegations. The citizens persisted in their representations, and demanded, that the General Council of the Burghers, the only tribunal where laws could be made, abrogated, or explained, should decide upon the matter. This the magistrates refused. The citizens, at the next election of magistrates, made use of their right, of rejecting the candidates presented to their choice, for syndics, and for other offices. Accordingly, all who were presented, were rejected by a majority of two to one. The Council, *i. e.* the persons thus legally rejected, called to their aid France, Zurich, and Berne, as mediators, and guarantees of the established constitution; who, instead of declaring the legality of the citizens' proceeding, unhappily declared the magistrates to have been rejected without reason. This declaration the

* Holmes' Historical Sketches of the Missions of the United Brethren, pp. 450, 451, does not explain this.

umpires had no right to make, inasmuch as the council of burghers was the only sovereign of Geneva, and, as such, had been held by all the powers of Europe, as accountable to no power on earth for their proceedings. These guarantee mediators, however, went further, and projected the form of a future government, which the citizens imagined directly the opposite to their legal constitution, as transferring the power of a final appeal from the general, to the magisterial body; and this being so done as to give the preponderance of seven to one in favour of the accused magistrates; the citizens, consequently, declared their determination never to forge their own chains by accepting such proposals. One of the French ministry having determined to carry this point, irritated his Court against the citizens of Geneva, by representing them as an insolent rabble; and the guarantees, instead of leaving the people free to vote, when, according to the constitution, as now acknowledged, the question was submitted to them, made use of terrifying threats to enforce the votes in favour of their proposals; and, when the citizens, by a majority of two to one, rejected these proposals, the French minister published a furious paper against a people, who thus nobly stood forth in defence of their laws. This was followed up by a body of French troops being sent to Gex, and the promulgation of a declaration, prohibiting the subjects of the King of France from trading with the people of Geneva; and commanding that no one subject of the republic, or of the French King, should pass from one to the other country, without a French passport; that all supplies from France to Geneva should be interdicted, and that the officers of the French troops, were made answerable for the strict fulfilment of this declaration.

When the discussions, common to popular government, which arose in Geneva, from this desire of tyrannic rule on the part of the magistracy, and the recklessness of the citizens, ever driving at the opposite extreme, began to threaten alarming consequences; Hutton, knowing the circumstances, and impelled by his fears of an open rupture, entered at once most earnestly into an attempt to compose the differences, by mediating between all the parties. This coming to the ears of the Directory, apparently through persons who always will be meddlers, he was called to account for a procedure, which might implicate the Brethren,

as interfering in political affairs. This produced the following letter to Johannes de Watteville, at Zeist, near Utrecht:—

"February 25, 1767.

"DEARLY BELOVED HEART JOHANNES,

"Accept my best thanks for your letter of February the 20th, which was put into my hands yesterday evening. My dear wife joins me in thanking you for it. I cannot tell you anything very good on the subject of my heart. From the year 1753, I have been for the most part ailing, and, generally speaking, am a miserable creature. There is an occasional dawn, but the clear bright day does not appear. I long unceasingly for that blissful moment, beyond which there shall be no night in my heart. I follow the example of the poor soldier, who, when he had lost both his arms, tried hard to keep hold of the boat with his teeth. I am never very long without hope; yet, at times, I am ready to despair. The fault is not our Saviour's; no, never. But enough of this for the present.

"I know that our Saviour understands Br. Duvernoy's case better than I, and I am satisfied with His doings. In my opinion he should not go to Geneva, during the continuance of the troubles there. But we must leave it to His disposal. My correspondence with the Earl of Shelburne, commenced at the time when the people from Geneva were to be banished out of France, and we invited them to come to England. When France would no longer tolerate them, she could not take umbrage at this proposal. It was an act of Christian charity, a service which England would highly approve, or will do so at some future period. Thus matters stood at the time. How the brethren who came from England, regarded them, I know not; I leave them to think as they please. My own impartial cordiality, met with its immediate reward. It was then that I made the acquaintance of the Earl of Shelburne; and, when Earl Harcourt declined presenting the Greenland History to the Queen, the Earl of Shelburne undertook to do so with tenfold greater credit; and the King himself did, what Earl Harcourt refused to do. This circumstance cannot be paid with money. The object of my subsequent correspondence with Lord Shelburne, was, to solicit his good services for Berne and Zurich, not to press the people to the extreme, but to permit

them to use their own laws, in order to prevent an apparently inevitable and sanguinary struggle; inasmuch as France was threatening, and the citizens, driven to desperation, were determined rather to die than to yield. I begged of him to intercede with the French Government in their behalf, as a barrier to the threatening calamities. I explained to him the popular laws of Geneva, and stated that they were as dear as life itself to the citizens, and to their Grand Council; imploring him to pacify their minds. I told him I knew the people, had lived among them, and loved them, as my own nearest relations; yea, more than my own self. I shewed it to him, as a matter of the last consequence, as regards the trade with England, and urged other similar considerations, to enhance, as much as possible, the importance of the case. Lord Shelburne cannot impute this to the Unity of the Brethren, nor will he do so, for everybody knows, that I am an odd being, and that no one must be blamed for what I do. This is the harmless side of the question. Nevertheless, I must tell you, I did not do right, and wish I had never interfered. I had repeated misgivings respecting it; yet the danger and distress of so many thousands whom I loved, urged me to become the champion of their peace. The sufferings of so many brethren and sisters in Geneva, whom I love as dearly as those in London, or Zeist, or Herrnhuth, and who were threatened by the impending storm, put me almost beside myself, and possibly I may have cracked a little porcelain crockery, in my eagerness to render them help. I wish I could see my letter to Claviere; the spirit in which I wrote it, was certainly from the Lord. Of this I have a distinct recollection; but whether it was well expressed, I cannot say. It struck me at the time, that both parties might settle their differences in a single hour, and I tried to prove, that this apparently enthusiastic proposal, was the only way to arrive at a satisfactory termination. I predicted, that unless they followed my recommendations, things would daily become worse, and so it has come to pass. My letter to Claviere was designed to be plain and intelligible, and so I spoke and wrote to the other party, with the view of putting an end to their troubles. As far as I know, my conduct can be defended before the eyes of the world; although not in yours. Yea more, I should gain honour by it with the

world, the wise of the world; on your part I do not expect it. It is sufficient for me that you do not approve, and tell me so. I could wish you had not noticed it; but, as it is, I had better be silent. However, I think that, in an abstract sense, your conclusion is not true, that a brother, when he sees a town in a blaze, is not to fly for water; nor to do good, whenever and wherever he can, until he has permission from the Directory at Zeist. It is your business to be satisfied on this point. *A knight of the mustard seed is still a knight.* I have from my infancy been a knight, but have not sufficiently protected my own estates. I rejoice at having been able to answer so much in the conference with that man (you have a copy). I wish you to think justly of all these things; having to give my answers, I gave them in my own way. I have been too meddling in these Geneva affairs, and now give them up, only wishing I had received your admonitions on the subject long since. But, what is to be done now? If you hear anything more of it, set it down, without inquiry, to the account of your hair-brained Hutton, as a thoughtless, hot-headed, fiery-dispositioned, though well-meaning man, who gives you a mort of trouble, and with whom you must bear patiently.

"Dearly beloved Brethren, I am your guest until I become a true member. I serve you freely, and with all my heart; and, while I cause much to myself, I am very averse to give you uneasiness. When He shall see fit to grant me eternally the view of His grace, your trouble will be at an end. Until then, grant me your love, however undeserved; and assure me of the same, as affectionately as your letter expresses it of the 20th of February. Your kind affection has spoiled, and made a busy-body of me. Good day, best people, all, all.

"I am your own, and all, your "JEMMY."

In all matters connected with the interests of the Unity, Hutton was active, prompt, and obedient; hence, when the Duke of Norfolk, after he had lost his heir, and his town and country residences had become odious to him, applied to Hutton, through his agent, to lease or purchase Lindsey House; Hutton at once wrote to the Directory for instructions; although, seeing the house was built for the reception of the brethren, or their friends, from abroad, and, therefore,

that it could not very well be dispensed with, he might, with great propriety, have at once given to the application a negative reply, which was most likely done afterwards by the Directory.

At the same time no one was more capable of appreciating reasons assigned for adopting, or abandoning, any measures of which he himself might have been the promoter; of this we have an example in a letter he addressed to Spangenberg on the 10th of April of this year, in which he expresses his satisfaction with the Directory, which had negatived the proposal respecting the "Seven Counties," although, as a pecuniary measure, it would have been very profitable. In a postscript to this letter, he relates, that he had communicated "Br. George Pilder's"* specimen of his Dictionary, to the Professor of Arabic at Oxford, who said he would consult the Vice-Chancellor, whether to print it at the University Press or not; 'if they would, it might answer some good end.' Whether anything further was done in this matter, does not appear.

On the 11th of September, Hutton, through Br. Spangenberg, addressed a letter to the Board of Direction, at Zeist, in which he fully enters into the circumstances that had been to him a source of estrangement from his Brethren, and consequent unhappiness to himself. From this, it is clear, that he had been altogether misunderstood by the members of the Board, and hence he had been exposed to the wretchedness, necessarily resulting to an ingenuous mind, (conscious of its faithfulness), from the thought of being considered unworthy of confidence.

"It may happen that this letter reaches you on the 14th of September, 1767, on which day I shall be fifty-two years old. Commend me, I pray you, to my dear Saviour, in whose service I have been a very unprofitable servant, and whom I have offended so often and thousand fold, that I know not of a single day in my life in which I did not grieve Him. I dedicate my future course, such as it is, to Him. I can neither promise Him nor myself anything, unless it be, that I will accept at His hands, whatever He bestows, and what He has merited for me, by His death and bitter pain. His

* Who, with Br. Hocker, from 1756 to 1759, had been in Egypt, with the view of going on a mission to Abyssinia.

patience cannot be comprehended, much less described; and my transgressions are numberless. I have not profited by the trying times, through which we have passed, but the very contrary. I abused them to His dishonour, and my own disgrace, and the hold which until then, He had upon me, at that time, so to speak, slipped from His hands; and, since then, I have never, for any length of time, been under His immediate controul. I pray Him to forgive me all my past neglect, and to hinder me from thinking of them to my own hurt. May the remembrance of them humble and abase me before Him, fill me with gratitude for His patience, long-suffering, love, and repeated proofs of His help.

"It is now more than four years since I returned to England. If you turn to the minutes of the Conferences, in July and August, 1763, both before, and at the time of my dismissal, you will see how things stood at that time, and what were the reasons for those proceedings. And if you will calmly consider those preceedings now, you will readily understand, that I could not possibly be pleased with them. There appeared to me a want of confidence lurking throughout, as though it would be hurtful to the cause of our Saviour, were I to be active in England, and hence I was forbidden to be active. I did not, at that time, feel pleased with your conduct; it vexed me greatly. It would have been better for myself, if I could have seen clearly, that such a course would be the best and most suitable for me. But I was offended, and wondered how you could act thus; which, in a sense, was very unbecoming on my part. I was commissioned to execute things in England, which were positively impracticable; I was sent thither, literally, for nothing but mere pastime. I need not have spent this time unprofitably, but I did so spend it. I found it impossible to effect anything in the affair of Mary (Stonehouse), which was my principal object in coming to England. It was utterly out of my power to cultivate an intimate, agreeable, and cheerful intercourse with the persons, among whom my lot was cast; we were unsuitable for each other, and this in social converse. This ought to have invigorated my private communion with our Saviour; but it was otherwise. Had I lived twenty years with one of those brethren, I should never have felt myself familiarly drawn towards him, nor he towards me. In the case of another, with whom I had to live in the same house, an insurmountable incompatibility had manifested

itself from the year 1749; and yet this individual was expected, or at least, was desired, to go on in the same way as he had done previous to that time. Our Saviour cannot be present, where mutual love is wanting; Whose aid I needed more than any one else did. I could never perceive the smallest confidence towards me, on the part of John (Nitschmann). I vainly tried to awaken it; for at the core of my heart, I had not the slightest confidence in him. The contrast was painfully manifest. I had just returned from Switzerland, where I could love affectionately, and was cordially beloved; and where I could confide in every one, who was deserving of any confidence. In England another climate prevailed. My English brethren loved me more than ever; but, in consequence of the unhappy and distasteful instructions, received in so marked a manner, at Herrnhuth, I avoided all intercourse, and became quite a stranger with them. They wondered, among themselves, why I did not appear among them, and would gladly have seen me in their midst, and heard me address them, but I had my instructions to the contrary. Had this not been the case, and had I been left free to act according to my own mind, I believe I might, through my influence over certain persons, have warded off, and prevented many evils. Those who were then the most active, effected little good, as the sequel clearly proved. The embargo laid upon my activity did not prevent the mischief; and where did the vessel run to? I myself know very well that no one is indispensable to the house of God; but since human instrumentality is always employed by Him, we ought ever to inquire, which instruments are to be used, and which laid aside. It is never wise to persist in rowing against the stream; or to venture too much; a sacred self-will, or self-will in sacred things, is not always commendable. The heart of my brethren and sisters, was seldom, if ever, with me in my endeavours to carry out the plans designed, and positively given me by the Lord, to seek out the men of this world for His kingdom. I was found fault with, and misunderstood again and again. The measures I adopted for the purpose, were severely censured; and yet, without them, I could neither have visited, nor attracted the notice of such men. In short, I might fill a whole sheet with weighty reasons for my dissatisfaction. But discontent, although human, is at all times wrong, and often becomes more or less a sin, according to circumstances. All this, in conjunction with my deafness,

which prevented me from enjoying the services of the house of God, and other means of edification; even if my heart had been right, as that of a good brother, which it was not; made my waste of time in England, appear to me ridiculous, difficult, useless and sinful.

"I ask His permission to lay myself, a poor miserable sinner, with all my troubles at His feet, and beg Him for a renewed and constant view of His suffering beauty. This is what I long for. May His cross be held over all my former days. May He give me full absolution from all my sins, and grant me a new heart, besprinkled with His blood. If I could but have Him in my heart, truly and entirely, I should possess all that can alone and for ever, cheer me. Without Him, I possess nothing.

"I am just as I am, and as much as I can be,
Your affectionately loving,
"JEMMY."

"Friday, September, 11th, 1767."

The following correspondence, between Br. Nyberg, of Haverfordwest, and Hutton, and the Directory, on subjects intimately connected with the welfare of the Unity, may be found interesting.

From Nyberg to Hutton.

"June 14th, 1765.

"As Secretary of the Unity, you will give me leave to trouble you with a few hints, which have laid with some weight on my mind, in hopes that you either can or will procure me a satisfactory answer. The thing is this:—The Directory of Herrnhuth, in a circular letter of May 2, 1764, invites all the congregations of the Brethren to appear at the General Synod at Marienborn, by their own deputies. The Conference directs the deputies (nominated at Herrnhuth) to provide themselves with letters of commission, in order to enforce an obligatoriness on the respective congregations to the Resolutions to be taken, which, we were told, would be decisive.

"*Query.*—Would it not have been prudent, and even highly necessary, in order to guard a General Synod against objections, to have allowed all the congregations of the Brethren, at least all the L[ord] S[upper] brethren, man by man, a free and uncontrolled liberty to nominate, choose,

and send their own deputies; and to supply them with letters of commission, in a regular manner?

"That we labourers, and a few others, by persuasion, signed the letters sent us, proves only that we are good children. But there is a great difference between a free act of our own, and acquiescing in the acts of others. You must be quite aware, that over-awed elections in the world, carry a ridicule in their very nature; and, because they brow-beat common sense, are treated with contempt; how much more, when conscience is concerned, ought everything that, at farthest distance (in the remotest degree), carries the very smallest semblance of an ecclesiastical cabal, to have been avoided.

"Haverfordwest congregation was not even allowed to know who their deputies were; but were directed by authority to sign a charta-blank; a thing, until then, unheard of.

"The question is not, whether a regularly constituted Directory, may not call whom they please to a Synod, neither is there any objection meant as to individuals. But as those unattested pieces, [which] we have seen as the results of the General Synod, only give directions, how deputies are to be chosen to a Provincial Synod, and pass by those of the General Synod in profound silence; I think myself warranted to ask, whether this method of proceeding is just, and to be a precedent for future times? namely:—That those persons who are nominated by a Conference or Directory convoking a Synod, are, *eo ipso*, deputies of their respective congregations; on the condition that they provide themselves, somehow, with letters of commission. If so, I should be very sorry, for I love the congregations with all my heart.

"I am, &c. "NYBERG."

Hutton to Nyberg.

"June 20th, 1765.

"I received yours of June 14, and can assure you that nothing but the shortness of time hindered the properest measures from being taken previous to the last General Synod. Every place ought truly to nominate its deputies, and there is no doubt at all about it. But the notice of such General Synod came so late to us here, and there was so little time, before those who went, were obliged to set out, that I dare say, *that* was the only reason of things happen-

ing, with regard to Haverfordwest, as they did. If anybody had thought it would have been disagreeable to you or others, it would have been contrived otherwise. I hope you will not take it ill any longer; for I can assure you that it is to be no precedent. But to all General or Provincial Synods, the congregations are freely to nominate their representatives; and I know not well how it happened otherwise.

"I am, &c. JAMES HUTTON."

Nyberg to Bp. Böhler.

"Haverfordwest, February 26th, 1767.

"I am obliged to you for your kind lines from Harwich. I have, ever since, waited to hear what the Directory would determine about my letter to Hutton, and his answer to me, which I sent you, together with my last. But having heard nothing, I send you another copy to lay before the Directory for their consideration. The subject is of consequence to me, who have been denied the privilege of a member of the Unity; and, consequently, must look upon myself, in a manner, excluded; and, although I might acquiesce in the personal injury, yet I shall no longer submit to suffer the constitution of the Church of the Brethren to be wounded through my sides. It is ungenerous, and very unkind, to expose the Ordinary of a congregation to the frequent, cutting inquiries, Who were the deputies to the General Synod? and, for years together, not so much as to let us know the names of those, who pretended to appear for us at Marienborn. It is a false and beggarly evasion to ascribe to shortness of time, what common-sense shews to be otherwise. Why might not the same time that was required to compose the long letter of May 2, have been sufficient to require and direct the congregations to send their representatives, as well as to counsel the persons, called by the Conference, to provide themselves with letters of commission? The same time that allowed a charta-blank to be sent to me to sign, might have been sufficient to direct us to choose, and to send Deputies. But Hutton is ingenuous enough, after all, to own, that had it been thought that I and others, would have disliked it, it would—and, consequently could, and ought—to have been contrived otherwise. It was clear, that the

Conference in Herrnhuth, and not the English congregations, nominated the so-called Deputies from England; and, that the respective congregations, were either hurried into compliance, or else, for that time, gave up their right and reason, rather than make words. Whether this method of playing with the republican spirit of this nation, is safe and justifiable, is left to better judgment. For my own part, I am dissatisfied, and desire my grievances may be redressed. I freely own, that I am heartily tired of remaining any longer as a subject upon which to make experiments: for example, my re-ordination, &c.*

"I beg that due attention be paid to every particular of my letter; and, if I am favoured with a satisfactory answer, for I despise evasions, that it may not first be sent open, as heretofore, to other hands, in order to excite laughter and scorn. If the present disagreeable distance, at which I find myself, be removed, I should be glad; for you know that of old, and even of late, under every disadvantage, especially since the departure of the late Disciple, I have sincerely loved the Church of the Brethren; but, if not, I know where my city of refuge is. My wife, who has been confined for four weeks from a hurt by a fall, joins with me in much love to your Liesel (Elizabeth) and yourself; and I am, in the wounds of Jesus,

"Your affectionate mean brother, NYBERG."

"Please to communicate the contents of this to the Directory, with my respects to as many of them as think them worth acceptance. Farewell.

"I am now entering my forty-seventh year, and hope I shall not cumber the ground (of the Brethren) many years longer. Our Saviour is exceedingly gracious to us, and blesses us, and our congregation in Haverfordwest; which makes my life bearable, that would otherwise be a burthen indeed! O, how well for me, that I have access to His wounds! I am just now reading the manner of convoking the Council of Trent; and would desire the Directory, if they treat my letter *en bagataille*, to let it, however, lie in the archives."

* The information contained in the subsequent letters from Nyberg to ...d Hutton to the Directing Board, dated September and November, ...t has been found in explanation of the circumstance here

Bp. Böhler to Nyberg.

"Zeist, April 2nd, 1767.

"DEAR BR. NYBERG,

"Yours of February 26th came safe to hand, about a fortnight ago, and at the beginning of this week, was communicated to the Directory, agreeably to your desire; and my brethren of the Directory, have given it me in charge to answer it in their name.

"After I had spoken so extensively in the Synod at Fulneck (1766), and, as it appeared to me, to your entire satisfaction, concerning your grievances, about which you treated with Br. Hutton in your letter of June 4th, 1765, I did not think you expected any further elucidation of the matter; and took your sending me a copy of the said letters in this light, that you only intended to convey to my knowledge, all that had been said and done in this affair, in case, at one time or another, it might be brought upon the carpet. However, as I was mistaken, it was well that you wrote me again respecting it.

"In the first place, I must point out some mistakes in your suppositions, from whence you draw grievous inferences. 1. You suppose that the Deputies invited to come to the General Synod, and appear as representatives of their congregations, had been nominated at Herrnhuth. I can assure you, that it is not so; for I have now the minutes of the Conference before me, and cannot find the least trace of any such thing. I have, also, the records of the General Synod before me, and find, that some congregations sent deputies to it whose names were not thought of when the Bishops, seniores-civiles, ordinaries, and deacons, were mentioned; and who, as all could not leave the congregations, should, in particular, be invited to attend, if their circumstances should permit. You, yourself, admit, in your letter to Br. Hutton, that a regularly constituted Directory may call this or that individual to a Synod; and hence I conclude, that the Conference did not amiss, even according to your opinion. 2. You suppose that, the General Synod only gives directions how deputies are to be chosen to a Provincial Synod, and passes by those of a General Synod in profound silence. The manner of choosing deputies to any Synod, General or Provincial, is quite the same; and, although it may not have been mentioned expressly in the results of the

General Synod, yet the minutes and records of it, which are deposited in our archives, and all who were present at the General Synod, will always testify it. 3. You seem to suppose the name of the brother who was deputy for Haverfordwest congregation, to have been withheld from you for, God knows what, particular sinister reasons. I wonder that Br. Nitschmann should not have directly acquainted you with it; I suppose it was through forgetfulness. By the records of the General Synod, and from letters of commission signed by you and others, I find it was our dear Br. Gambold, than whom there could be none more proper, even to the Haverfordwest congregation, considering that he is a native of that country.

"Having premised this much, I believe I can now be short in my answer. Your query runs in these words: 'Would it not have been prudent, and even highly necessary, to have allowed all the congregations of the Brethren, at least, all the L[ord] S[upper] Brethren, man by man, a free, uncontrolled liberty to choose, nominate, and send their own deputies, and to supply them with letters of commission in a regular manner?' This the Directory answers with a peremptory Yes; in consequence of our late General Synod of 1764: only with these additions (also in conformity with the late General Synod): 1. That deputies so nominated, by free and uncontrolled choice of their congregations, must also have the decisive vote of the only Head of our Church, namely, our Lord Jesus, Who will be asked His vote by Lot, in the Elders' Conference of every congregation. For, *plurima vota*, yea, even *unanimia*, do not decide dubious matters in our congregations. 2. That every congregation defrays the expenses of its deputy, or deputies, to, at, and from the Synod, General or Provincial. I think now, your query is fully answered; but since it might seem like an evasion, to pass by the question at the end of your letter to Hutton, though it lies implicitly in the already answered query; I will set it down, and answer it out of the heart of the Directory, and out of the spirit and letter of the late Synod, namely: 'Whether those persons who are nominated by a Conference or Directory convoking a Synod, are, *eo ipso*, deputies of their respective congregations, on condition that they provide themselves, some-how, with letters of commission?' Our answer is, No. But if the congregations reposing

confidence in brethren, who, for their own persons, and in quality of their offices, are invited to attend a Synod, give them their votes freely, and our Saviour approve of that choice by the Lot, and they appear at a Synod with letters of commission from their respective congregations; then they are present, at such Synod, in a double quality. 1. For their own persons by virtue of their offices; and, 2. As deputies of their congregations by virtue of choice; of our Saviour's approbation; and of their letters of commission, presented to the Synod. This is now a plain and full answer, which I give you in the name of the Directory, and doubt not but that it will meet with a kind reception on your part.

"Brn. Johannes, Joseph (Spangenberg), David Nitschmann, Neusser, Gregor, as also the sisters who are present here with the Directory, desire me to salute you, and your dear Patty, very affectionately. Myself and my Liesel join also particularly in love to you both; and we commend ourselves to your kind remembrance before our Saviour; in Whom I remain, your loving brother,

"PETRUS."

"We beg of you to salute, not only our dear brother Parminter, but also the congregation at Haverfordwest, in the tenderest manner, from us all. May our dear Lord bless you with His nearness."

Nyberg to Hutton.

"Haverfordwest, September 19th, 1767.

"MY DEAR BR. HUTTON,

"I am constantly teased by letters from Sweden, and otherwise, to answer their repeated queries, viz.:

"1. Upon what principle does the Unitas Fratrum maintain and practise Re-ordination? with application to Mr. Nyberg's case.

"2. In what respect do the Brethren look upon the Swedish Archi-episcopal Lutheran Ordination as less valid than a Danish or a German one? so that they have rejected the former, and approved of the latter, in their Congregation.

"They say in Sweden, that by my Re-ordination the Brethren have unchristened all the children baptized by me, and bastardized all the children born of parents married by

me. And, as a whole national Church has been wounded in a very tender place through me, I think it my duty to allay, if possible, the rage of the clergy occasioned thereby. I own that I have often been concerned on that account, and should be glad if you could procure me proper instructions from the Directory how to answer the above questions, and I hope they may be such as I may produce, in proper places, for satisfaction. A certain Professor of one of the Swedish Universities, retorted upon me, at Bristol, some years ago; 'I see you and your Brethren, with all your religion, can still reward evil for evil.' Referring to Br. Gersdorff's being denied entrance into Sweden, which coincided with the time of returning the Swedish diploma of ordination to Upsal, with that unaccountable remark, that Swedish ordination is not regarded, and is useless in England; which is not true, since the English Bishops have always acknowledged it; and Bishop Gibson gave me letters of recommendation to the Commissary of North America, which opened their churches and pulpits for me there. Suppose we should not be able to stand this test; might it not be advisable in the Brethren to own it a fault, or, at least, a rash step? lest we, by way of retaliation, should be punished by more such disagreeable slaps in the face, as in the case of Bryzelius.

"As Secretary of the Unitas, you will be kind enough to oblige me in this particular.

"Your affectionate brother, NYBERG."

Hutton to the Directing Board.

"September, 1767.

"DEAR BRETHREN OF THE DIRECTING BOARD,

"Herewith I enclose you a few lines from Br. Nyberg. You will see yourselves what it is, and whether it requires an answer, and what. I consider it a very delicate matter, and which might become one of the utmost consequence, if pressed. It may be, that none among you can recollect all the particulars of the case. As far as I can remember, the ordination was not returned on account of the ill-treatment of Br. Gersdorff, however scandalous that affair was; but wholly and solely, on account of the unheard-of proceedings against Nyberg himself; and nothing but the most stupid

malice can connect it with the case of Br. Gersdorff. I hope our Saviour will give you clear directions, whether an answer is to be given, and what answer. Some reply should be given to Nyberg, more especially as he has long waited for an answer to his letter to the Directing Board, which he sent by Br. Johannes. Were I the *definitor ecclesiæ*, I should say, Ordination is a '*character indelebilis*,' unless a person be degraded *Episcopaliter propter crimina*. I am not sure whether Nyberg was ever *canonice* declared unworthy of his ordination in Sweden. If this were not the case, the returning of the diploma of ordination, was, certainly an act which, necessarily, must have given great offence. In searching through the archives, you may probably find the sum and substance of the facts, under two or three different headings. Sweden, Pennsylvania, Public Matters, or Ecclesiastical Regulations. Particular notice should be taken in a chronological point of view, of when Br. Abraham Gersdorff experienced his ill-treatment; and when the diploma was returned. I feel almost sure that there is no connection between the two events. At any rate, it was not right to compel Nyberg to return his ordination; as he, himself, did not feel disposed to do it. He was not the man to do such a thing; and if he had been consecrated an Ordinary (Bishop) among us, he would not have cared much about the complaint of the Swedish Church respecting his Re-ordination among us. But it was a hard case, after having been in priest's orders in the Swedish Church, to be ordained a deacon in the Moravian Church. Such an act could not be defended by any rules of the Canon Law; and even if it could be defended, it was not in the least flattering either to Nyberg or for the Swedish Church. I told Nyberg at the time, and since then again, that had the Swedish Church and nation treated me with such unheard-of injustice, as they had him, I should have renounced them altogether, and have had nothing whatever more to do with them, nor retained the least remnant of anything Swedish. There is, however, reason to suppose that Nyberg's mind was not entirely free from affection for Sweden. The reason assigned for returning his ordination was painfully felt by him, nor was it founded upon a right basis. For although the Swedish ordination, theoretically, may be disputed by very stiff high Churchmen, it is never, practically, called in question in England.

The case of Bryzelius is quite different from what Nyberg takes it to be. Bryzelius told me, that nobody, neither the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor the Bishop of London, ever asked him a word concerning the Church of the Brethren; nor whether he had been ordained among them; nor did they even know, whether he had been among them. The Brethren, themselves, entirely ignored every connection between Bryzelius and their Church. At least, they never expressed their sentiments on this subject to him; and Bryzelius assured me, that Johannes told him, he (Bryzelius) had never been ordained among us, but only blessed for his office. Whether this was really the case, and how much truth this statement contains, I cannot tell.

"If I, as a private individual, were required to reply to Nyberg, I should say—Since the Swedish Church has formally disowned you, and by public proclamation; and the Swedish Government has, by offering a reward for the apprehension of your person, treated you as a criminal; your case stands quite alone as an extraordinary case, and is no precedent from which to draw inferences for other and entirely different cases. All your ministerial functions, such as baptisms, marriages, &c., must be considered legally valid, up to the time when you returned your ordination. There is, therefore, in your case, not the slightest offence offered to the Swedish National Church, nor was any offence intended.* The case of Gersdorff has nothing at all to do with this affair, and it is a gratuitous imputation to connect the two in any way. The Unitas Fratrum has nothing to say on the circumstances which led to the sending back of the diploma; and no further remark to make so long as the Established Church of England acknowledges the validity of the Swedish ordination.

"Such, dear Brethren, are my thoughts, which I have here stated, without wishing to bias your judgment.

"I am, your own JEMMY."

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* It appears, from the whole case, that the Brethren, at the time, considered him as a mere layman; inasmuch as his former ordination had, in their opinion, been nullified by the act of the Swedish Church—and as a mere layman, his ordination to the Diaconate was the first degree which could be conferred upon him. Laurentius Nyberg was ordained deacon 3rd February, 1752; and priest 30th September, 1754, in London.

Hutton to the Directory.

"November 10th, 1767.

"DEAR BRETHREN,

"I have communicated your answer to Nyberg, respecting his affairs, in something like the following manner. I wrote to him that, according to my promise, I had corresponded with you, and gathered from your letters, that, had he come to the Congregation at a later period, his re-ordination would have been unnecessary, and so forth. This was in accordance with the contents of your letters.

"I was certainly somewhat puzzled, because he expected me to procure him *your* answer, which was what he desired. But you have directed me not to send him your answer, either the original or a copy of it; but to reply to him in my own name. He wrote to me, a few days ago, requesting to know, decidedly, whether the reply I sent him, was the answer of the Directing Board? I informed him, that, since he had not written to the Directing Board, that Board had no occasion to write to him; that he had begged me to write, and I had sent him the substance of the correspondence with Holland; and, therefore, that I had just cause to be displeased at his calling in question my exactness. Thus this matter stands at present.

"The case of Br. Heaven, in Bedford, might, at some time, prove of consequence, although your letter was written with much care. The idea of *our* thinking that a communicant of our Church cannot unite occasionally in communion in the Church of England, without separating from us, *quovis gradu et modo*, might give great offence, if the peculiar circumstances of this particular case were not sufficiently known; or if there arose a desire of seeking occasion against the Church of the Brethren in England, as had been done in Sweden.

"I am, your poor "JEMMY."

On the 31st of January, 1768, Hutton, writing to the Directory, said:—"I sent all the papers relating to Nyberg to Br. Petrus (Böhler) as soon as he returned from Ireland. I am glad to find that Heaven took the whole affair in good part; and I approve of the manner in which you worded your

letter, which was a very prudent one. I named my scruple, probably needless, respecting the possible consequence which might ensue; because I perceived such unlooked-for results in the case of Nyberg."

The estates belonging to the Brethren, in Wachovia, North Carolina, held under a deed of the deceased Earl Granville, dated, 7th Aug., 1753, and the Lindsey House property, being vested solely in the name of Hutton, as Secretary of the Unity, it became a matter of importance that they should be so secured to the Church of the Brethren, as to escape the statute of mortmain, and empower the Directory to sell. Hutton was, therefore, applied to, and although he had executed a will in regard to these estates, which, as he thought, was sufficient for the purpose of the Directory, yet he acquiesced in the proposal; and it appears the Wachovian property was transferred to Br. Frederick William Marschall, under an order, dictated by Hutton himself, from Count Henry 28th Reuss, as Lord Advocate, and Abraham de Gersdorff, as Chancellor of the Unitas Fratrum.

In relation to Lindsey House, the idea that had presented itself to the mind of the late Count Zinzendorf, of transferring the property to a naturalized foreigner, was entertained by the Directory, who named Moritz Count Dohna; but as, upon Hutton making inquiry, it appeared that there was no precedent upon record of such a transaction, and therefore, it would be an experiment, and as its success would consequently depend much on the caprice of parties; Hutton, for weighty reasons, chiefly referring to national prejudice, was averse to the measure, which if put forward as an experiment, might succeed equally in the name of an humble individual, as of a person of rank in society. He, however, would be no impediment in the way, and was ready to deliver over the house, and his stewardship in the affairs of Mary Stonehouse, into the hands of any one who might be duly authorized; yet he thought that the seeking of naturalization in a particular country, and the noble idea of being everywhere at home, were not quite compatible with each other; and being of opinion that the question ought to be carefully considered, and the reasons why the measure should be adopted, carefully weighed in the balances of the sanctuary, he left the affair in the hands of the Saviour. He

could not get rid of the impression, that this was a further evidence of distrust towards him, in the minds of the Directory; and, indeed, things bore that appearance. This may have been induced by a fear of the independent spirit of the English Brethren.

In furtherance of the intended mission to Labrador, and to remove prejudice, Hutton, on the 18th of February, 1768, presented Mr. Phelps, under Secretary of State to Lord Hillsborough, with a copy of the History of Greenland, which was accepted with pleasure; and on the 19th, he wrote to the Directory, for a vocabulary of the Esquimaux language, it having been applied for by Sir Hugh Palliser, whom Hutton had highly gratified, by conducting him over Lindsey House. Sir Hugh's application, however, Hutton believed to have been made with the view of doing without the Brethren; but he urged compliance, on the ground of humanity, it being likely to prevent the shedding of blood.

No time was lost in complying with this request, and the vocabulary was accompanied with a long letter written by Hutton, and signed by Br. Wollin, in the name of the Heathen Missions' Deputation in the Unitas Fratrum. This letter explained the difficulties connected with the attempt to negociate with the Esquimaux; expressed regret at the good thoughts of his Excellency towards those poor heathen having been apparently laid aside; and urged a great variety of arguments to induce him to resume and forward an undertaking, likely, if prosecuted, to be of everlasting blessing to the Esquimaux. It declared, that as the Brethren would approve themselves brave, disinterested, and honest people, ready to lay down their lives for the sake of giving pleasure to Jesus; so, they were not inclined to beat the air, or throw away their lives without a prospect of success; and concluded:—"Perhaps it may please God next year to bring matters so far forward, as that we may enter further into treaty with your Excellency about a mission to Labrador; and we hereby assure your Excellency beforehand, we shall be ready to consult with you on the proper means, relating thereto, as soon as we hear from you."

This letter does not appear to have been responded to by Sir Hugh Palliser, and nothing seems to have been done

until the renewal of the negociations by the Brethren in September, when it was agreed to print the translation, already prepared, of the "Declaration of the Church of the Brethren concerning their Missions among the Heathen," first published in German in the year 1743: and the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, undertook that it should be done in a handsome manner. On the 27th of the same month, Hutton, having drawn up an account of the rise and progress, and present state of that Society, as he had been requested, read it; and, after some additions, it was approved. This, with the Rules of the Society, which had been revised by the brethren Latrobe, Hutton, and Hurlock, was prepared for the press, and one thousand copies were agreed to be printed; also five hundred copies of the "Declaration," and Articles or Rules. The title of Hutton's work is, "A Letter to a Friend, in which some account is given of the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen. London; Printed in the year MDCCLXIX." It is dated, Lindsey House, Sept. 3, 1768, and signed with the initials J. H. It contains twelve pages in small 8vo. The "Stated Rules of the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen," fill eight pages of the same tract, but are paged separately. The writer has never seen the "Declaration" in print, but from a manuscript copy of it, dated Lindsey House, 22nd Sept. 1768, it appears to have been written by M. Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, Episc. Fratr., in the name of the Directors of the Missions of the Church of the Brethren among the Heathen, and was entitled "A candid Declaration of the Church, known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum, relative to their labour among the Heathen."

The work is, indeed, an "Apology" for the Brethren; and, being concise, simple, and true, it is given in the Appendix,* for the benefit of such as still deem it a part of their Christianity to reiterate the calumnies and slanders heaped upon the Brethren in bygone days.

On the 3rd of October, the application for a grant of land from the Government was renewed, in a Memorial to the Right Honourable the Earl of Hillsborough, one of His Ma-

* See APPENDIX II.

jesty's Principal Secretaries of State, in the following terms :—

" *The Memorial of the Underwritten, in the name of the Unitas Fratrum, and its Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen in the British dominions:*

" SHEWETH,

" That the right honourable the Lords' Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, having, in the year 1765, encouraged the wish and desire of the Unitas Fratrum, to begin a Mission on the coast of Labrador, in hopes, by that means, to bring the Esquimaux to the knowledge of Christ; the consequence of which was expected to be the civilizing of the inhabitants, and rendering the trade and fishery on that coast more safe and profitable to the British nation than they had been hitherto, on account of the violences reciprocally committed by the natives, and the sailors and fishermen frequenting that coast; which had rendered the trade and fishery very precarious; all intercourse and good understanding between the Esquimaux and the British nation having been impracticable, from an entire unacquaintance with one another's language. Accordingly, four of the brethren went thither, to look for a proper place whereon to settle, but, by fatal accidents, were prevented from reaching Esquimaux Bay, but were useful so far, by the order and direction of his Excellency, Governor Palliser, as to begin a formal intercourse between the British nation and the Esquimaux, and to make a treaty with them; and they expected to have had, at their return, an answer to their Petition for a grant of land for a settlement for the Mission.

" They are still willing to embark in the undertaking, and to establish a Mission there; but, as they are desirous that measures may be taken from the very beginning which seem the most conducive to the success of the undertaking, they propose, that such a quantity of land may be granted, as may probably induce the Esquimaux, who are a wandering nation, to settle round the Missionaries; having no hopes of any lasting success in their Mission, if they cannot see any probability or possibility of fixing these poor people into societies by themselves near their Missionaries; and thinking they must be enabled to invite them to such and such spots as may be agreeable to the Esquimaux; they have, for

that purpose, pitched upon Esquimaux Bay, where the greatest part of these Esquimaux live, with whom our four brethren have already conversed.

" They have thought that, at first, one hundred thousand acres of land, or about twelve miles square, might be sufficient for that purpose; and as Esquimaux Bay is unfrequented by Europeans; and the land, as land, of very little value or use to any body but the Esquimaux, it is supposed this quantity will not be thought too great, as the Esquimaux, in any number, will probably want at least so much; but, if the quantity be thought too great to be granted at once, perhaps a smaller quantity might be sufficient at the beginning, the aim of the Unitas Fratrum, and of the underwritten, being sincerely none other but to do whatever is possible to ensure the success of the Mission, and to encourage the Esquimaux, who might be converted to the Christian faith, by providing for them a spot where they might be sure of a quiet settlement; and the underwritten make no doubt but that, if more land in other parts of the coast should in future time be found necessary, and that the Esquimaux converts should increase, then the Government would grant them more such lots in other places. And, as the coast of Labrador may, in time, be more frequented by disorderly people, who might break the peace and disturb the Mission and the Esquimaux, by ill-behaviour or violences; they propose, that proper measures be taken to prevent such evils; and think that, perhaps the Government may find it necessary to build a block-house for the protection of the British trade and fishery near the intended settlement of the Missionaries, which block-house might, if well regulated, be also one means to protect the Esquimaux and their Missionaries, from the incroachments and unlawful behaviour of any disorderly people, who might happen to come into that Bay; they think also, it might be well, that one of the Brethren be appointed as Justice of Peace in those parts, who might, on due recognizances of any breach of the peace, deliver over such offender to the commander of the block-house, to be dealt with according to law in Newfoundland or elsewhere, according to the nature of the case; and that the Missionaries and settlers of the Brethren among the Esquimaux, may be taken into His Majesty's special care and protection, and be earnestly re-

commended to the Governor of Newfoundland for the time being, and to all the commanders of His Majesty's ships on that coast.

"And as their Missionaries and settlers will endeavour to earn their own living, they desire the same liberty with the other British subjects to trade and fish on that coast. They petition, that the tract of land may be granted to the underwritten in behalf of the Unitas Fratrum and its Society for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen in the British dominions, which Society is settled in London, and is supported by the Unitas Fratrum; the members of this Society being chiefly natural born subjects of his Majesty.

"BENJ. LATROBE,	JAMES HUTTON,
"JOHN WOLLIN,	CHARLES METCALF,
"JENS HAVEN,	JOHN EDMONDS,
	PHILIP HURLOCK."

"London, October 3, 1768."

A copy of the "Declaration" was sent to Lord Hillsborough on the 21st of November, with a note, humbly commending their recently presented Memorial to his Lordship's favour and protection.

On the 24th of November, Hutton waited on Governor Palliser, and next day reported his conversation with him on the subject of the Esquimaux. In another paper he relates information which he appears to have received from other sources. These documents greatly illustrate the state of things in Labrador, and the progress of the Brethren respecting the mission to that coast.

At the end of a letter to the Directory of the 21st of November, Hutton says: "I went to see Palliser to-day; but he was not at home. I heard that he has brought an Esquimaux woman and child to Europe, and that there are some others at St. John's, Newfoundland, who have been brought thither either by fraud or craft, or driven thither by a storm, for many ships have of late been wrecked near the coast. I do not like this; it may occasion renewed bitterness among the Esquimaux. He, perhaps, thinks to get on with them, without the aid of the Brethren. Please to let us know, if you have any message on the subject."

Hutton to Br. Frederick Neisser, Zeyst.

"25th November, 1768.

"My dear Br. Friedrich,

"Jens Haven was with Palliser yesterday, who being on the point of going out, told him he should like to see Hutton, to whom he would tell every thing. Accordingly I called upon him to-day; when he told me, that in the autumn of last year, several Esquimaux came near a fort in Charles's Bay, with the intention of stealing the boats, some of which they actually did steal. The people from the fort pursued and overtook them. A conflict ensued, in which the Esquimaux men were killed, and three women and six children taken prisoners. The women and children were saved alive, and well treated. Two young men in the fort, being good scholars, had acquired sufficient knowledge of the Esquimaux language to be able to converse with the prisoners, just as well as Palliser conversed with Hutton. Palliser shewed me a pretty compendious vocabulary which they have compiled. There is an Esquimaux woman, with a boy of from four to five years old, on board his ship, who seem to be quite at home among the sailors. When the ship comes up the Channel from Portsmouth, the Esquimaux will come with her. A very active Esquimaux boy, about twelve years of age, who will quickly learn, is expected to come to London in another ship of war, which sailed for London by way of Spain. There are six other prisoners left in Newfoundland who are well provided for. No Esquimaux have been seen this year. When the Esquimaux prisoners shall be returned to their own country a permanent peace, it is to be hoped, will be established with their nation. The woman who has come to England often repeats the name Jens Haven, and also a prayer taught her by Br. Drachart; which, however, no one understands. Palliser's people have learnt off by heart the words she repeats, according to the sounds of her words, as they hear them. Palliser was as cordial as ever; so that the notion that I had offended him, turns out to be very unfounded. I consider him my personal friend, and no enemy to our cause. He has already made his Report to the Board of Trade; and, of his own accord, promised me a sight of it at another time. He was yesterday with Lord Hillsborough, with whom nothing occurred beyond some compliments on his safe return. He had heard nothing of our Memorial; probably, because Pownal has so much work on hand at pre-

sent. He is treated no better than we are—for the Lords (of the Board of Trade) have too much on hand just now. With cordial salutations to you all, I address this, my first letter, to the new correspondent for England. I beg for a few lines in reply; such as yours since 1738, and since we met at Blackheath. Your poor "JEMMY."

In a postscript, Hutton gives a copy of the Missionary's prayer in Esquimaux, and then adds: "This woman was present in the tent, in which Drachart spent a night on shore. The son of the Esquimaux chief, who was with them in the tent, is killed. He was the husband of this woman. She remembers all that happened then. Palliser told me the Esquimaux had given his people a much better vocabulary than the one he had received from Drachart. In short, I think we must try to turn this sad event to the best possible account. It does not appear that Palliser will ask us to entertain these Esquimaux. Ought we not to offer our services? Please to consider this, and let us have your opinion. Billy Bell, at whose house I write this, salutes you, and all of you."

Information from another source.

"Palliser, with two frigates and his own ship, was at Strato Bay last year, and during their stay they had always uninterrupted intercourse with the Indians. Captain Omings, in a sloop of war, surveyed the coast to the north. Coghlan and Darby had a considerable trade with the Indians, which gave both sides satisfaction. It is said they had not a very successful time in whale and seal catching; yet I know Coghlan and Darby sent home to Bristol about 800 seal-skins caught by them on the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. The cod-fishing must have been very good; for, a few weeks before Lent commenced, so large a quantity reached Bristol, that the price was reduced from £14. to £7. per ton, by the time that Lent expired—although, in general, this fishery was complained of by the agents. Large quantities of cod and seal oil afforded additional proof of the season having been very good. The oil was sold at from £18. to £19. per ton of 264 gallons.

"The people had their health very well throughout the winter in Strato Bay; but complained much of the cold, and the great want of firewood. Mr. Coghlan told me, that

after the King's ships left the coast, the Indians, on their return to the north, met with a boat of fishermen who were returning home to Strato Bay, with whom the Indians unhappily quarrelled, and killed several of them. These fishermen intended to winter there, but those who escaped made for Strato Bay, and told the soldiers of the affray, who went immediately in pursuit of the Indians, and killed several of them.

"I accidentally heard, by the mate of a ship, which was on the coast at the time, that the fishermen went after the Indians to St. Peter's Bay, expecting they might have a quantity of whalebone and oil, of which they desired to plunder them; observing that this, he thought, was the real cause of the murder, and if the Europeans would let these poor Esquimaux alone, they would be quiet enough.

"I asked Mr. Coghlan if it were not dangerous to trade any more with them? He said, No; for if they could not make them pliable by fair means, they would by foul. As it is certain that Europeans will continually follow the Esquimaux for the sake of trading with them for whalebone, unless it be done with satisfaction on both sides, one may easily imagine the sad consequences that must follow; inasmuch as the fishermen will be sure to be armed when they meet the Indians.

"The gentlemen who employed Darby have lost several thousand pounds by the trade, though obliged to continue it during this present year, on account of an agreement binding upon them for three years. Had Darby come home last year, he would have been imprisoned for debt; and he bears but an indifferent character generally."

On the 5th of September, Hutton was called upon to vindicate the character of a brother, Thomas Knight, who, from some unhappy circumstances, had been unable to maintain his credit as an agent for the Brethren, and whose case exhibits another example of the wretchedness arising out of distrust between brethren.*

* Hutton wrote the following letter to the Directory on this subject.

"September 5th, 1768.

"DEARLY BELOVED BRN. OF THE DIRECTORY,

"It is a great loss to me that in our conferences I can hear so little, which is the reason why I am now and then mistaken, not being able to gather the whole connection of the subjects under consideration. I very painfully

The letters following will be read with interest, as closely relating to the personal history of Hutton, and his mode of life while in Switzerland and at home. They also contain many

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felt this in the affair of Thomas Knight; my ideas being altogether different from those which seem to be entertained by my dear Brethren. I pity Tom Knight; I pity his case, the state of his heart, and the situation of his wife. It is a great pity respecting these two people; and doubly, yea, a thousand fold, to be regretted that a brother, who, on our account, has spent so many years of his life in fiery trials and miry waters, should end his days in such a manner.

"It is now four or five years since he first perceived the displeasure of certain persons against himself. This estranged his mind. The want of confidence with which, as he thought, he was unjustly treated, created distrust in him. Those with whom he was most familiar, have spoiled matters with him. Offences, probably must come; but, if self-knowledge be a good thing in the case of short-comings; and, if any one through the offences with which he has been charged, has appeared to himself and to others to be manifestly deficient and sinful, my theology teaches me the prayer: 'Lord, suffer me not to become an offence or a stumbling-block; Lord, pardon me every offence or grief which I may have given or caused to any one.' The offending party cannot easily see his fault so long as he is uppermost, and lifted up with pride.

"I have heard of two things in this case, which, to me, do not appear to be founded in truth, and proved. I have more than once been told that Thomas Knight promised, in writing, not to establish himself in business in London. Of this I can nowhere find any evidence. And, it is said, that he gave the money he had received from the Brethren, for some other purpose than that for which it was intended, to Greenough. This is not true.

"If the Brethren in Yorkshire draw money on his account beyond the sums he has at his disposal, he must provide cash elsewhere. In this way Greenough and Knight reciprocally helped each other; and, it appears to me, that these transactions were not sufficiently watched. Yet every one who has to do with such matters, well knows that such a concern is constantly exposed to similar necessities. As regards the £249 in the transaction with Thomson and Peter, it still appears to me as an advantage to our cause. For, otherwise, the case would have terminated not only in double the amount of the loss actually sustained, but in so exposing our manufacturers as to involve them in utter ruin. I hear that the Company's goods turned out to be exceedingly bad. Br. La Trobe knows what the cloth-dressers say respecting them; hence the facts of the case may be easily examined into. The fault is said to be, that Clifford and Knight gave up the £249. 10*s.* without first consulting the Conference, whose opinion, had it been asked, would have been very difficult to obtain, from those who in such a commercial transaction would have been puzzled how to decide. If Clifford had some presentiment of it, Clifford ought to have acted accordingly. But what has Knight to do in this matter, after the Financial Committee had so offended him as to bar all mutual intercourse? Much is to be said in this affair on both sides. If you overrun a man who

traits of character peculiar to himself, and his interference in politics :—

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has no cash at hand, with a number of bills of exchange, for which he has to procure the means of meeting them; and he, in providing for them, becomes liable for accidental losses befalling the parties, through whom he has raised the required sums, as in the case of Greenough; a salary of £100 for a servant of the Church, charged with such commissions for which £1000 would be quite inadequate, is quite farcical. And then to be exposed to the envy, malice, distrust, and insult of unfriendly people, who know nothing of the circumstances, is doubly painful. Whoever serves us, must do it for our Saviour's sake, and not for the sake of the Brethren, who, as long as I have known them, have been often rash in their judgment; the rule, '*audi alteram partem*,' being sadly overlooked among them. Where a real mistake has been committed, there they are sure to bring it home; but, the circumstances which led, and almost compelled, a poor brother to make the mistake, are not sufficiently considered. I do not wish the arbitration in this case to be made public, lest the public should take umbrage at the fact, that the proceeds of any business are to be employed in support of the Unity. A definition of the Unity in this case might be very difficult, and be attended with ill consequences.

"If you blame Tom Knight respecting the £249. 10*s*., he may, very naturally, point to the £1700. of Dingley. I cannot tell how much the Conference understood of this business; if it be true, that the advice given was, that the Unity should bear the loss, it would have been wiser in the Conference not to have meddled with it at all. From all I can learn of the affair of Knight, I consider him to have been for some time past treated with shyness and distrust: as one to whom the Brethren have a dislike, partly from former times, partly in consequence of this last transaction; and here the case is quite confused and obscure; but I cannot think him to be a rogue. It is truly lamentable to be considered a rogue; and, supposing him to be nothing of the kind, it would be painful in the extreme to be guilty of the sin of attaching so degrading an epithet to one of our number. Every one who treads this lower world has to learn the lesson of the moral law; the tenderest affection for our Saviour, and the most devoted regard for His people, cannot excuse the sin of passing a severe, or an unjust sentence upon our fellow men. This is my opinion. I can neither praise, approve of, nor defend the present conduct of Tom Knight. His soul is hurt. But who is there among us that could engage to stand under such trying circumstances? 'Lead us not into temptation,' is a very necessary prayer, as our Saviour well knew.

"Knowing as I do, that I tenderly love you, and you me, still more; I herewith submit my thoughts for your consideration, as your dear

"JEMMY."

"P.S. Tom Knight once told me, when I asked him if he had not agreed to serve the manufactnring concern in London for £100? that he had done so; but, he added, that he did not know that £100. would be barely sufficient to maintain himself in London, as a respectable merchant; he did not desire to ask for more than his bare maintenance. Cordiality and a constant confidential intercourse from the first, might have prevented all

Hutton to the Directing Board.

"September 28, 1768.

"DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

"I just now remember that one and another of my brethren, desire to know how it happened, that I formed so many acquaintances in Switzerland? and what good had resulted from my connection with these friends?

"In the year 1756 I went to Lausanne, with the view of making acquaintance with the French studying there as candidates for the ministry of the Gospel. In order to be spared all possible uneasiness, I sought for a recommendation to the burgomaster, who was brother-in-law to Sr. La Tour, in Geneva. He was pleased with my conversation, and I told him at once that I was a Moravian brother. Through the kindness of the gentlemen who happened to be visiting at his house, I became acquainted with several other persons, and was never backward in speaking whenever the conversation turned upon the Brethren. The war, and its probable consequences, in case the Protestant cause should be vanquished, were sometimes the subject of discourse; at other times, books, and their contents. No one ever ventured to use unbecoming or ambiguous language in my presence; and, as long as the conversation remained innocent, I freely took part in it; never pretending to expect that people should speak only on religious subjects on my account. The same was the case in Geneva, Berne, Basle, Aarau, Zurich, Winterthur, and Chur. Providence everywhere brought me into contact with people, who took delight in a social friendly intercourse with a Herrnhuter. Very often I had no hand in it, but things happened so without my seeking, and as if by chance, and thus my most endearing acquaintances were formed. The first occasion, both on their part and my own, was often very accidental; sometimes in the course of a walk, or at a meeting with tradespeople or noblemen; as the case might be. I often took a walk when I had leisure. I was social, friendly, and

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the mischief; but mistakes were very soon made in this respect, and hence all the subsequent misfortunes. All will now depend upon the proper arbitrators on our part, and those whom he may appoint, working well together."

free from affectation. Any one with a human face was welcome with me; for such a being needs but to be seen to be saluted, yea, loved, by his fellow-creatures. This I have found to be the case everywhere. I am quite aware that such love does not strike root very deeply. Yet, people become very civil, and, in most cases, I have found them true friends. My manner of demeanour cannot well be regulated and determined by anything except attention to my own feelings, and to the leadings of my Saviour, and His Holy Spirit, whom He must and has granted unto me during my residence in Switzerland. My walks cannot be registered beforehand, so as to prevent my going forth, except according to a preconcerted plan. For instance, in case of an accident happening to one of our brethren or sisters, in which something must be neglected, if a fixed plan were to be insisted upon. Such matters arrange themselves, so to speak; and, under the overruling providence of God, one thing leads to another. In England, my acquaintance with the late Archbishop, with Warburton, Dr. Sharpe, Kennicott, Stanton, Dr. Birch, Lord Botetourt, Southwell, Campbell, Upton, Phelps, Dr. Franklin, Lord Shelburne, Lord Strange, Lowther, and others, originated partly, in my former intercourse with them in our school-days, partly, from an inward impulse, and a general readiness to assist, and partly from a natural desire for social intercourse, which is quite innate in me, and, to indulge which, other brethren have no time. I, for my part, have always had time for it, both in England and in Switzerland.

"But what is the good which has resulted from this for our Saviour and His kingdom? In Lausanne, people lost the mean idea they had of the Brethren; and, moreover, did not molest me; but, rather, treated me with respect, and learned to honour the late Count Zinzendorf.

"In Geneva, it almost became a mark of distinction to be a Moravian brother; so, at least, the magistrates and tradespeople without reserve declared.

"In Berne, I lived on terms of acknowledged friendship with the English Consul, to whose favourable testimony of me, I attribute it, that, during the seven years in which, from time to time, I visited that town, not the slightest impediment was ever thrown in my way; nor, as far as I know, in that of any of our brethren.

"In Basle, where, previously to my arrival, it was forbidden even to lodge a Moravian brother, I was publicly known in every street as a brother; and kept, every day, one, two, and even more, meetings for the townspeople, and for people from the country, without the least molestation; and, from that time, all who have succeeded me have enjoyed rest and peace, although a Moravian brother is well known to be always in the town.

"In Aarau, our principal enemies have laid aside much of their animosity; chiefly in consequence of my intercourse with them. And yet, I had no other means of becoming acquainted with them but through conversations on the news of the war. Our enemies, as far as I could learn, discontinued their opposition. The same was the case at Zurich.

"Bodmer, Breitinger, Hirzel, and the other Deists, who had driven Br. Richter from the town, and who, in their assemblies of the Schmeckers (Tasters), had often ridiculed us, became my good friends, thought better of the Brethren, whose labourers, to this day, enjoy the benefit of my intercourse with them. Through the Schmeckers in Zurich I became acquainted with the Schmeckers at Winterthur; who, likewise, left off scoffing. Two of their party in Basle were instrumental in bringing me to a knowledge of these men.

"Through the English Consul at Berne, Bodmer at Zurich, General Lockman, and his brother-in-law Heydecker, who is the principal man at Zurich, and exercises great influence at Buendten, I was introduced to the *Foxes* and *Bears*, and had the opportunity of conversing with more than twenty clergymen in active service, &c. &c.

"If I had had to make previous arrangements and plans, or had been guided and tagged to a certain mode of action, by previous conference with my brethren, neither they nor I would ever have thought of such things, nor have imagined that anything of such a nature could ever have been possible for me to effect.

"I have written the above in order to pacify those brethren, who are not sufficiently acquainted with my manner of proceeding, nor yet with the opportunities that presented themselves, nor with the effect produced. Ever since my fifth year I have been a petted and cheerful child. May our Saviour order my footsteps, and assist me in my walk; may He preserve me from misanthropy, melancholy, over-

weening affectation, and from all rashness; and, should anything of this nature manifest itself, may He avert all harm. May His help attend me, and so overrule all, that some good may follow. I shall then be joyful and thankful to Him, do my Master's work in such a manner as that He may have pleasure in His poor Jemmy. But even should little or no good result, it is at any rate a great pleasure to myself to love others, and have intercourse with those who will converse with me. *Nihil humani a me alienum puto.* I consider nothing that is human foreign to me.

"JEMMY."

Hutton to the Directory.

"Lindsey House, October 25th, 1768.

"DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN IN THE DIRECTORY,

"Your hearty letter of the 17th of this month, I received on the 21st. It has made a deep and lasting impression upon me, and I at once thought I will for ever abstain from mixing myself up in such matters, and so I still think. I will pray to the Saviour to cause me, in my intercourse with the world, everywhere to act as a solid, quiet, unobtrusive servant of God. It is my earnest desire to learn, and to become such, that at all times I may be a pleasure to Him. May He turn to me, His poor one, and may I continually behold His marred face. If it be so, I shall do well and recover; otherwise it will not do. If, while I am in England, I live to master that which I did overcome in my intercourse with the world in Switzerland, saving an occasional stumble, I shall be very thankful.

"It is my intention to visit Bath and Bristol in a few days. May He accompany me. I am glad to leave London; for many questions will now arise, which might irritate my mind, for I am still sore. Benny, to whom I have shewn your letter, will also write to you. I am, your dear

"JEMMY."

"*Br. Benjamin LaTrobe, to Johannes de Watteville, written on the same sheet with the above:—*

"MY MOST BELOVED JOHANNES,

"As soon as Br. Hutton received the letter from the Directory, to which he has written here an answer, he

shewed it to me, and said—'It is a kind and affectionate letter;' and the tears stood in his eyes. We had had already several hearty conversations upon the subject, and concerning his interfering in political affairs; and he said,—'Though I am not clear, but that, as a citizen, I should (ought to) be concerned about the course of things in my country, yet if my Brethren forbid me meddling, I will refrain from all connections of the kind.' He had owned that his too sanguine disposition had often carried him beyond proper bounds; and, in conversation with his Brethren, he had been frequently led to utter his thoughts with vehemence, as he had been obliged to hear things spoken in a satirical, sneering, and sometimes malicious manner, about national affairs, which he could not well bear. These were his words when he read the Lot, he said: 'Now our Saviour has spoken, I have done, and will obey;' and added, 'I will always submit to what our Lord speaks by the Lot.' He was really sinner-like. I am glad of this decision, and believe it will be a real blessing for our dear Hutton. I must own, I have often wished that our Saviour would take away from us that satirical spirit, which shews itself too frequently, and that he would make an end of those national and personal prejudices, which have done immense hurt to His work in this poor country. I have good hopes that this affair will bring Br. Hutton into a new track—and he is light and cheerful since the receipt of yours. As these reflections arose in my mind upon reading Hutton's letter, I thought I would mention them to you and the Directory. This, moreover, will I add: We live here, as far as I can see, in love and peace, and Br. Hutton and Wollin are loving and hearty together. That we may make our course easy and happy to each other, as the Lord would have it, is the wish of my heart. BEN. LA TROBE."

In the autumn of the year, Hutton and his wife were at Bath, whence he almost daily wrote to Br. LaTrobe, on the circumstances respecting their sojourn there. He was called to London suddenly, on the 18th of November, in consequence of his personal interference being required in aid of the brethren at Ballinderry, who were threatened with violence, the particulars of which will be given in a subsequent page. While at Bath, on Thursday the 17th of November, the

celebration of the settling of that congregation took place, at which twelve brethren and sisters from Bristol were present; also Br. Bowles and his wife from Bradford. There was but a little flock at Bath, but some of its members were a devoted people. The day was spent with blessing. In his report, Hutton says further: "Brandon and his wife have quite left us; I called upon him five times, but in vain; I hardly think they will return. He must first become a poor sinner; as yet he is very far from this state. Leighton, and Captain Wilson were only friends, at present, nothing can be done with them. Mrs. Edwyn* is still in the same state as ever, and very much perplexed about her lost condition. Chapman was very friendly. Grigg is a good child. Jacob Rogers,† has an excellent wife. He is very poorly, but very affectionate, and somewhat mending; he was at Frome, and hopes for the best there. Yarrell‡ came to see us, whose present situation with regard to the unsafe house, and building of the chapel, is rather difficult. He cordially salutes the Directing Board, and will write when he becomes more thoroughly acquainted with all things. He is in perplexity, but not without courage. I felt happy at the Rices, who were very cordial; Rice, himself, pleased me more than ever. Suky (Susan Claggett ?) is quite well, whom they treat very kindly. In short, I was very comfortable in Bath, where I was indeed cheerful; and, as they tell me, a blessing to them—among whom I found some new acquaintance, and had the pleasure to hear that the History of Greenland had proved a blessing, to a respected family there, and also, at Oxford. This was, indeed, a pleasure to me. The trying hours I spent with Sr. Edwyn, in whose house I lodged, cast a little gloom over my joy, which otherwise was very great. Accept my thanks for your last letter, of the 10th, which was tender, and full of good advice. I know very well that I am truly a poor tool. I salute you all most cordially. Continue to grant me your affection, which does me good. I am well satisfied with the inmates of our house. Good night; please to salute Fritz and Liesel, from me and my

* Probably the widow of Charles Edwin, Esq., mentioned in the Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, vol. i. p. 174.

† Of Bedford, mentioned in the same work, vol. i. pp. 244-5.

‡ In Sept. 1767, Br. and Sr. Yarrell proceeded to their post in Scotland, where they served with blessing.

wife. Sr. Edwyn received a very kind letter from Benigna ; I thank her for it. Sr. Edwyn will soon come to London to be melancholy. I was disappointed at not being able to go to Bristol, and hoped to hear something from you, or the Unity's Wardens College, in the matter of Stonehouse, as to whether anything could be done with George or not. Br. Gregor took my letter with him to the Unity's Wardens College, when he left England on the 28th of September, and I might and ought to have had an answer to it long ago."

In a letter to Bp. Böhler of the 26th of December, Hutton, referring to his visit at Bath, says :—" I spoke with Brandon, without much visible effect at the time. I heard he was at the chapel once lately, and that Wilson took our part against him. Bowles and his wife were very hearty indeed. The Griggs are, to me, a respectable couple. Chapman is very friendly indeed to me. Howell Harris has sent £5. 5*s* to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. Of Lady Huntingdon I know nothing. Her preaching in Bath is frequented, but I know of no society of hers there. Mr. Shrapnell was melancholy about his own inward state ; but, otherwise, (he was) loving, as also his wife. I did not see the Bishop of Gloucester (Warburton), who was said to be out when I called upon him. I did not repeat my call. It rained every day. I thank you and your dear Liesel, and am glad she is better. Pray how did Sr. Verbeck end? Sr. Edwyn is dangerously sick. Vowell does not expect her life. She is in town, has on four blisters, and two doctors attend her. She was very unhappy, but seems a little easier in her mind to-day, Last night she told the doctor that she was lost, and he could do her no good. I was vexed at being obliged to leave Bath so abruptly, where I was well ; and, as they said, useful. I missed seeing the Bristol people. The news of the Irish affair reached me, and I went to London the very next morning, all in a vexatious hurry, and lost my earnest, having taken a place in the coach for ten days later. So that goes. My wife, and mine, and everybody's love to our old dear Petrus, and his Liesel, and again many thanks for their love to, JEMMY AND LOUISA."

" Pray let some one mention how Frederick Watteville does? who was the operator? and what operation he underwent?"

During the first quarter of the year 1769, the Brethren were under great anxiety on account of the congregation at Ballinderry in Ireland; which, for some time had been, and then was, suffering severe persecution, and great loss, from a party apparently instigated by the clergyman of the parish (who had published a pamphlet against the Brethren), and the agent of the Earl of Hertford, to whom the parish belonged. The party repeatedly assembled by night in the most riotous manner, broke the windows and gate of the meeting-house, and other houses of the Brethren, fired several bullets into the dwelling of Br. John Miller, the minister of the place, and very nearly killed his wife when pregnant, as they did again after her confinement. They also assaulted the churchwarden of the parish in the public highway, and for several months, alarmed the Brethren, by day and by night, with shooting of fire-arms, and threats of destruction.

The intelligence of these outrages having reached Hutton while at Bath, on the 17th of November in the previous year, he hastened, the very next day, to London, full of zeal and anger at such proceedings, and through Mr. Upton, a mutual friend of himself and the Earl of Hertford, obtained an interview with the latter, who at once adopted means to prevent future aggressions; which did not, however, cease, until the ringleaders had been publicly indicted; but it does not appear, that the prosecution went further than was necessary to restore safety to the Brethren, who only desired protection of the magistrates, that they might lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty; and as the parties did not appear to the indictment, no further measures were adopted, although the damages sustained by the Brethren, were very great.

In the month of May, when quiet was restored, the Brethren addressed a letter to the Earl of Hertford, drawn up by Hutton, as follows in the note below.* In few words

* "May it please your Lordship, 1769, May.

"We are most extremely obliged to your Lordship, for interposing in our favour, and procuring for us that quiet which we have enjoyed since the middle of December last, and which we should not have had, if your Lordship had not interposed kindly in favour of us, your injured, grievously oppressed, and harassed tenants, at Ballinderry. But as some of our Brethren still labour under the difficulty, of getting turf from your

it comprises the whole case, and appears to have been favourably received, for his Lordship directed his agent to grant the reasonable solicitations of the Brethren.

On the 23rd January, Hutton and his brethren, anxious to bring the Labrador affair to a favourable issue, addressed a letter to Mr. Pownall, requesting special attention to the Memorial to the Board of Trade, of the 3rd of last October, urging the necessity of despatch to save the present year; for should the Esquimaux woman, who was here, happen to die; which she probably would, if kept too long from her native land; the benefit which the Government might hope to derive from the misfortune which brought her hither, would be lost, and the difficulties greatly increased of reconciling the Esquimaux to the English nation; and also earnestly desiring such resolution from the Board, as would, in all probability, make that barbarous race useful to England.

Lordship's moss; a privilege they used to enjoy as your Lordship's tenants, we would humbly beg of your Lordship to recommend it to your servants and officers, at Ballinderry, that they may be all re-instated in the possession of their former moss privileges.

"We beg leave to inform your Lordship, that in the height of the late violences against us, and before your Lordship's kind interposition reached Ballinderry, application had been already made in our great distress, to a Justice of the Peace, for a warrant, by virtue of which one of the ring-leaders had been apprehended, and bound over to the assizes, on which account, we could not avoid appearing at the assizes; and, as the bill was found by the Grand Jury, and the prisoner not appearing, a bench-warrant was issued out against him and the other accomplices, and the Brethren were bound or engaged to prosecute him at the next assizes; yet as we do not want to avenge ourselves upon the offenders, but would be extremely glad to live in peace with all our neighbours, we are yet, even now, willing to make it up peaceably, if it can be done with safety to ourselves. Neither are we set upon insisting on adequate compensation for the very great damages these violences have occasioned, and we are in good hopes, if your Lordship would have the kindness for your tenants, to recommend it to your Lordship's agent, that he would heartily concur to settle and adjust this whole affair amicably and safely, we then should have reason to be encouraged to come to an accommodation, as there would then be some hopes that it would be lasting, and not detrimental to us. We beg, therefore, your Lordship would be so kind as to recommend such accommodation to your Lordship's agent, who will not find us backward to concur with him in any reasonable and safe step towards peace and good neighbourhood; having learnt from our Lord and Master, that forgiveness of injuries is the proper temper of his disciples.

"We are, with the utmost respect,

"Your Lordship's most devoted,

Tenants and Servants."

On the 26th, notes were received from Lord Hillsborough, and Mr. Palliser: one appointing a meeting at his Lordship's house in Hanover Square, on the 28th; the other suggesting the importance of the Brethren setting before his Lordship, the public advantages likely to be derived from the intended mission. Accordingly, on the 28th, having had a conference the evening before, the brethren LaTrobe, Hutton, Wollin, Metcalf, and Jens Haven, attended his Lordship; who, having lost his seat in the ministerial bench, had been unable to forward the object of the Brethren, to which he had been favourably disposed from the first. His Lordship stated the difficulty of procuring a grant of land, and pointed to two methods, by which it might be safely and securely done; the one by an order of the Privy Council, the other under a patent from the Crown. He advised the latter, as the best, and the least subject to delay and expense. His Lordship, who entered minutely into the nature of the constitution of the Brethren, &c., treated the Deputation with great kindness and affection, and spoke not as a prudent statesman only, but as a true friend and wellwisher of their cause, and as a man who loved that which is good.*

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* Report of the interview of the Deputation with Lord Hillsborough.

"Lindsey House, January 31st, 1769.

"Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the American department, having invited Br. Hutton and others, to meet him on the 28th, on the subject of our Memorial respecting our establishment on the coast of Labrador, the brethren La Trobe, Hutton, Wollin, Metcalf, and Jens Haven, waited upon his Lordship as appointed.

"His Lordship received us kindly; and, holding our Memorial in his hand, said that we probably would remember, that from the very commencement, he was favourably disposed towards our application; but having lost his seat in the ministerial bench, nothing had been done since in the matter. He had been informed, that the Brethren, who, at that time, went to Labrador, were murdered by the Esquimaux, and that we had, in consequence, abandoned our project; but, subsequently, he had been informed to the contrary. He had thought much on the manner in which a grant might be made, and had consulted with his Secretary, Mr. Pownal, thereon. If Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador, were under the Civil Government, with one Governor, with a Great Seal like other colonies, there would be no difficulty in the matter. By an order of the Privy Council to the Governor, a grant might easily be made under the Great Seal of the Colony. Such a grant would, in every way, be of value, and our possession of the land quite secure. But, since the Government of Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador, was not civil, but military, the commanding officer, for the time being, of the squadron in charge of the coast

After mature deliberation, the advice of Lord Hillsborough was fully approved by the Deputation; but it was determined, for reasons stated, to await the decision of the Directing Board at Zeist.

Upon further conference with his Lordship, however, the

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of Labrador, being Governor during his stay on the coast, there were but two ways left of obtaining a grant: first, by a Royal patent under the Great Seal of England, which was as binding and safe as it could possibly be, and could never be altered or revoked, except by an express Act of Parliament, which was a very unlikely contingency. His Lordship felt pretty sure our friends would be able to procure this for us, and had sufficient influence in the Privy Council, to carry it through. The only impediment would be the expenses, as he did not think we could gain the point, without an outlay of from £200 to £300. He himself was a member of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, which Society was not very poor, and from it, help might probably be obtained in furtherance of our object. The reason why a Royal patent, under the Great Seal cost so much, was, that it had to pass through so many offices, whereby, although more costly, it became more secure, weighty and binding.

"The other way of obtaining a grant, would be by a special order from the Privy Council. This, however, could not give us a sufficient guarantee of protection in our right; since, should any one desire to settle for a longer or shorter period on our land, and we were inclined to dislodge him; in the event of bringing us before a Court of law, or of our wishing to prosecute him legally, such an order of the Privy Council would be insufficient to secure our rights upon the territory. Were his Lordship to be asked for his advice, he would certainly recommend us to seek to obtain a Royal patent, under the Great Seal of England.

"His Lordship then inquired into the extent and meaning of the phrase 'Unitas Fratrum,' in reply to which Br. La Trobe gave the required information, and explanation. He then desired to know the difference between our Church and the Church of England. Br. La Trobe replied, that we held the fundamental doctrines of the 'Confession of Augsburg,' which was also the basis of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; that we loved and honoured the Church of England, as a sister Church, by whose Bishops we were acknowledged as such, on occasion of the passing of our Act of Parliament, in 1749, and at other times; and by which Church, we have always been treated with much kindness; whilst we, on our part, have never attempted to make any proselytes from the Church of England, but rather, as much as lay in our power, have sought to keep within her pale, her true and genuine members.

"His Lordship then inquired respecting our ordination, Episcopal succession, and how the consecration of Bishops was observed among us, and having received the wished-for information on these subjects, replied: 'I can see no real difference, either in doctrine or ordination, between your Church, and the Church of England; would it not be well then, to drop the distinction of the name also; more especially as by doing so, you might obviate many of the objections, prejudices and misrepresentations, the existence of which you deplore in your own Memorial. The difference of

impracticability of obtaining a patent grant, without great delay, being made manifest, it was finally resolved, to obtain, if possible, in the first instance, an Order in Council, and, at some future time, to apply for a patent under the Great Seal.

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your Church constitution must be sought for, I presume, in your Church discipline?' It was answered, that, as a general rule, it could not be expected in a national Church, although established upon the same principles, that brotherly harmony, union and mutual knowledge of each other, should prevail in the same manner as in a smaller community, whose entire and only object in uniting together, was to perceive and enjoy the communion and power of the Gospel; and, consequently, it was neither practicable nor advisable, to exercise the same discipline in a national Church, as among ourselves. And since his Lordship wished to have the difference in our discipline from that of the Church of England more distinctly pointed out to him, we might mention, that we pay very strict attention, not to allow any one to unite in the Lord's Supper, who is proved to be guilty of immoral conduct; whilst, at the same time, we seek in the tenderest manner, the salvation of the soul of such an individual. To this, his Lordship remarked, that such was also the rule in the Church of England; and although it could not be as strictly observed, yet he was acquainted with several examples of a similar prohibition.

"To the question, how are your clergy provided for? we replied, that when any of our members had means of their own, they receive nothing from the congregations; but when this is not the case, they are provided with the necessary means of subsistence by the congregation; in each of which, there is a committee appointed to attend to this object, and the necessary funds are raised by voluntary contributions from the individual members. Upon his Lordship inquiring more definitely how much in a round sum a minister receives, it was stated that, in London, it amounted to between £50 and £60 per annum; and in the country, where living is not so expensive, something less. He expressed his astonishment at the possibility of any minister being able to subsist in London, on so small an income, and added, that when he wanted two missionaries for East Florida, to each of whom the Government engaged to provide a salary of £100 per annum, the Bishop of London did his very best, but was unable to find the men. His Lordship regretted the extreme difficulty that existed in procuring missionaries in the Established Church. We remarked, that even on this point, the advantage of our being a separate Church was apparent. Among us, no one could desire a spiritual office for the sake of pecuniary gain; nor was any one admitted to the office of a missionary, simply for the sake of his learning or talents; but we expected to see in our candidates for the ministry, a desire to win souls for Christ; eager, as is perceptible in the miser, who is ever craving after additions to his coffers and estates; and therefore, there was no want of missionaries, who are ready to devote themselves to the service of the Gospel. His Lordship observed, that young candidates for the ministry in the Church of England, are obliged to make declarations at their ordinations, which had often made him tremble with fear, lest these young persons should be inattentive to what they under-

Hutton's letter on the Labrador grant.

"3rd February, 1769.

"MY VERY DEAR BR. NEISSER,

"I am at Chelsea, so know not what Br. La Trobe writes to-night; but I thought I would write you my thoughts. I was in London to-day, to see Lords Hertford,

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took, and few indeed could say in truth, what they were expected to declare.

"Upon this, His Lordship asked several questions, relative to the support of our missions; and, when told that voluntary collections were made half-yearly, in all our congregations, he seemed desirous of knowing the total amount of expenditure upon our missions? We were not prepared to give him a satisfactory answer to this question; but we told his Lordship, that we had one hundred and thirteen missionaries, in various parts of the world; and at the same time, availed ourselves of this opportunity, to give a concise account of our missions in foreign parts, the number of Negroes in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, under the spiritual charge of the Brethren, and served by them in the Gospel. We also related to him, the remark of the Governor-General, of the Danish Caribbean Islands, that since the establishment of the missions of the Brethren in those islands, no fears need be entertained of a revolt; and consequently, the number of troops there, was diminished.

"His Lordship wished that we had some establishments in New England, particularly at Boston, expressing a hope that a better spirit might be introduced among the inhabitants through our instrumentality. He also wished us to pen down several questions respecting Abyssinia, and the trade thither, to which he requested us to procure answers from our missionaries there. On this occasion, we learnt that Abyssinia is incorporated in the charter of the East India Company; of which, however, they made no use.

"His Lordship further asked, whether we had a Church liturgy? and when we informed him of our Litany, which the Bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock, had revised, and in which there were some passages compiled by that Bishop, he asked us to let him have a copy of it.

"We purpose presenting his Lordship with a copy of the *Acta Fratrum in Anglia*, in which the Litany is inserted. We added that we took it for granted, that the liturgy is capable of improvement, and that therefore, alterations and emendations were frequently made in it. His Lordship on this remarked, that this was practicable in small communities, whilst to a national Church, it would be most fatal in its consequences.

"His Lordship commended to our notice, the Indians of Newfoundland, a kind of red Indians, inhabiting the interior of the island; and expressed his abhorrence of the barbarous conduct towards them of the English settlers; who, whenever they met with them, shot them like wild beasts. He related, that very recently, an Indian woman, who had ventured to the sea-shore, for the purpose of gathering shells, was ferociously massacred; although, shewing them her advanced state of pregnancy, she besought her murderers to spare her life: and he observed, that the boy, at present

and Hillsborough, who were not at home. Sr. Edwyn is much better. Lord Hillsborough wishes us a grant under the Great Seal, if practicable. Now, the course of obtaining a grant is such that the Crown lawyers must examine it; and, if they do, they will insist upon the boundaries and limits being distinctly specified. This we cannot do

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exhibited at a public show at Poole, is the child who was with the butchered woman at the time.

"His Lordship then touched upon the proposed erection of a *blockhouse*, as named in our Memorial, stating, that the Government was so circumstanced, and that the cost of works of the kind was so enormous, as to prevent such undertaking altogether; and for this reason, he thought the proposal impracticable, although he could see the benefit thereof likely to result both to the Government and to ourselves. Perhaps, however, some pecuniary aid might be given towards the erection of such a building, or the necessary ammunition might be procured for us. This however, he said, was not properly in his department, but belonged to the Board of Ordnance.

"On taking leave, his Lordship said he would lay our Memorial before the Board of Trade; and, as soon as he should hear of our determination, whether we desired a Royal patent, under the Great Seal of England, or would be content with an order from the Privy Council, he would bring the matter before the Privy Council, and he had no doubt of a successful result. Whenever his Lordship spoke of a grant under the Great Seal of England, he mentioned 100,000 acres; but, in speaking of an order from the Privy Council, he named only 10,000 or 12,000 acres of land. He incidentally asked if the coast of Labrador were not included in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company; of which we assured him to the contrary.

"When deliberating upon the subject of our conversation with Lord Hillsborough, on our return to Lindsey House, we were unanimously of opinion, that it would be best to require a patent grant under the Great Seal of England. But, as on the one hand, this is a subject which relates not merely to our present negociations respecting Labrador, but may become of the utmost importance to the whole Unity; and, if it succeed, will give us a legal standing in the British dominions, and become an occasion for obtaining a charter, and be of greater service than an Act of Parliament; so, on the other hand, should difficulties interpose to render abortive the attempt to procure a patent, our cause in England might thereby be prejudiced. Besides which, the question of expense requiring to be well considered, as to whether we should venture upon it, and how it should be raised, seeing that our little Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, is at present too novel, and in its infancy, to undertake such a project; we proposed to solicit the advice of the venerable Board of Direction.

"But as Br. Jens Haven appeared very uneasy at the delay of about a fortnight, that would thereby of necessity be created, and wished us to inform Lord Hillsborough of our own views respecting the grant, we submitted the matter—as proposed, to the decision of our Saviour; which,

until we have been in Esquimaux Bay, and unless this be done, no grant can pass the Great Seal. Pownall proved this to his Lordship, to-day, in the hearing of Jens Haven and myself. You must not think that his Lordship has changed his mind as to favouring us, certainly not; but both he and Pownall now think, we should first obtain an Order in Council; then go to Esquimaux Bay, and make a draught of the land we approve, and then we shall be able to obtain a grant under the Great Seal, which will be impossible until then. I took his Lordship our folio book (*Acta Fratrum in Anglia*), with which he was pleased, as also our account of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, with the Rules and the Declaration, 8vo., all stitched together in a marble paper, the manufacture of our single sisters in Yorkshire. I left with him, also, specimens of all their marble paper. He was good-humoured and considerate. I also left him the French account of our Ceremonies, &c., drawn up by Cranz and Ulrich, with remarks of my own, that, in the main, it was pretty correct, and the pictures expressive; published by a Swiss minister, from such matter as he could procure, but our Church had nothing perfect.*

satisfying Jens Haven, we agreed to refer the case to the Directing Board, and await their determination.

"We will further add, that should we obtain a grant of the one or the other kind, Br. Jens Haven, does not think it prudent to urge the formation of a settlement this year, or to let the Brethren remain in Esquimaux Bay in the ensuing winter; but he thinks it better for the Brethren, during the present year, merely to reconnoitre those parts of the Esquimaux Bay, to which they have hitherto had no access; for the purpose of learning the present disposition of the Esquimaux, and of ascertaining more fully the description of materials suitable for a permanent settlement, which would be necessary to take from Europe; or whether such expense might not be lessened, if wood, &c., should be found near the locality on which the settlement should be erected.

"The Indians in Newfoundland, are quite a distinct nation from the Esquimaux. The boy abovenamed, four or five years old, was with the Esquimaux, but the one could not understand a single word spoken by the other. "J. G. WOLLIN."

* This was entitled, "Brieve et Fidèle Exposition de l'Origine, &c. &c., de L'Unité des Freres, connus sous le nom de Freres de Boheme et de Moravie, Tirée, &c. &c. Par un Auteur impartial, ami de la Vérité, &c. &c. 1758." It was translated from the original low Dutch edition of 1757, and has the impressions of the same sixteen plates, the inscriptions at the foot of which are on one side in Dutch and on the other in French. An English translation of this book was prepared, but never published.

"I find it will be very expensive to have a grant under the Great Seal, though I am much for it, as soon as it can be procured, which it cannot be at present—not on account of any ill-will, but only because of our being unable to give a map of the locality, which, in such a grant, cannot be dispensed with. I told him, that if we sought a grant, and did not obtain it, it might be a hurt and slur to our character. He said, that when it came to that, he would take care that it should be no slur upon us, and doubted not of getting it in time (eventually). It seems that it has not passed the Board of Trade. He would shew our Petition to the King to-day, and receive his command to lay it before the Board; and lose no time as to the *objectum*. He would wait our answer as to the *quo modo*. This is all I am able to write.

"Your JEMMY.

"Would you be so kind (if you think proper) as to let me have an account of what our Heathen Missions have cost, one year with another. Lord Hillsborough was curious to know that. I shewed him our English account for 1768, which he returned. I told him he was the only man in England, not of our Society, who had been allowed to see it. You might also send me the number of baptized Negroes, North American Indians, &c. If it be found proper, I would give him a sight of them."

On being informed of their resolution, both Lord Hillsborough and his Secretary assured the Deputation, that the Brethren would be quite secured by the Order in Council, from being disturbed, or encroached upon, by any other of his Majesty's subjects.

On the 8th and 9th of March, after a conference held on the 7th, the brethren LaTrobe and Haven again waited on Lord Hillsborough, and obtained a sight of the Memorial, or Report, of the Board of Trade to the Privy Council, which was very satisfactory, and evidently shewed the Board's heartiness in the affair; it being so written, that the Brethren could not have expressed themselves in language stronger or more favourable for the attainment of their desired object.

At this interview the importunity of the Brethren seems to have rather tried the patience of Mr. Pownall; Hutton,

therefore, wrote him a very conciliatory letter on the 9th, and, at the same time, requested his attention to several matters connected with the recommendation of the Board of Trade, but especially to the very objectionable title given to the Brethren, as *the Society* of the Unitas Fratrum, which had been adopted by mistake in the hurry of the proceedings of 1765, but which, under the Act of Parliament of 1749, was properly *the Church* of the Unitas Fratrum. Another point respected the grant of land, which was said to be "*during his Majesty's pleasure.*" This also required explanation.

Soon afterwards Hutton saw the excellent Commodore Byron, who was very favourably disposed towards the cause of the Brethren, and seemed uneasy that nothing had yet been done. But Hutton knew that patience belonged to his daily portion in all his transactions here. During this trial of Hutton's patience, Governor Palliser, equally anxious to avail himself of the services of the Brethren, had seen and endeavoured to induce Jens Haven to accompany him to the Esquimaux this year; by promising that he himself would make the Brethren a grant of such land as they required; but Hutton, hearing of it, and knowing, from the Earl of Dartmouth, that the matter was now before the Privy Council, communicated with Haven, who wrote to the Commodore in very plain terms:

"I have spoken with the Rev. Mr. Drachart, and beg leave to let your honour know, that neither he nor I will go to the coast of Labrador, except the grant petitioned for, be first conceded by the King and Council; and till we hear further from the Board of Trade, or the Privy Council, we do nothing in the affair, as the matter is actually in the hands of the Privy Council."

On the 4th of April, Hutton writes, "April is come, and nothing has yet been done; the case has never been before the full Council." And, fearing his application to Mr. Pownall, of the 9th of March, which was repeated on the 1st of April, should fail, he suggested to the Directory, that he might meet the difficulty as to the title, by petitioning the Privy Council to have his name struck out of the affair as Secretary of the Unity; stating that, although as *homo publicus* he could not satisfy his constituents, yet other brethren, in their private capacity, might be free to do as

they pleased, without involving the Church in consequences that might follow from their act; should the Brethren be recognised as a *Society* and not as a *Church*.

Hutton writes again on the 11th of April, "The Labrador affair waits, I suppose, for Lord Hillsborough, who has been dangerously ill, and is still sick enough. I believe there never was any business done in so slovenly a manner." This he had learned from one of the clerks of the Privy Council.

On the 27th of April, Hutton, availing himself of a note from Mr. Pownall, supplied him with the names of the persons to whom the land on the coast of Labrador, was to be given in trust, and also as to the proper words to be used, descriptive of the Society; and concludes his letter thus: "The term, 'during his Majesty's pleasure,' we hope you will know how to alter."

On the 9th of May, the much longed for intelligence reached Lindsey House of the grant having been made, "during the pleasure of the King;" and it was communicated by Hutton to the Directing Board, in the following terms:—"On the 20th of February the Report of the Board of Trade was referred by the King in the Privy Council to a Committee of the Council.—See the Daily Word.

"On April the 24th, the Committee of Council sent in their favourable Report.—See the Daily Word.

"On May the 3rd, it received the Royal assent in the presence, among others, of Lord Hertford, the Lord Chamberlain.

"On May the 8th, it was finally executed in the Privy Council, and handed over to us just on the anniversary of the commencement of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel."

"We cannot," says the Diary, "let it pass unnoticed that to-day (Monday, the 8th of March,) the Labrador matters, which for some time had been in motion, and treated about with the Government, came to an agreeable and blessed issue, when the Order of Council giving the Brethren leave to make a settlement among these poor savages, was delivered to our Brethren. It caused great joy in us, and excited us to thank our dear Lord, who leads the hearts and minds of the great according to His will. The Watch-words, on this occasion, were very comfortable; which we also cannot pass

over with silence: for, on the 24th of April, when a Committee of Council, appointed to search into this matter, gave its favourable opinion, the Watch-word was, 'I am as a wonder to many.' On the 3rd of May, when the King received it graciously, the Watch-word was: 'Take back thy brethren, mercy and truth be with thee.' And, to-day, when the seal was put to it, and delivered to our brethren, the Watch-word was: 'Every one, according to his blessing, he blessed them.'"

"It is remarkable that when the Order of Council was delivered, it was just twenty-eight years since the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in whose name this order was given to the Brethren, was first of all settled in London."

"And thus this tedious affair was, by the favour of our blessed Lord, brought to a favourable issue, to the joy and thanksgiving of all concerned for the salvation of the poor heathen Esquimaux."

The following document, which secured to the Brethren the object of their Petition, will be read with interest.

"*At the Court at St. James's, the 3rd day of May*, 1769.

"Present:

"THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

Lord President (Earl Gower.)	Earl of Rochford.
Duke of Queensberry.	Earl of Ashburnham.
Duke of Ancaster.	Viscount Weymouth.
Lord Steward (Earl Talbot.)	Viscount Falmouth.
Lord Chamberlain (Earl of Hertford.)	Viscount Barrington.
	Viscount Villiers.
Earl of Huntingdon.	Lord North.
Earl of Denbigh.	

"Whereas there was this day read at the Board, a Report from the Right Honourable the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, dated the 24th of last month, in the words following, viz:—

"YOUR MAJESTY having been pleased, by your Order in Council of the 20th of February last, to refer unto this Committee, a representation from the Lords Commissioners

for Trade and Plantations, setting forth that they have had under their consideration a Memorial, presented to the Earl of Hillsborough, one of your Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, on behalf of the Society of the Unitas Fratrum; stating that the said Society are desirous of prosecuting their intention of establishing a Mission on the Northern Coast of Labrador, for the purposes of civilizing and instructing the savages called Esquimaux, inhabiting that coast; in which undertaking the Memorialists represent, that they have already taken some steps, in consequence of encouragement received from that Board in 1765; but that there is a necessity of having permission to occupy such a quantity of land on that continent as may induce the Esquimaux to settle round the Missionaries. That, for this purpose, they had pitched upon Esquimaux Bay, and prayed for a grant on that spot, of one hundred thousand acres of land, or about twelve miles square, with liberty, in common with other British subjects, of fishing and trading on that coast; submitting, at the same time, the expediency of Government's erecting a blockhouse, near the said intended settlement, to protect the Esquimaux and their Missionaries from the violences and encroachments of any disorderly people, who might happen to come into that Bay. Whereupon the said Lords Commissioners represent, that in the year 1765, the Society above-mentioned having, with the approbation of Government, deputed four of their brethren to visit and explore the Coast of Labrador, with a view to propagate the Gospel among the savage inhabitants; those persons, though unavoidably prevented from completing their design, to its full extent, did, however, by the assistance and under the direction of Mr. Palliser, your Majesty's Governor of Newfoundland, make some progress in the laudable purposes of their Mission, by establishing intercourse and concluding a treaty with those savages. Whereupon, in the year following, upon the favourable report made by your Majesty's said Governor, touching the conduct and behaviour of these Missionaries, and in consequence of a Petition from the said Society, the Board of Trade did, in an humble representation to your Majesty, dated March the 27th, 1766, submit, whether it might not be advisable to allow this Society to occupy such a district of land, not exceeding one hundred thou-

sand acres, upon the Coast of Labrador, as they should think best situated for the purposes of their Mission. From this opinion of their predecessors in office, they see no reason to dissent; and as they do, in like manner with them, think it advisable to encourage and promote a settlement of this sort, as well from the pious and laudable object of its institution, as from the public and commercial advantages to be derived from it; they beg leave humbly to recommend to your Majesty, that the Society, or any persons deputed by the Society for that purpose, may be allowed, by an Order of your Majesty in Council, to occupy and possess, during your Majesty's pleasure, one hundred thousand acres of land in such part of Esquimaux Bay, on the coast of Labrador, as they shall find most suitable to their purpose; and, that your Majesty's Governor of Newfoundland, may be directed by the said Order, to give them all reasonable assistance and support in forming such establishment; and, by a proclamation to be published in your Majesty's name, signifying that this establishment is formed under your Majesty's express authority and direction, to warn all persons from molesting and disturbing the said settlers; and, in case it should appear to him to be necessary for their welfare and security, that one, or more, of the principal Missionaries should be vested with the authority of Justice of the Peace; that he should, in that case, issue the proper commission for that purpose, conformable to the powers delegated to him by your Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal. With respect to the expediency of erecting a block-house near the said intended settlement, for the defence of the Esquimaux and the Missionaries, and for the general protection of the British trade and fishery; they do not think themselves justified in advising your Majesty to comply with a request, that would, probably, be attended with considerable public expense, and for which, there does not appear to them to be any immediate necessity; but as they think it highly proper, that every reasonable and necessary measure should be taken for the security of persons, who shall establish themselves on this savage and uncivilized coast, they would humbly recommend to your Majesty, that the persons who shall engage in this settlement, shall be furnished out of your Majesty's stores with fifty musquets, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition, which, they conceive, may be suffi-

cient for their personal security and defence. The Lords of the Committee, in obedience to your Majesty's said Order of Reference, this day took the said representation into their consideration; and do hereby report to your Majesty, that they agree in opinion with what is above proposed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. And to the end, that it may be advisable for your Majesty, by your Order in Council, to permit and allow James Hutton, of Lindsey House, Chelsea, gentleman; Benjamin La Trobe, of Lindsey House, Chelsea, clerk; Charles Metcalf, of Chelsea, gentleman; John Edmonds, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, brewer; Philip Hurlock, of St. Paul's Churchyard, surgeon; John Wollin, of Lindsey House, aforesaid, gentleman; and Jens Haven, of Lindsey House, aforesaid, catechist; in Trust for the Unitas Fratrum, and its Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, to occupy and possess, during your Majesty's pleasure, one hundred thousand acres of land in such part of Esquimaux Bay, on the coast of Labrador, as they shall find most suitable to their purpose. And that your Majesty's Governor of Newfoundland, should give them all reasonable assistance and support in forming such establishment. And, by a Proclamation to be published in your Majesty's name, signifying that this establishment is formed under your Majesty's express authority and direction, to warn all persons from molesting and disturbing the said settlers; and in case it shall appear to him to be necessary for their welfare and security, that one or more of the principal Missionaries be vested with the authority of the Justice of the Peace; that he should, in that case, issue the proper commission for that purpose, conformable to the powers delegated to him by your Majesty's commission, under the Great Seal. And the Lords of the Committee are further of opinion, that it may be advisable for your Majesty to direct, that the persons who shall engage in this settlement shall be furnished, out of your Majesty's stores, with fifty musquets, and a proportionate quantity of ammunition, for their personal security and welfare.

"His Majesty, taking the said Report into consideration, was pleased, with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof; and, accordingly, doth hereby permit and allow James Hutton, of Lindsey House, Chelsea, gentleman; Benjamin La Trobe, of Lindsey House, Chelsea,

clerk; Charles Metcalf, of Chelsea, gentleman; John Edmonds, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, brewer; Philip Hurlock, of St. Paul's Churchyard, surgeon; John Wollin, of Lindsey House, aforesaid, gentleman; and Jens Haven, of Lindsey House, aforesaid, catechist; in Trust, for the Unitas Fratrum, and its Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, to occupy and possess, during his Majesty's pleasure, one hundred thousand acres of land in such part of Esquimaux Bay, on the coast of Labrador, as they shall find most suitable for their purpose. And his Majesty doth hereby further order, that the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland, for the time being, do give them all reasonable assistance and support in forming the said establishment. And, by a Proclamation to be published in his Majesty's name, signifying that this establishment is formed under his Majesty's express authority and direction, to warn all persons from molesting and disturbing the said settlers. And in case it shall appear to him to be necessary for their welfare and security, that one or more of the principal Missionaries should be vested with the authority of Justice of the Peace, that the said Governor do in that case issue the proper commission for that purpose, conformable to the powers delegated to him by his Majesty's Commission under the Great Seal. And the Governor or Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's island of Newfoundland, and the territories depending thereon, for the time being, and all others whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.

"STEPH. COTTRELL."

"*At the Court of St. James's, the 3rd day of May*, 1769.

"Present:

"THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY IN COUNCIL.

"Whereas his Majesty was this day pleased, by his Order in Council, to permit and allow James Hutton, of Lindsey House, Chelsea, gentleman; Benjamin La Trobe, of Lindsey House, Chelsea, clerk; Charles Metcalf, of Chelsea, gentleman; John Edmonds, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, brewer; Philip Hurlock, of St. Paul's Churchyard, surgeon; John Wollin, of Lindsey House aforesaid, gen-

tleman; and Jens Haven, of Lindsey House aforesaid, catechist; In Trust for the Unitas Fratrum, and its Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, to occupy and possess, during his Majesty's pleasure, one hundred thousand acres of land, in such part of Esquimaux Bay, on the coast of Labrador, as they shall find most suitable to their purpose, in order to the establishing a Mission and forming a settlement there: and it having been represented that it may be highly proper that every reasonable and necessary measure should be taken for the security of the persons who shall establish themselves on this savage and uncivilised coast; his Majesty is, therefore, hereby pleased to Order, that the persons who shall engage in this settlement be furnished, out of his Majesty's stores, with fifty musquets, complete, and a proportionable quantity of ammunition, for their personal security and defence. And the Master-General of the Ordnance is to give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

"STEPH. COTTRELL."

"To the Most Honourable the Marquis of Granby,
"Master-General of the Ordnance."

No time was lost in returning thanks to Lord Hillsborough and Mr. Pownall, to whom, on the 12th of May, Hutton addressed the letters given below,* as ordered by

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* *To Lord Hillsborough.*

"12th May, 1769.

"My Lord,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I execute the commission given me by our Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen in the British Dominions, at our last meeting, to thank your Lordship for your kindly procuring us the opportunity of carrying the Gospel to the Esquimaux, which alone can civilize and make them of any use to England; and, if I durst, I would beg your Lordship to mention our thanks to his Majesty, and the Right Honourable the Lords of the Council, for their kindly countenancing our undertaking.

"We are now consulting with our Brethren, everywhere, what is feasible to be done this year, as the season is so far advanced.

"I hope we shall have the honour to wait on your Lordship in a few days, when we have fixed on our measures.

"I am, with the utmost respect, your Lordship's
"Most obliged and obedient humble servant,
"JAMES HUTTON."

the Committee of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

We have already stated that Hutton had been induced, from the circumstances of the Indian Mission of the Brethren in Pennsylvania, to visit Dr. Franklin, and thank him for his friendly intervention. At the beginning of this year, the peace of the Indian congregation at Friedenshutten, to which they had removed in 1765, was likely to be again disturbed, through the treaty made by Sir William Johnson with the Indians, in relation to the boundary line between them and the English settlers. Hutton, therefore, having written to the Directory for information as to the geographical position of Friedenshutten, upon receiving their reply, visited Dr. Franklin, with whom he found a gentleman who had been present at the treaty, and from whom he learned, that the settlement of the Brethren was within the English line, as defined by Mr. Penn, and, that the Indians on the Ohio had exhorted (*i. e.* proclaimed with the force of law) all the Indians on the Susquehanna, included within the English line, to quit those parts and settle to the west of the Ohio; and that there had been no article in the treaty, or speech, in favour of Freidenshutten. This compelled the Indian brethren to abandon that settlement: for it was discovered that the Iroquois had secretly sold the land on which it stood to the English, although in the year 1765 they had formally ceded it to the Christian Indians.

On the 27th of March, it had been publicly announced

To Mr. Pownall.

"Lindsey House, May 12th, 1769.

"Dear Sir,—We have at last succeeded, and have the Order of Council now in our hands. You have indeed been our guide; and our Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen in the British Dominions are extremely sensible of the obligation we all have to you, Sir, for your instructions and assistance through the whole of the affair. If God please to crown our endeavours with success, we have now, by his Majesty's favour, land whereon the poor Esquimaux may settle round our Missionaries, and be at peace for the future.

"I wish the Right Honourable Lords of Trade knew how much we look on ourselves obliged to them for their favourable Report to his Majesty. I am charged by our Society, at our last meeting, to return their thanks very particularly to Mr. Pownall.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Your much obliged and most obedient humble servant,

"JAMES HUTTON."

that a General Synod would be held in the course of the year at Marienborn, and the necessary preparations were accordingly made. Hutton was deputed to draw up the address to the Synod for the Missions' department. On being invited to attend, he was desirous of going by way of Paris, to escape the longer passage across the sea, which was, in his case, rather dangerous, on account of a tumour or boil on his chest; he, therefore, wrote to the Directing Board on the subject. He also furnished an account of the expenses of his journey, which must necessarily be great, and which the Directory had fixed to be paid by the English province; but against which he urged, that as he would attend in virtue of his office as Secretary of the Unity, his expenses should be put to the general account, and not to the English province: within which, during the last six years, he had been no labourer. Besides, his means, at this time, were so straitened, as to disable him from bearing the expense himself.

This application seems to have been answered by a suggestion, that he need not attend at all, inasmuch as he had already so much business on hand, connected with the affairs of the Brethren; for, in his letter to the Board of the 4th of April, he says:—"I thought it had been positively decided by the Lord that I should attend. My idea of the journey by way of Paris, was but a thought which I submitted for consideration; my health not being weaker now than in the year 1764; but the same reason holds true as then, for my going by way of Calais. I do not want more care than any other ordinary brother. I have only to avoid sea-sickness as much as I can, on account of the complaint in my lungs." He also urged that his expenses in 1765, were not more than those of the brethren who went by way of Holland, and that the route by Calais through Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Cologne, was the shortest; and, as to the business on hand, he shewed that it need not interfere with his attendance. "But," says he, "if you would rather not see Hutton at the Synod (though he cannot see how he is to be present by means of correspondence); he will yield to your wishes. I have often been told, and know it to have been so, that my presence at the last Synod was useful. In conclusion, I am not altogether wrapped up in going, if in the end it should not be practicable; although I certainly cannot

comprehend, as a matter of course, why I should not be present."

In reply to this, Hutton received a letter from the Board, to which, on the 25th of April, he replied:—"I willingly remain in England, and am quite content not to attend the Synod. There probably *may* be official duties for the Unity claiming my attention; besides, I have at present quite enough to do with my own affairs, so that I begin to feel reconciled at the prospect of staying at home. My *bad hearing*, the expenses of the journey, my state of mind, and my own and my wife's bodily infirmities, are certainly sufficient reasons why I should wish to stay at home; so that my own mind is quite settled not to go. I salute you all, most affectionately, your old "JEMMY."

On the same sheet, addressing Br. Gregor, he expresses thanks for his affectionate letter, and the expression of his valuable friendship, and says, "I have given up all idea of attending the Synod, so that you may be quite easy about my journey. My dear wife is afflicted with the scarlet fever, of which she has suffered twice before, and each time for more than four months. I can do no better, under these circumstances, than abide at home with her."

How the Directing Board could dispense with the services of the Secretary of the Unity, which, at that time, was certainly an important office, except on the principle of sympathy with him and his wife, on account of their bodily infirmities, it is difficult to conceive. It seems that, subsequently, the Board deemed his presence indispensable, although the circumstances that created a change of opinion, do not appear, there being no further record on the subject until the 8th of April, when the communicants, uniting themselves by covenant with those brethren and sisters who were about to go to the General Synod, wished them many blessings from the Lord, to do what was committed to them; and, afterwards, many brethren and sisters came and took leave of those, who were to set out from Lindsey House early in the morning of the 9th; namely, Br. and Sr. Dohna, Br. Hutton, Sr. Steeman, and Peter Angel, by way of Dover, &c.

On the 17th of July, the Brethren in London heard, by letters, from Hutton and Br. LaTrobe, very gratifying accounts of the opening of the Synod at Marienborn.

On Monday, the 18th of September, Hutton arrived in the evening at Lindsey House, from Marienborn, having left the other brethren still there at the Synod.

On the evening of Tuesday, the 26th, he met the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; it being the first time, since his return from the Synod, that the Brethren had the pleasure to see him in their midst.

On the 10th of November, Hutton kept an impressive discourse on the Anniversary of the London congregation, setting forth the aim and view of our Saviour in placing a flock of his people here and there in this world, and especially in this place; and, kneeling down, implored the Lord to bless this congregation anew, and grant her such grace that he might obtain His full views with her. A divine peace filled the hearts and minds of all present, and gave them hopes that He would not rest until He had accomplished His thoughts of peace towards them; and with this feeling the congregation was dismissed, with "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," &c.

In November, 1769, a number of Brethren had met to consider how they might help forward the Mission to Labrador, when it appears they formed themselves into a Committee for the purpose; which met, on the 7th of January, 1770, to consider the best means of carrying out the resolutions to which they had previously agreed.

During the afternoon of the 21st of February, they again consulted together, respecting the purchase of a ship for the Mission at Labrador; and, also, that by means of trading there they might assist in the civilization of the poor Heathen. They agreed on certain points and rules for their mutual government, and appointed a small Committee to act in their name. They called themselves "The Labrador Company." On the evening of the 14th of March they again met, and deliberated on the purchase of a ship, and other things connected therewith, and in a few days afterwards they succeeded in their object; having bought a small vessel for about £350.

May 2nd, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the Brethren of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, and those belonging to the Ship Company, had a love-feast in the

little hall in Fetter Lane, with those brethren who were appointed to go as Missionaries to Labrador. Several things belonging to this weighty expedition were spoken of, and seriously considered; and it was a joy and pleasure to see a company of ten brethren, who were resolved to venture in our Lord's name, for the sake of bringing the Gospel to the poor blind heathen on that desolate coast. After the love-feast they joined once more, heart and hand together, with those who stayed behind, to remain our Saviour's faithful, though poor servants, and to do with cheerfulness what He may call them to perform. They divided the cup of covenant among each other, and concluded with praises to the Lord. The names of the brethren were as follows:— The widower brother Laurentius Drachart; the single brethren, Jens Haven and StephenJensen; these were, properly speaking, Missionaries: John Thornton, from Fulneck, a carpenter, as supercargo in all traffic with the Esquimaux; the married brother, John Glew, from Haverfordwest, as mate of the ship; the single brethren, Theobald Frech, or Vreck, Daniel Peters, — Wynstrauch, from Zeist, as sailors —these were all carpenters; Alexander Campbell, and Robert Gilroy, from London, as landsmen. Besides these, there were six other sailors.

Saturday, the 5th, in the morning, the Brethren's ship for Labrador, called the "Jersey Packet," Captain Francis Mugford,* fell down the river to Gravesend, and so proceeded on her voyage. The brethren belonging to the ship's company had gone on board the preceding night, and were accompanied by some brethren from London as far as Gravesend.†

In the early part of this year, the idea of providing for the widowed sisters, by the savings of the married brethren, was suggested, in all probability, by Hutton; to whom, on the 26th of March, it was referred, to collect all the plans he could get, and form one out of them, to be laid before the Helpers' conference. This he did on the 21st of May, when

* He was an honest, simple, sensible man, not at all irreligious; and seems to have been cast into the Brethren's hands by a peculiar providence of our Saviour.

† The ship's instructions, included morning and evening service, in the cabin, and prayers for the crew on Sundays.

"the scheme for the maintenance of our widows, to extend throughout all the congregations in England and Wales," was read and referred to a committee of the same conference, that met on the 28th, where the plan proposed was read and approved, and the Brn. La Trobe, Hutton, and Metcalf, were requested to draw up articles for the approval of the conference, preparatory to their submission to the married brethren. This Society was to be set on foot by the members of the congregation in London, yet "Society members" might be added, if approved by a majority of the London members, after being well recommended by the labourers of the district to which they belonged. The articles were settled on the 31st, and, on the 10th of June, the married brethren had a special meeting, when they were made acquainted with the plan and rules of this Brotherly Association, into which any brother might enter for the benefit of his wife, in case she should become a widow; and it was hoped that if it became general in all England and Ireland, it would have a very good effect.

In the course of the year Hutton was active in the service of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, of which his name stands first on the committee. In May he fulfilled the task assigned to him of rendering a satisfactory answer to the "Missions' deputation" abroad, respecting the Labrador Mission. In September, he addressed Mr. Stephens (of the Admiralty Office), praying him to give orders for the protection of the brethren on board the "Jersey Packet" against impressment into the King's ships. In December he had the pleasure of uniting in a resolution, on the remonstrance of a sister, to permit the personal presence of sisters at council meetings; for, although they had been made honorary members, they had not hitherto been allowed to attend.

On the 29th of September, he addressed the following letter to Br. Spangenberg:—

"Sept. 29th, 1770.

"DEARLY BELOVED BR. SPANGENBERG,

"Our Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel is always glad to hear something from you. The oldest members recollect you from the very beginning of the Society, and how you have always, from that very time for-

ward, up to the present day, encouraged us onward in our labours. We see that you continue to take an interest in us, not only by wishing us every blessing in your prayers, but by endeavouring to assist us in our pecuniary resources. Our Society loves you dearly, and hereby assures you of its love, and that in truthful reality. This you well know. We also beg to thank the Unity's Elders' Conference, for their cordial sympathy in our labours, and for the expression of their good wishes in our behalf. You know that our Society consists mainly of persons who have not much to spare. The Lord has given them, through grace, hearts that are alive to His cause. We often feel in our meetings, that it is His delight to be in our midst. This greatly encourages us, and fills us with the confident hope, that He will help us to further the things which are pleasing in his sight, and to perform which, He has appointed us. It is, indeed, a precious thing to serve His name in these days, and to assist on their journey His messengers, who willingly go forth in His cause. There is somewhere a beautiful sentence which might well be applied to our case. "He gives great strength to our little wills." He has blessed us, and caused the small contributions of a few individuals, when put together, to do great things, and more than one could have expected, considering their small incomes. All depends upon His blessing, which He willingly imparts; this we have experienced.

"We accept from His hands what you have sent us from the Court Counsellor Bretschneider. Our Society begs you to return our united thanks to him. It gives me particular pleasure to express our thanks in writing, because I have the pleasure of knowing him personally. Let him know that his name is inserted in our books; into which our Saviour looks, to see who furthers His cause among the heathen. We pray the Lord to let Mr. Bretschneider enjoy a share in His gracious blessings which are vouchsafed to us; we would gladly share them with him. At our last meeting, it was resolved unanimously, to invite him to become an honorary member of our unworthy Society, to whom we would gladly send, from time to time, tidings of our proceedings. This resolution was passed on the 21st of September. Will you have the kindness to inform him of it? You know that all the members of this Society must be elected unanimously by

ballot; that our Society does not wish to interfere with the labours of others; that the ordinary members of the Society are members of the Church of the Brethren; that, besides these, we have honorary members, when we perceive that they desire to see our Saviour's kingdom extended among the heathen, and are willing to assist in this labour of love, in the belief that the Church of the Brethren and her Missionaries, are really effecting something towards this object. And, as none of the members are asked for a fixed sum, but are allowed to give what and how much they themselves feel disposed to contribute, the same rule holds true with the honorary members. We presuppose a heart warm with the cause, before we propose any one for membership, leaving it to the option of every individual, whenever funds are wanted, to contribute either more or less, or even nothing at all; according (as at the time) to his interest in the matter, to his own circumstances, and to his inclination. It is more a Society of faith than of possession.

"The engagements of the Society are to further the Missionaries on their journeys to their posts in heathen lands; to supply them with the necessary food and clothing, if not provided for in any other way; and to shew them little kindnesses, as occasion may serve. Mr. Bretschneider may obtain a lucid and general idea of our Society, by referring to Cranz' History of the Brethren, p. 803 (Engl. edit. 573). The Mission department, which was organized at the last Synods in 1769, has the care of the general expenses for all the Missions. We wish with all our hearts, that the hands of these brethren may be fitted for the extensive service among all the heathen nations to which the Brethren have sent Missionaries. Their sphere of activity is far more comprehensive than ours. We are their little assistants in those portions of the work where we can offer our help. However scantily provided our Missionaries are with the bare necessaries of life, there is much help needed, and frequent opportunities present themselves for offering it, in Tranquebar, Nicobar, Guinea, Cairo, St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Jan, Surinam, and thereabouts; among the Indians beyond Pennsylvania; as also in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, and now again, on the coast of Labrador.

"We are poor, but the Lord is rich amid our poverty. He delights to work with us as long as we adhere to His

cross without boasting. As we poor sinners can stand by His power only in regard to our souls, so it is also with our undertakings in His kingdom. We lean upon Him, and thus, and thus alone, we can do any thing. The general Mission department had so much to care for last year, as to be unable to bear the whole expense of the new Mission to Labrador. They therefore encouraged our Society to take the matter in hand, giving us a very liberal contribution towards it; and we took upon ourselves, in faith, the entire amount of the remaining expenses. Some brethren and sisters in Germany kindly assisted us. And now, our dear Mr. Bretschneider, has sent us fifty dollars, for which we once more beg to return him our best thanks.

"That you may know the reasons why this undertaking is attended with such heavy expenses at its very commencement, let me relate to you the following particulars:—The Esquimaux consist of many different tribes, all of which are very much addicted to steal and murder, more especially, when they meet with Europeans. They are faithless, treacherous, and selfish; always intent upon appropriating whatever pleases them. Nothing but bloodshed and murder has marked their intercourse with Europeans for many years past, except during a kind of armistice, which, by persuasion, our brethren were enabled to obtain in the year 1765, but which, during the absence of the brethren, was soon violated. The English nation, often prevented by the thievish and murderous disposition of the natives from carrying on the fishing expeditions along that coast, is now very anxious to obtain a permanent peace with them, by the assistance of our Missionaries. The King, through the recommendation of the Board of Trade, and of successive Governors of Newfoundland, has granted us, by an order of the Privy Council, a tract of land upon the coast of Labrador, where our Missionaries, to the exclusion of all other Europeans, may establish their settlements among the Esquimaux. There those Esquimaux who, from time to time, may come under the influence of the Gospel, or at least desire to hear it, may settle around the Mission stations, and live at peace, without coming in contact either with other Europeans, or with their savage countrymen. In these settlements they may be weaned from their vicious propensities, and peacefully live together. Last year, our Brethren went among the

Esquimaux again, and negociated with them respecting the land upon which to build settlements. The Esquimaux entreated them to come and live among them, and to preach the Gospel, day by day, continually in the same way as they did then for a week only, almost all the day long. From this, our Brethren concluded that they gladly received the Gospel invitation. We could see that God had opened a door for us, and inclined the hearts of the English nation, as well as the Esquimaux, favourably towards our cause. In His name, therefore, we took the matter in hand. When the subject was publicly announced in our congregations, many voluntarily offered their services to go to Labrador, and to devote their lives and property, and every comfort, to our Saviour's service there. From among these, thirteen persons were chosen, who had thus come forward, and they have just now set sail for their distant station. The nature of this Mission requires some Brethren to be often from home, partly in order to visit the Esquimaux on the numerous scattered islands, and partly for the sake of fishing and hunting, as their means of providing a subsistence. Others have to protect the house against the possible attacks of straggling savages. Others engage in handicraft business, such as boat-building, especially for the Esquimaux, to prevent them from stealing the boats of Europeans; by which, severe conflicts have been often occasioned. For these reasons it became necessary to send thirteen persons, at least for the present, until a peace shall be concluded upon a firm and permanent basis. Besides this, we have found that the living example of the power of the doctrine of Christ, as manifested in a numerous company of Christian believers, often attracts the notice of the heathen, more than the preaching of the Word alone. Men see, whether they will or not, that true Christians are a happy people. This gains their attention, and they begin to inquire, and their ears are prepared to listen; and, when they hear and accept the offered salvation, they again perceive, in the living examples, how they themselves ought to live. It was indispensable for our brethren to take a house with them, already made, so as that it might easily be erected on the spot, without loss of time; for it is as cold, if not colder, in Labrador, than it is in Greenland, the frost continuing longer throughout the coast of the former, than on that of the

latter. For, in addition to the ice which accumulates along the coast of Labrador, that from Greenland is often drifted towards the shores of Labrador, along which our Brethren are obliged to dwell, on account of the fishing, which, among the Esquimaux, is the chief source of earning a livelihood. A house for so many persons, must, of necessity, be large and well built, as a security from the bitter cold. It had also to be furnished with several iron stoves, and the Missionaries required a store of warim clothing, provision for more than twelve months, sundry implements for household and other purposes, and every thing else necessary to the preservation of health and life—and, moreover, a large boat had to be provided. We felt it incumbent upon us to do more for these brethren, inasmuch as they willingly sacrificed their all to serve our Saviour. They are not our members only, but members of Christ, honourable members of Christ; and Christ shall never be suffered to be ill-treated among us, even though we can do no more than, if possible, keep Him, in His servants, warm and healthful.

"Besides having to supply all these things, of which we had to purchase a double portion, lest they should have to encounter dire distress in the event of the vessel, through any untoward circumstance, being unable to reach the coast, the expenses of freight, and the passage of the Missionaries are heavier than ordinary, as the vessel performs her voyage only once a year, and has to be fitted up expressly for the purpose, so as to suit the Missionaries' convenience, and she must continue near that dangerous coast until the house shall be completed, during which time her crew must be maintained; all which adds largely to the cost, however liberal and kind the owners of the vessel may be in their charges.

"The Society has not yet received one half the amount required, but they confidently expect the remainder from the hands of the Lord, to Whom we have directed our eyes in this matter from the very outset; and, because it is His cause, we are still looking for support. Every thing, of necessity, had to be done just as it was done, at the spur of the moment; and the Lord, knowing that our Society is unable, from its own limited resources, to defray such heavy expenses, however willing our hearts are to do it, has already given us largely, through His agents, for which we present Him our thanks, whilst we look on to see how many

more friends He will raise up, who shall take an interest in this noble work, the conversion of these marauders and murderers to Christ, who, loving them, equally shed His precious blood for them, as for us. The reward for the travail of His soul must be gathered in His own good time. The acceptable day for the Esquimaux appears to have arrived; and, surely, all the friends of Jesus, hearing that He has thoughts of peace concerning them, will now come severally forward and say,—'I agree; I also will help.' Three brethren among these Missionaries lived some years in Greenland, and know the language, which is very similar to that of the Esquimaux, whom two of them have already visited twice, and the other, three times. The whole company consists of thirteen persons, all called to the Mission service. Among them are three married pairs, in order that the Esquimaux women, who may come to them, may have the opportunity of speaking with the sisters. One widower brother, and six single brethren. All these now depend upon the Society for their support; and, since the Church of the Brethren is unwilling that her Missionaries should engage in trade; nay, restricts them to the earning of their bread by pursuing their own immediate calling, they will always remain to be cared for by the Society and the Missions' department, who will feel bound to provide their necessary means of subsistence.

"In order to guard against all collision between ill-disposed strangers and the brethren, and the Esquimaux, the owners of the ship employ a person at their own expense, who is a brother, to attend to all the trading with such Esquimaux as may settle near the brethren. Should any profits arise from this trade, they will be applied in liquidation of the expenses connected with the vessel, which is stated to sail year by year to Labrador, on whose coast no other ships ordinarily visit. This trade will be carried on quite independently of the Mission, and solely on account of the shipowners.

"Here I have written you a variety of particulars, which I beg you will kindly forward to Mr. Bretschneider, with my best compliments. I am his and yours,

"JAMES HUTTON."

On new year's day, 1771, Hutton, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, held the first public meeting in the chapel, and on the 6th, he kept the children's meeting, expounding to them the history of this day's festival; and then he spoke, with spirit and life, on the real work of grace in the heart. In the last meeting of the day, he delivered a congregation-like discourse, from the Watch-word; and then, kneeling down, concluded with prayer. On the 13th, after the general meeting, Hutton, who had kept the children's meeting, discoursed on the Watch-word, concerning the effect which the Gospel had on the hearts of the heathen, and concluded with a hearty prayer for those missionary settlements, wherein the work of our dear Lord was being carried on. He kept a very affectionate children's meeting on the 27th.

Hutton appears to have presided at various meetings throughout the year; especially towards the end of it, for instance, "On the 6th of October, Br. Hutton gave to the intercessors, a right hearty discourse on the Watch-word, and united in the tender wishes of the congregation, on occasion of its being the birth-day of Br. Traneker. On the 13th, he kept a blessed children's meeting, and in the last meeting of the day (Sunday), spoke with life and kindness on the Watch-word, and then prayed. On the 3rd and 10th of November, Br. Hutton kept the children's meetings, and throughout the month of December; at one time delivering an emphatic discourse; at another, speaking to them in a blessed evangelical manner, with the seriousness and earnestness peculiar to himself."

At the meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, on the 15th of January, for the election of officers and servants for the ensuing year, it was deemed proper to have a proponent for the Committee and Society, and Hutton was unanimously chosen for that purpose.

On the 12th of March, he and Br. Hurlock were deputed to apply to the Master of the Ordnance, General Conway, for the arms and ammunition granted the Brethren for the defence of the Labrador mission.

On going to the Tower, for this purpose, Hutton, being required to sign a paper, undertaking to return the arms when required, and in as good condition as when received, exhibited his characteristic scrupulosity, by declining the condition; saying, that what the Brethren promised, they

intended to perform, that the arms had been offered them unasked, and were regarded as a gift from the King, and not to be considered as a trust subject to future responsibility. The matter was therefore referred back to General Conway.

On the same day, it was agreed to print for the benefit of the Society, three thousand copies of Br. La Trobe's letter, concerning the Heathen missions all over the world. An excellent tract of thirty-six pages, entitled "A succinct View of the Missions established among the Heathen, by the Church of the Brethren, or Unitas Fratrum, in a letter to a friend. London, 1771: 8vo., price 6*d*." It is dated 26th Nov., 1770, and has the name of its author, Benjamin La Trobe, at the end.

April 4th, at a remarkable meeting of the Society, on Hutton putting the question, it was resolved, with a charming spirit of willingness and holy zeal, that the Society take upon itself the fitting out, and the voyage, of the brethren and sisters going to Labrador, and furnish them with provisions for one year.

June 4th, Hutton, having drawn up a short narrative respecting the Labrador mission, adapted to persons who had no particular acquaintance with the Brethren, shewing also the national advantages that might be derived from the mission to the Esquimaux; and it being approved, each member of the Society was allowed to copy and use it, as occasion might serve. But the copying of it being an inconvenience, it was resolved, on the 24th of September, to print five hundred copies of "Br. Hutton's Narrative, or letter touching the late Mission to Labrador;" he undertaking to revise it.

As in all religious communities, there are generally some who shew their fastidiousness, by looking too microscopically into the conduct of their fellow-members, so it has happened in the church of the Brethren, as the following extracts in regard to dress, will shew: this subject having been a matter of discipline in London, from the beginning of the congregation: "1742, June 9. Mrs. Frognal should be spoken to; she is vain, in hopes of having a great deal of money by the prize her husband has lately taken from the Spaniards; and has bought her very fine clothes." To this a very judicious note is appended. "To dress to the utmost which a person's station allows, is wrong; yet one cannot

preach much about it; if souls feel their hearts, they will soon know how to behave in this matter; the Spirit of the Lord will teach his children in every particular. One should not, however, deceive oneself, and disobey His teachings, and follow reasons fabricated by our own will, instead of His Spirit. Souls, in particular circumstances, can wear fine clothes innocently."

On the 19th of August, 1745, Sr. Hutton has this entry in her diary: "One Baptist minister's wife, Mrs. Ridgway, came to admonish my husband for putting that paragraph into the 'Daily Advertizer,' concerning Mr. Wesley. She found fault too with our sisters, for going too fine in clothes; while she herself had frang (fringe) on her mantel, and long ruffles."

In the same year, October 1st, "We (the labourers) spoke something of the sisters' dress, in particular of their velvet cloaks." "There has been offence given by some sisters wearing velvet cloaks, which we think is above their quality, and not becoming; and there is an increase of their finery which we like not, and it is grown to a fault, and if any brother or sister has something to spare, such might employ it better than to make themselves look ridiculous."

On the 25th of March, 1746, at the helpers' conference, it was particularly observed, "that modest apparel and dress, were becoming in every child of God to observe, and that the custom of the world in this respect, was quite unbecoming a member of the Saviour's congregation."

The improper manner of dressing, which had been the subject of "hearty representation in the present year, 1771, not having had the derived effect, there being sisters who did not dress in the plainness and simplicity which the world expects of us; Br. Traneker was desired to speak in a tender and hearty manner with sister Hutton, among others." What effect this produced does not appear, except from the following entry, on the 4th of November, which indicates that for some reason or other, it was justifiable: "A letter from Br. Hutton, apologizing for the uncongregation-like fashion of his wife's gown, was read."

On the 17th of December, Hutton presented the abstract of the last Labrador journal to Lord Hillsborough.

Under date of Saturday, 21st of December, this year, Mr. John Wesley, in his journal, notes: "I met an old friend, James Hutton, whom I had not seen for five-and-twenty

years. I felt this made no difference: my heart was quite open; his seemed to be the same, and we conversed just as we did in 1738, when we met in Fetter Lane."

Hutton, during the year 1772, is occasionally mentioned as presiding at the various meetings of the congregation, but especially those of the children, for which he appears to have been peculiarly gifted. On the 12th of January, he spoke to them with life and earnestness; on the 1st of March, he kept with them an emphatic meeting; on the 29th, he gave them a lively and affecting address from the text of the day. To the adult brethren and sisters, at one time, having discoursed on the word of the day with energy and blessing; at another, with spirit and life; at another, he kept a wholesome address; at another he delivered a right hearty and gracious discourse; and these meetings he concluded with ardent heartfelt prayer and singing.

With reference to his connection with the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; on the 13th of January, at its first meeting in the year, he was continued its Chairman; it so falling out, at the election of officers, that, although each member of the Society gave in his written vote, the whole were re-chosen, which gave them "a childlike joy."

In the month of February, a paper, containing four octavo pages, was printed for circulation, entitled, "Concerning Labrador, Feb. 1772." It is an interesting account of the origin of the Mission.*

In April, he was appointed to prepare the annual letter to the brethren and sisters at Nain. At the meeting of the 5th of May, he related, that at a recent interview he had had with Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, he learned, that Mr. Walsh, M.P. for Worcester, had mentioned, that he thought the Hudson's Bay Company would not object to the Brethren visiting the Indians in Hudson's Bay, and had actually procured Hutton a cordial reception from Samuel Wagg, Esq., Chairman of that Company; who, on hearing that the Missionaries of the Brethren did not meddle with trade, gave it as his opinion, that Missionaries being sent there, would not be looked upon with an unfavourable eye.

* A copy of it is in MS. Correspondence of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, vol. ii. pp. 650-653.

Dr. Franklin also wished the Brethren would go to New Holland, and Dr. Solander spoke in favour of a mission to New Zealand; and these suggestions appear to have been considered. But, as the intercourse was so very precarious, it did not seem prudent to expose the Brethren's Missionaries, even if they could get there, to be cut off from all communication with the Brethren in Europe, and elsewhere.

Sabbath desecration became this year so prevalent, as to call forth the serious consideration of the London congregation; and as the German brethren of our own day, as they did then, not only do not observe the day themselves, but actually stand up in defence of its non-observance; the reader is referred back to page 75, where the extracts given at least shew how our precursors viewed the subject. There can be no more effectual way to advance the pretensions of "the man of sin," whose aim always is to "demoralize and conquer," than a desecration of the Sabbath; and it is remarkable that the advocates for Communism, and the sleek, smooth-faced abettors of Priestly tyranny; both emanating from the same unholy Conclave; are one in advocating "Sunday sports," under the specious pretext of philanthropy.

On the 7th of November, Hutton being at Bath, and unable to be present on the anniversary of the London congregation, sent a letter to the Minister, enclosing some rhymes he had composed for the occasion, of which the following are copies.

"Bath, Nov. 7, 1772.

"To Br. Traneker,

"As I cannot be present with our dear London Congation, on November 10th, I here send a few hearty lines for them in my stead, which you will be so kind as to communicate, with my best love. I would have sent them in the frank, but as it is directed for Chelsea, it might possibly not reach Chelsea until Tuesday morning, when every body will be absent from Lindsey House.

"I have made very valuable and amiable acquaintance again this time at Bath; and have received as much love from those I formerly made as my very heart could desire. I think of starting next Monday or Tuesday for Bristol, and of passing the 13th of November there. I am not deter-

mined about staying over Sunday at Bath. The waters are still so out at Titherton, that there is no getting to it.

"Sr. Edwin is but poorly; the rest are all well. I often think of you, and always with tenderness. Pray give my kind love to all your family; your wife and children, the Wests, Brockdorf and Sulger; also Srs. Holland, Edmonds, &c. Hock has been here, but I would not venture to send letters by him. He intended to be in London on the 6th. The hand of God is on his body, I believe; perhaps to do his soul good. I shall send a frank for Bristol, at all events, in the one that goes to Chelsea. I am your loving

"At Mrs. Eliot's, Gay Street, Bath." "JEMMY."

"If you have any thing to write to me by next Tuesday's or Thursday's post,* it will find me at Bristol; by Saturday's post, at Bath."

For November 10th, 1772, Anniversary of the London Congregation.

The nature of the flock of God,
As I conceive it, is;
That all, howe'er dispers'd abroad,
Are solely one in this:

That nothing them can separate,
Nor any thing divide;
One hope, one comfort, and one fate,
Do each and all betide.

I, though at Bath, now take my share,
As though I were in town;
In my lov'd London's joy and care,
Amidst His church—His own.

Myself, as present with you all,
In spirit looks around;
On every one who has our call,
And in our home is found.

My heart, poor, weak, and full of wants,
Joins each with blushing face;
Who weeps for Christ, and for Him pants—
With these I take my place—

* We see from this, that the postage of letters at this time, to so important a city as Bath, seems to have been only thrice a week, at present it is twice each day.

Knowing wherein I am to blame,
I feel that blame full well;
Experiencing the sinner-shame,
In which I live and dwell.

Our Watch-word is a solemn one,
'He, holy!' we, so 'vile;'
This bends us low before His throne,
Who cheers us with His smile;

For, His heart's love, and death so kind,
Which has aton'd for all;
These yield love's feeling to the mind,
Which, Faith we rightly call.

This our fix'd Point has ever been,
And ever will be mine.
Oh! may we ev'ry hour be seen
Around those wounds to twine,

Which have redeem'd us from the grave,
From sin and endless death;
His blood, so powerful to save,
We'll laud with ev'ry breath.

Oh, Thou! whose love's beyond compare,
Be Thou our souls' desire;
Oh make our people every where
Before Thee as one fire!

That round Thy corpse a thankful blaze
Might burn both day and night;
A flame of love, a flame of praise,
Unquenchable and bright.

Oh deign, dear Lamb, to walk among
Thy thankful hearts, though poor!
Oh smile on each day's humble song,
And be our churches Door.

So sings your poor Brother,
JAMES HUTTON.

During the whole of the year 1773 there is but one single mention of Hutton in the diaries of the congregation, which is on the 30th of May, and records that he held the children "a pretty meeting." There is, also, a lack of minutes of the proceedings of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel from the 5th of May, 1772, to the 5th of February, 1776. Yet the correspondence shews that he was actively engaged in promoting its interest.

Not a single entry is to be found respecting Hutton, throughout this year (1774), except in connection with the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel; before which, on the 14th of March, was laid an Order in Council for a further grant from Government, of two hundred thousand acres of land, north and south of Nain, in Labrador, for two new missionary establishments there.

On the 17th of January, he laid the following letter before the Society, resigning his seat as chairman, on account of his deafness:—

"Dear Brethren of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

"To-morrow you are to choose new officers of the Society; Chairman, Committee, Treasurer, Secretary, and Servants.

"My deafness makes it so unsightly for me to be Chairman, and something, therefore, so improper; that I recommend it to you, for the sake of the Society, and of the office itself, that you choose a Chairman who can look like a Chairman, and not like such a lame kind of a being as your much obliged, and so very affectionate brother and fellow-member,

"Sunday, January 16th, 1774." "JAS. HUTTON."

On the 25th of April, the Committee dined at Lindsey House, with Governor Shuldham, and Captain Arbuthnot, who were both very hearty; and the former in particular expressed his regard towards the mission at Labrador, and would assist therein to the utmost of his ability and power.

On the 1st of July, as Secretary of the Unity, he addressed the following to a noble Lord not named, but most likely the Secretary of State for the American colonies:—

"The underwritten, in behalf of the Unitas Fratrum, and their missions on the Ohio, among the North American Indians, and on the coast of Labrador, humbly begs, that your Lordship would be pleased to give such instructions to Governor Carleton, respecting those several missions, as shall secure to them the free possession and enjoyment of their establishments, and prevent their being disturbed and interrupted in their laudable undertakings, by any misconception of the savages, or white people, resorting to those parts, with regard to their intentions, or the authority under which they have made such establishments; and that the

Governor be directed to issue proper proclamations, and to disperse them throughout his Government, giving notice to the inhabitants, that his Majesty is graciously pleased to give his Royal protection and encouragement to the Missionaries, and forbidding all persons to molest or interrupt them."

"JAMES HUTTON,
"Lindsey House, July 1st, 1774." Sec. Unit. Fratr.

October 31st, a letter from Captain Mugford, dated September 10th, stated that the ship of the Brethren was at the Island of Bulls, and that the schooner had proceeded to Labrador.

On Saturday the 3rd of December, arrived the ship "Amity," safe from Nain, in Labrador, where all was well.

This year a brief account of the Labrador mission was published.

A General Synod of the Church of the Brethren having been announced, Hutton was commissioned by the Provincial Helpers to attend to the affairs of the Province; and, therefore, during the absence at the Synod of the Provincial Helpers he attended the Elders' Conference in London every Tuesday and Friday.

During his temporary fulfilment of the office of Provincial Helper, he communicated from time to time the most interesting portions of his correspondence, both at home and abroad, and also took share in the public services at Fetter Lane, rendered necessary by "the departure of Br. Peter Böhler, the first witness of the renewed Church of the Brethren to this nation, bringing to it the good tidings of salvation. This dear and venerable brother, early on the morning of Thursday, the 27th of April, 1775, went happily over into the arms of our Saviour. The Elders' Conference, and several other brethren and sisters attended him during the night. Br. LaTrobe blessed him for his departure, with the blessing of the Church; and at several intervals during the night, and in his last moments, many sweet verses were sung, during which, a very sensible feeling of the nearness of our Lord was experienced. His end was peace." The account of his funeral is thus recorded:

"May 1st, Monday. This afternoon, at five o'clock, being the time appointed for the interment of the remains of our dear Br. Petrus, the congregation, the Society, many

friends and strangers, assembled in Sharon's Hall. First, Br. LaTrobe began singing several verses out of the hymn,

Christ, my Rock, my sure Defence, &c.

He then, with the whole congregation, stood and prayed. He took for his text, the Text for the last day in this year, which would have been the next birth-day of our late brother. "Be ye ready, for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not," Luke xii. 40. He held an important, penetrating and extensive discourse, on this very solemn occasion; he spoke of our being ready to meet the Lord, when He shall be pleased to call any of us out of this dying life; related some precious circumstances relative to our dear brother's departure; as also concerning his many years' faithful service in his Lord's work, and took particular notice of his being the first Gospel messenger of the renewed Church of the Brethren in this nation, in the present period of grace. Part of the Burial Liturgy was prayed in the Hall, till we came to those words, "I am the Resurrection and the Life," when we went into the burying ground, and surrounded the two southern quarters. He then proceeded in the Burial service, during which, the venerable remains of our brother were deposited in their resting place, with a solemn feeling. There were computed to be above seven hundred persons present."

On the 23rd of June, we are surprised by an entry in the minutes of the London Congregation, stating that "the Elders' Conference were rejoiced to hear a letter from our dear Br. Hutton, who had had the honour of seeing the King, who kindly condescended to shew him his sons yesterday;"* and on the 12th of September, "Br. Hutton rejoiced us with

* It was probably on this occasion, that the circumstance, which gave rise to the following anecdote, took place: "One day, when Hutton was conversing with the King, the latter directed his attention to the young Prince of Wales, (afterwards King George IV.) who happened to be present. After stroking his son for some time, with a father's joy and pride, the King turned to Hutton and said, 'Is he not a fine boy?' Hutton made no reply. The King, ascribing this silence to his deafness, repeated the question in a louder tone of voice. Hutton still observed the strictest silence. A few minutes after, the Prince left the apartment; when Hutton, addressing the King, said: 'Your Majesty probably thought that I did not hear the questions you were pleased to ask me. I understood them perfectly. Nor was it from any want of respect or courtesy that I abstained from making a reply; but, it is a firm principle of mine, *never to praise a child in its presence.*"—FRATERNAL MESSENGER, vol. iii. where at pages 38, 58, 81, is an interesting, though short and imperfect, sketch of the life of Hutton.

a pleasing account of his attendance at Kew, last Friday, the 8th." How he became introduced to his Majesty does not appear; but that he continued to visit the palace, is evident from circumstances which will afterwards be narrated. From the latter entry it should seem that his "attendance," was in consequence of some function he had to fulfil, but no trace whatever has appeared of his having been appointed to any office.

On the 14th of September, some of the brethren and sisters visited Hutton, and rejoiced with him, on occasion of his birth-day.

On the 8th of October, he presided at the intercessors' meeting, and among other things mentioned with emphasis, "that the sprinkling of the blood of our Saviour, made us priests of his." After speaking of several matters for the remembrance of the company of intercessors, he concluded with a pathetic prayer.

November the 10th, he discoursed "concerning our especially happy call, to be a congregation of our dear Saviour; and then was sung a very blessed hymn, composed by him for this day's congregation."

On the 13th, Hutton began this memorial day's meeting with praying, "Incline Thine heart to us, Lord Jesus Christ; command that this be a holy and peaceful day." Soon after, the love-feast began, during which he read out of the History of the Brethren, the circumstances relative to this day, and then spoke with a lively heart's emotion, of what our Lord had since done for his house and people. A fine ode, composed by him, was intermixed with choruses.

December the 1st, he gave the brethren pleasure, in relating an agreeable interview and conversation he had had with Prince Orlow,* respecting Sarepta; the consequence of which, it was hoped, would be important and beneficial.

On Christmas eve, a hymn, composed by Hutton, was sung during the services in Fetter Lane Chapel.†

Agreeably to the conclusions of the last Synod, held at Barby, Hutton and his wife, being members of the Helpers'

* Perhaps Orloff. Sarepta is a Settlement of the Brethren, near the banks of the Wolga.

†A selection from the Hymns composed by Hutton, will be found in the Appendix, No. IV.

conference, were thereby constituted members of all other conferences, which gave them opportunities of meeting the brethren and sisters, when health and circumstances permitted, without their formal election; and of this privilege they were not backward to avail themselves.

About the beginning of this year, the Government, having a desire to prosecute a voyage for the discovery of a North-west passage, Sir Hugh Palliser applied to Hutton on the subject, and the latter wrote, on the 1st of February, to the Unity's Elders' Conference the following letter, which is exceedingly interesting, as shewing the views which were then entertained regarding the mode of carrying out an inquiry, the answer to which has been successfully made in our own time, by the gallant M'Clure.

To Br. Loretz, Barby.

"1st February, 1776.

"DEARLY BELOVED BR.

"Last week Sir Hugh Palliser purposing to visit me, I prevented him, by going to see him. He told me that he had wished to speak to me. The Government want two brethren for the King's ships, who can understand the Greenlandish or Esquimaux language. It is believed that information might possibly be obtained from the Esquimaux, who live scattered along the northern coasts, respecting a *north-west* passage. For it is supposed, if such a passage can be found, and the land proves to be a number of islands, that their inhabitants will be the Esquimaux race. This is the more probable, because the Esquimaux inhabit all the coast round about Hudson's Bay. I told him that I knew of no brother in England, who understood the language. 'Perhaps,' said Sir Hugh, 'you have one in Germany?' I replied, 'I cannot just now remember; possibly there may be one; but, whether he may be disposed to join such an expedition, I cannot tell. There is no *impressment* among us. Every undertaking must present itself to the mind of those who venture upon it as a possible thing, and this is not an enterprise exactly of the nature of those in which we generally engage.' He remarked, 'It will give you an opportunity of conversing with savages, whom, otherwise, you would never see.' We were just getting into this matter; when, being called away, he had to leave me. On going out, he said, 'I will soon let you know more about it.'

"The day before yesterday, I received the following letter from him: 'Dear Sir, I intended to call upon you this morning, but have been prevented by other business; to tell you, that if you could procure one or two of your brethren who understood the Greenland or Esquimaux language, to go a voyage in one of the King's ships, it would be exceedingly well taken; and could not fail of being productive of advantages to your Society. Should there be none such in England, could you procure any from Germany by the month of May next? I am, dear Sir, yours most truly,

'HUGH PALLISER.'

'January 28th, 1776.'

"I wrote in reply to the following purpose:—'I shall make inquiries, and tell the Brethren of your proposal, under the supposition however, that if any one of us were on board, he would have to tell the heathen of our Saviour's loveliness, and of everything appertaining to the salvation of their souls; as he would see many savages, who otherwise would never hear the Gospel; for to preach the Gospel, is the proper and sole object of our mission to the heathen. If any brother should be found eligible to join such an expedition, we should leave it to his free will, either to go or not; for we never enforce the command, "Go there, Sir, and do your duty." Our people are all volunteers. If I were younger, and knew the language, I should like to go myself, and preach the Gospel to savage heathen. I will make inquiries in Germany. 'J. H.'

"I was my own postman, and found him at home. When he had read the letter, he repeated:—'It may be an opportunity for your Brethren to become acquainted with many heathen, which is exactly your object.' I had written to him also, that in case we could send two brethren, they ought never to be separated during the voyage. It appears to be the idea, not to send out two, but only one ship. I told Sir Hugh, that in case we should find a German brother, understanding the Esquimaux language, the ship ought to be provided with an interpreter, fully capable of telling the Captain in English, what our brother might report in German. I informed him I had only two persons in view for this service, but could not see how they might be spared from their posts; where, especially at this time, their labours could not well be dispensed with. The voyage will

commence in May; and if we have any one willing to adventure on it, he ought to be here in April; and a brother should attend him as his travelling companion. Palliser said, "we ought not to trouble ourselves as to the direction the voyage would take, whether it should be through Hudson's Bay, or along the Greenland coast; and, that we must keep the affair to ourselves. The Greenlandish, would do quite as well as the Esquimaux language. I know, that if this application could be complied with, it would be very pleasurable to the King, who is much interested in the matter;"—or words to this effect.

"The conclusion of the matter was this:—I said I would write to Germany, and represent the thing as it appeared to me; namely, as an opportunity for conveying the Gospel to those regions; for this is the view I take of it. Not believing in the possibility of discovering a north-west passage, I called it *an impracticable whim;* but, to preach the Gospel to the Heathen in those northern regions, would certainly be well worthy of attention. And so it is, dear brethren. A brother goes among them, asks them to tell him, from the traditions of their forefathers, of their having come from the far far west, at the same time he speaks to them of the blessed Gospel, perhaps for some evenings or whole nights; proceeding step by step; and thus, throughout the whole nation, excites an inquisitiveness, which being properly made use of, under prayer to God, a reciprocal acquaintance ensues; and in God's own time, blessed results follow. As, for the last six years, we have besought the Lord to give us greater entrance among the Esquimaux; we may, not unreasonably, conclude this to be an answer to our prayers. My advice is, that you seize the opportunity. Is there no Beck, or any other among you, who understands the language, and will venture to go? and no other dear heart ready to accompany him? They ought to be here in May. If they were here, Lister and John Schneider would be most suitable persons; or Lister and some faithful heart; but they are not here. I have thus written to you; and commend this affair to the Lord, Amen! I have told Miss Kromm of the offer which Palliser has made me. Enough of this; and, as to the rest, I salute you most tenderly, as your

"JEMMY."

"April 16th, 1776.

"DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN OF THE
UNITY'S ELDERS' CONFERENCE,

"Your answer to my last letter regarding the brethren, who might assist with their knowledge of the Greenlandish language, in the search for a North-west passage, is probably on its way to England, and your resolution taken as to whether or not you will send the proposal of the Government to Greenland or Labrador, and leave the brethren in either mission to volunteer their services. About a week ago, walking in the park, I met Lord Sandwich, the first Lord of the Admiralty. I saluted him in passing; but, he addressed me, and inquired if I had heard from Germany, and whether any of our people would go this year with Captain Cook? I told his Lordship, that at present there was but one brother in Germany acquainted with the Greenlandish language, and that he was holding an office, from which he could not well be disengaged; besides which, he was not suitable to engage in such a proposed voyage. I added, that it would grieve me exceedingly, which it certainly would, should no one be found. The invitation proceeds from the Government, and not from Palliser only. An opportunity is presented, which will cost us nothing, and ought to be thankfully accepted, for reaching the hitherto unvisited Esquimaux, and of becoming acquainted with tribes to which we could not possibly have access in any other way; an opening vastly more important to us, than the discovery of a North-west Passage.

"The affair should be left to the unfettered will of the Brethren in Greenland and Labrador; yet they ought to be told, that by the means proposed, probably new tribes of heathen might be awakened to a desire after the Saviour, and at the same time, in the event of new discoveries, a way might be laid open for future missionary operations. When I take into consideration, that, Government authorities ask of us, what we ought to solicit at their hands, and even express themselves as under an obligation to us, if we assist them, I cannot remember in all my life to have heard of a proposal that appears to me more worthy of our regard. As it respects risk, this voyage is likely to be attended with not a tithe of the danger connected with a three weeks residence in Abyssinia, or three months on the coast of Guinea; or even with

as much peril as some of our voyages to Labrador. It may be the whole is from the Lord, though I cannot say so certainly. If we decline, the Government will assuredly obtain assistance from the Europeans living to the south of Labrador, and thus the opportunity will be taken from us. I can, with difficulty, comprehend how it is, that you have paid so little attention to this matter, as not even to ask a preliminary question from the Head of the Church, whether it be His will that the subject be taken up. But, I trust that all this will have been, before now, determined in your conferences; how, I cannot tell; but must leave all to its regular course. Should your answer be negative, I shall inform Lord Sandwich and Palliser of your decision, and at the same time tell them, they may probably find some one among Mr. Cartwright's people, in the south of Labrador. I have heard that the Captain who is to go out next year in search of a North-west passage, is a very excellent man.

"You may remember that the people at Avertok were much troubled respecting a hundred persons of their nation, who, two years ago, went to the south, and were never heard of afterwards. I have ascertained that these people did not experience any ill-treatment from the Europeans; but, that a few days after their departure homeward, a terrific storm arose, in which, possibly, they all perished. There are some Esquimaux with Cartwright, who can bear witness, that their countrymen received no wrong in the south. A Mr. Pinson, at Dartmouth, has an Esquimaux boy with him, who can testify the same, respecting the people from Avertok, which I am thankful to be able to mention to our brethren in Labrador. The contrary would have been most distressing.

"About the same time that this letter will reach you, we shall, probably, be in our new quarters; that is, towards the 1st of May. They are near to the Elephant (Pimlico), about two minutes walk from the Palace; and more than two miles nearer to Fetter Lane. We commend ourselves to you in this respect, Amen!

"I am, with love to you all,

"Your poor JEMMY."

Whether anything, and what, resulted from this letter does not appear. An expedition was sent out, under Cook, the celebrated circumnavigator, who explored the western coast

of America, to a high northern latitude, but found it impracticable to effect a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic ocean in that direction.*

Hutton was continued Deputy-Chairman of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, under Br. B. LaTrobe.

The month of February of this year was made remarkable on account of some differences of opinion respecting the "Brotherly Agreement," or Statutes, which had been agreed upon at the Synod of the last year, and were now translated and printed for the members of the congregation in London. The extracts following comprise all that appears on record of this matter:—

On the 11th, Br. LaTrobe read the remainder of the "Brotherly Agreement," which he had begun to read on the 4th, "whereto Br. Barham read his sentiments, which he brought with him in writing; but this last was attended with a very painful feeling. Br. LaTrobe having given a proper answer thereto, the meeting was ended."

On the 22nd the congregation council met, and a long discussion took place relating to the "Brotherly Agreement," but nothing was settled, a misunderstanding prevailing in some minds concerning the matter.

On the 29th, in the evening, the congregation council again assembled. It was intended to have read the "Statutes" once more to them, but so few were present, in comparison to the whole, that it was not done. Some interesting conversation, however, ensued on the subject.

"This month has been a time wherein, through misapprehensions, sundry of our people have caused us much heaviness of heart; but our confidence is in our dear Lord, who in this His affair has helped; and we trust, that He will bring good out of it."

"March 3rd, Sunday, at half-past two, the communicants met in the chapel, where Br. La Trobe read the greater part of the 'Brotherly Agreement,' and then some letters from sundry brethren relative thereto, Br. Traneker and Br. LaTrobe spoke heartily then to the congregation, and we

* From the Introduction to the Voyage of Captain Cook, p. xxxiii., it appears that the only assistance afforded him in this direction was a vocabulary of the Esquimaux language; which, however, in consequence of the death of the officer who might have used it, does not appear to have been available.

concluded with the renewal of the covenant of peace: a tender feeling was perceptible in the meeting. On the 7th, the congregation met in the Hall, when the remainder of the 'Brotherly Agreement' was read, discoursed on, and some alterations made therein; after which Br. LaTrobe spoke heartily to the present company."

"On Sunday, the 10th, at three o'clock, the communicants met in the chapel. First, Br. LaTrobe inquired if the latter part of the 'Brotherly Agreement,' which had undergone some few alterations, should be read again; which, not being to be done, he then discoursed heartily on the same, and put it to the vote, if the Brotherly rules, as they now stood, were agreed on by the communicant congregation? which was declared by the holding up of hands by a very great majority, yea, almost unanimously."

"March 31st. This has been a month wherein sundry circumstances have occurred. We must own that our dear Lord has not disregarded, much less neglected, His poor London flock; but has been very near, and helping, by His soft and gentle leading, many into the right track and road."

"May 1st. Br. LaTrobe made an anointed introduction to the new Helpers' Conference, and read out of the 'Brotherly Agreement' what related to them. And on the 2nd he acquainted the communicants that the 'Brotherly Agreement' was now printed, and would be delivered to them in the several choirs."

In the memorabilia for the year is the following:—

"Conformable to the synodal conclusions, the Brotherly Agreement, or Statutes of this city congregation, was solemnly agreed to, and received by this congregation in March, and printed copies were given into the hands of every member, which has proved equally edifying and instructive to many."—Diary, vol. xxi. p. 1.

It appears that Br. Barham was the cause of this unhappy difference, and that he after a while became sensible of the impropriety of his conduct, which he confessed in a letter to Bp. Spangenberg, as will be seen in a subsequent page.

On Saturday, the 6th of July, Mr. Wesley, in his journal, says, "I went on to Epworth, and found my old friend, Mr. Hutton, in the deepest melancholy. I judged it to be partly natural, partly diabolical; but I doubt not he will be saved, though as by fire." Unhappily, we have no means of ascer-

taining whether the above was our brother James Hutton or not, there being no diary minutes of the time. How Hutton could be found at Epworth, is quite a mystery. Whoever it might be, however, one thing is certain, that in Mr. Wesley's record it would have been very gratifying to trace a little more of that charity which "never faileth."

That Hutton, at this time, was publicly known as a frequenter of the Royal Palace, is apparent from the following *jeu d'esprit*, by Mr. George Steevens, the celebrated commentator on the works of Shakspeare. It appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*, on the 17th of December of this year:

"Q ——'s Palace.

"Sir,—Politicians from this place inform us that a new favourite has lately engrossed the K——'s attention, who bids fair to supplant Pinchy and the facetious Grimaldi in the Royal favours. It is no less a person than the old deaf Moravian, James Hutton, who was formerly a bookseller, and lived near Temple Bar, famous for his refusal to sell Tom Brown's works, and Clarke on the Trinity. A certain lady, who called at his shop for this book, was induced by curiosity to know the bookseller's reasons for his refusal; but whether he made a convert of the lady, or the lady of him, History is silent. Since that time he has travelled all over Germany and Switzerland, to spread the Moravian doctrine, and make proselytes to Count Zinzendorf's creed. Whether his Majesty intend to raise Moravian regiments, by Hutton's means among the faithful, to propagate the ministerial doctrine of unconditional submission in America, I know not: but this I am sure of, that a conversation between the King and Hutton must be exceedingly entertaining. Hutton is so deaf, that a speaking trumpet will scarce make him hear; and the King talks so fast, that an ordinary converser cannot possibly keep pace with him. Hutton's asthma makes him subject to frequent pauses and interruptions; so that two interpreters will be necessary to explain matters between the King and his new Favourite. I hope Hutton and the Scotch Junto are upon good terms, else he will soon be obliged to discontinue his visits at Buckingham House. After all, Hutton is an honest, humane, and sensible man, and worthy a king's regard; and however bigoted he was formerly, and averse to selling the

works of Samuel Clarke, I am told one of his favourite authors at present, is honest Laurence Sterne, author of Tristram Shandy. "CURRENT REPORT."*

At the first meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in 1777, Hutton was re-chosen deputy to Br. LaTrobe, who was confirmed in his office as chairman.

The unfortunate rupture with America, having involved the safety of the Labrador vessel, Hutton was requested to prepare a letter for Captain Mugford, in the event of the ship being captured by the Americans, to shew her destination, and the nature of her cargo, and also setting forth the hardships which the missionaries would sustain, should the vessel be prevented from arriving at her destined port.

Among the few notices this year concerning Hutton and his wife, we find that on the 4th of April, most of the labourers went to Pimlico to salute Sr. Hutton on her sixty-ninth birth-day.

The following letter will be read with interest, not so much as a further evidence of Hutton's familiar intercourse with the Royal Family, but as giving some information concerning the death of Dr. William Dodd, of unhappy memory, who was executed for forgery at Tyburn, on the 22nd of June. Br. Benjamin LaTrobe, by his assiduous attentions to the unhappy criminal, was the means of imparting consolation to him. The letter also contains information which is, probably, no where else recorded.

"London, 1st July, 1777.

"DEAREST BR. LORETZ, Barby,

"I herewith send you a very short account of my visits to, and the death of Dr. Dodd; and yet it has, as most of my things do, turned out much longer than I intended. However, you and the Brethren will see that my attendance upon him, has been blessed by our Saviour. My attention to him was almost too much for me. It seized upon my mind, and I actually lost strength and grew thin; but on the day of his death I became easy. The Ordinary of Newgate (Mr. Villette), a good-natured, superficial man, has behaved very kindly and thankfully to me. He has begged my assistance

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* Nicholls's Literary Anecdotes, vol. iii. p. 437.

to draw up an account of Dr. Dodd's behaviour in prison, and to his end. I have been employed with him on this work, and have given way to him in some respects, that he might give way to me in others. If he make no alteration in it, but leave it as we finished it yesterday, it may be useful. I expect it will be out in a few days, when I will send you a couple of copies. On the morning of his death I wrote a short and fervent account of his happiness to Hutton, who went the next day to Kew; shewed it to the King and Queen, who were struck and pleased; and shewed it also to the Bishop of Lichfield and others; and preached upon it. This affair has made me more public, though I have absolutely protested against my name being inserted in the Ordinary's account, wherein I think he calls me a pious minister, or something of that sort.* Several want to see me, and his (the Dr.'s) friends wish to be acquainted with me. I am persuaded that his death will preach. I have not yet seen his wife, she being immediately taken into the country. Poor woman! she often drew tears in my eyes, and it is thought that she will not live long. She is well provided for by Dr. Dodd's friends, and will not want. His brother, a clergyman of character, could not bear to visit him, and did not see him; but wrote to him daily, and was very active in his affairs. His friends (so called) were mostly such as knew nothing of our Saviour. Lord Chesterfield, his pupil, has drawn upon himself the indignation and contempt of all mankind, and has acted a low and unworthy part in this whole affair. Lord Hillsborough told me, 'Dodd may have been what he would; I shall never love Lord Chesterfield.' You can hardly believe how this affair has affected my mind, and made me often think, how much need he that standeth hath to take heed, lest he fall.

"I send you a letter from Br. Barham, by which you will see that he begins to feel, that he has acted an improper part. He sent it to me open, that I might read it, and then seal and forward it to you. I received it on Friday night last, and on Sunday, was surprised to see him in my room. The occa-

* The 2nd edition of "A genuine Account of the behaviour, &c. of William Dodd, LL.D., verified by the autograph signature of the Ordinary, J. Villette," at p. 10 says, that the Dr. "was frequently visited, at his own request, by a sensible and pious minister; and with this gentleman and the unfortunate doctor, I spent many serious hours."

sion of his and his wife's coming so suddenly to London, was his having heard that his brother-in-law, Colonel Vaughan, who resided at Hampstead, had died suddenly. The Colonel, sitting at the fire with his wife, complained of being cold; prayed his wife to stir the fire, and immediately leaned back in his chair, and died without so much as a struggle. Br. Barham, being executor, was obliged to come up to Hampstead. He drank tea with me on Saturday; but Mr. Villette coming, and staying to tea, we could have no conversation but respecting Dr. Dodd. Br. Barham went to Hampstead, and thence returned to Bedford, so that we have had very little converse. I should be glad to know what effect his letter to Joey (Joseph) may have upon the youth. He would now willingly undo what he has done.

"It is impossible for me to write to-night to Br. Spangenberg, or about other business. I am sorry to hear that Br. Cranz has gone home. Let me entreat you to forward, however, the affair of the History of the Brethren; for now we have an opportunity of publishing it, and it would be good for the nation, if done with the corrections proposed: do not let it be longer delayed. I return thanks for the History of St. Thomas. It is a pity that the plates are poor, very poor.

"I received a letter from Br. Shaukirk, which represents the state of things throughout America to be very deplorable; but he hopes that this will be the last campaign. The Brethren have still the use of their church, and he is respected. When the rector of New York, Mr. Auckmoody, died, he was appointed to be a bearer at the funeral, although all the bearers were clergymen, and numbers of them were there. Many of the churches are closed; and the ministers of the two Dutch, those of the two Dutch-English, the two Presbyterian, the one Pædo-baptist, and one [Scotch] Seceding, being rebels, have left their flocks. Hence it is, as if no religion were left in New York. The communication with Bethlehem is stopped. Br. Gottwalt has written to us from St. Kitts, that the Governor-General has continued his kindness to the Brethren.

"I must close, as it is time to send letters away. My best love to all around you, and to your dear wives; and be assured that I am, in and through our Lord's death, your affectionate brother, "B. LaTrobe."

"September 14th, the congregation sang some verses of blessing for our dear Br. Hutton and Br. Gillray,* it being their birth-day."

On the 16th, Tuesday, being an important memorial day, the Elders' Conference, (which Hutton and his wife came from Pimlico to attend) spent the whole day together very agreeably and happily.

At the beginning of the year 1778, Br. Hutton was continued in the office of Deputy-Chairman of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

On the 25th of January he returned from the continent, where he had been for a few weeks, in the course of which time he had been in communication with Dr. Franklin, at Passy, near Paris, on the subject of the missions of the Brethren in America; and, as appears from the following letters, endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the mother country and her colonies. The correspondence will speak for itself.

"*To Dr. Benj. Franklin.*

"London, January 27th, 1778.

"I got to my own house in seventy-three hours from Paris. I shall never forget your kindness to me, and your kind intentions to serve my Brethren. The sensation I had of the certain miseries of war, that would attend all parties embarked in it, caused my heart almost to break. I always thought it a sad misfortune, that there was such a thing as war upon earth. When I left England, I fancied that you and Mr. Deane could treat about peace. I wished it ardently; but, having no commission, nor any thing to offer, I was sorry to hear nothing on your side, that I could mention, as a ground to treat upon, to such as I fancied could give it weight. I was a loving volunteer, loving both people with no common ardour; a friend of peace, a hater of discord, with horror at all bloodshed, wishing you secure in your liberties, and guarded for ever against all apprehensions. I did, before I set out, and I do now still at this moment, and I think on better grounds, believe that any thing short of absolute Independency would almost be practicable, and could take place. There is such a spirit and

* The father of the celebrated caricaturist.

temper now in the nation, that I cannot think Independency could be successfully proposed. If you and Mr. Deane could give me a hint of any thing practicable, you considering not only your own case but ours, I would venture to try what could be done. I know your handwriting as well as I do your heart. Direct your answer to me, Queen's Row, Pimlico, Westminster, under cover to M. Court de Gebelin, Rue Pompée, Paris, who will put a cover over it; and my friend Mr. Fullerton will, without examination, forward it safe to me in the packet of Lord Stormont."

"*To James Hutton.*

"Passy, 1st February, 1778.

"My dear old Friend,

"You desired, that if I had no proposition to make, I would at least give my advice. I think it is Ariosto who says, that all things lost on earth are to be found in the moon; on which somebody remarked, that there must be a great deal of good advice in the moon. If so, there is a good deal of mine, formerly given and lost in this business. I will, however, at your request, give a little more, but without the least expectation that it will be followed; for none but God can at the same time give good counsel, and wisdom to make use of it.

"You have lost by this mad war, and the barbarity with which it has been carried on, not only the government and commerce of America, and the public revenues and private wealth arising from that commerce; but what is more, you have lost the esteem, respect, friendship, and affection of all that great and growing people, who consider you at present, and whose posterity will consider you, as the worst and wickedest nation upon earth. A peace you may undoubtedly obtain by dropping all your pretensions to govern us; and, by your superior skill in huckstering negociation, you may possibly make such an apparently advantageous bargain, as shall be applauded in your Parliament; but if you cannot, with the peace, recover the affections of that people, it will not be a lasting nor a profitable one, nor will it afford you any part of that strength which you once had by your union with them, and might (if you had been wise enough to take advice) have still retained.

"To recover their respect and affection, you must tread

back the steps you have taken. Instead of honouring and rewarding the American advisers and promoters of this war, you should disgrace them; with all those who have inflamed the nation against America by their malicious writings; and all the ministers and generals who have prosecuted the war with such inhumanity. This would shew a national change of disposition, and a disapprobation of what had passed.

"In proposing terms, you should not only grant such as the necessity of your affairs may evidently oblige you to grant, but such additional ones as may shew your generosity, and thereby demonstrate your good will. For instance, perhaps you might, by your treaty, retain all Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the Floridas. But, if you would have a really friendly, as well as able ally in America, and avoid all occasion of future discord, which will otherwise be continually arising on your American frontiers, you should throw in those countries. And you may call it, if you please, an indemnification for the burning of their towns, which indemnification will, otherwise, be some time or other demanded.

"I know your people will not see the utility of such measures, and will never follow them, and even call it insolence and impudence in me to mention them. I have, however, complied with your desire, and am, as ever, your affectionate friend,

"B. FRANKLIN."

In a postscript to a letter to David Hartley, dated Passy, 12th February, 1778, the Doctor writes:—

"P.S.—An old friend of mine, Mr. Hutton, a chief of the Moravians, who is often at the Queen's Palace, and is sometimes spoken to by the King, was over here lately. He pretended to no commission, but urged me much to propose some terms of peace, which I avoided. He has written to me since his return, pressing the same thing, and expressing, with some confidence, his opinion, that we might have every thing short of absolute Independence, &c. Enclosed I send my answers open, that you may read them, and if you please, copy, before you deliver them. They will serve to shew you more fully my sentiments, though they serve no other purpose. "B. F."

the last day of his life confess that she was the gift of God's unmerited favour to him.

She had but a weak state of health for some time; and, to move much, became uneasy to her. She had had two lethargic attacks, and some other alarming symptoms. One of her wishes, that she had repeated at different times, was, that she might not be long confined to her bed, as she feared she might then be troublesome to others, as well as suffer much before being called home.

She complained for some few days of an uncommon degree of difficulty in breathing, and on the 9th of November was, all at once, taken with considerable pain in her right side; this, however, seemed easier on the morning of the 10th, so that in the afternoon, her husband ventured out to the love-feast on the anniversary of the London congregation, but his mind was far from easy. He came home after the love-feast, and at about seven o'clock, entering her room, found her taken with extreme sickness of heart, that had begun but a few minutes. She gave him her hand, and he had no apprehension that her dissolution was so near, but supposed that that sickness would go off, as others had done before. But her hour was come. She went off in that fit, with very little struggle, and she was some time dead before it was known to him that she had departed. Every method, such as opening a vein in two places, and rubbing and chafing, were tried, but to no purpose. She was delivered from this life in the way she had frequently desired, and her husband was deeply struck. His sensations at the reproaches he gave himself for his faults, and his sorrow at being deprived of the helpmate so excellently suited for him, have given him a deep wound, which he feels can no where else be helped but at the foot of the cross. The physician supposed her death to have been caused by the rapid bursting of some abscess."

Hutton did not lack the sympathy of his brethren; and he received, among others, an affectionate letter from Br. Spangenberg and his colleagues, in the Unity's Elders' Conference.

On the day of the burial of the remains of Sr. Hutton, the Brethren were much alarmed by a report that their little sloop had been taken on the coast of Labrador, and the mission settlement plundered; but, in the first week of

December, they had the joy to learn by letters from the captain and mate, that their little Labrador vessel had safely arrived at the Orkneys, and that the brethren and sisters in Labrador were well, for which they were heartily thankful. From that time nothing was heard of the ship until the 28th of December, when a letter from captain Mugford, dated Dunkirk, informed them the *Good Intent*, had been captured by a French vessel, off Yarmouth, on the 19th instant; that the master, first mate, and two sailors were carried on board the French ship to Dunkirk, where they were imprisoned. The *Good Intent* was ordered to the same port, but had not reached it on the 23rd. It was said that the French captain, (who left Mugford and his men nothing but the clothes they wore) had taken the box containing the letters, &c. promising, after proper examination, to send them all to London; but how this was to be effected they could not tell, and they wished that the box had been thrown overboard to prevent the letters falling into improper hands. No time was lost in forwarding relief, by a letter of credit to Dunkirk, on the 29th, while documents should be procured for the liberation of the prisoners. The Brethren were in a measure prepared for some such event; but they felt it a blessing, that the vessel had reached Nain in safety, landed her passengers, and delivered her cargo of provisions for the year; and that the American pirates had not visited Nain, as had been feared. The vessel and cargo were insured for £1000 only, which was considerably less than the value, and at the rate of twenty-five per cent.

From the middle of December, Hutton had been on a visit to Stretton-le-Field, Derbyshire, at the pressing invitation of his sister's daughter, and her husband, John Cave, Esq., ancestor of the present Baronet of that surname; but when he was apprized of the capture of the *Good Intent*, he returned to London, and forthwith adopted means for the liberation of the captives, and for the recovery of the Labrador letters, &c.

On the 7th of February, 1779, in the evening, the Brethren had the pleasure of hearing that their sloop, the *Good Intent*, had been re-captured, and was now in the Thames.

On the 14th, a feeling of joy and thanksgiving affected the hearts and eyes of the brethren, in the intercessors'

I have replied to them that for these forty years I would not walk in my own ways, nor in the best ways. I was the property of my Saviour and my Brethren's people, and therefore could not confine myself to any thing, but must remain free; however, I would gladly stay awhile with them, yet only in parenthesis, be it short or long. Whether I should come to Geneva I could not say; probably I might go to Holland if unable to visit Geneva. He thereupon wrote to me, that if I dwelt with them in Holland I might serve my brethren there—which, indeed, might be so. The family of Madame Salgas have secured me an *entrè* in Amsterdam and Utrecht, where, as well as by the Court here, I am beloved. It might, according to my plan, and if it be the will of God, be the means of producing some good, and I believe it to be His plan regarding my external life.

"If possible I would gladly go to Geneva, for that place, and especially Switzerland, would be a blessed sojourn for me. My house and home here is not now what it formerly was, although Mr. De Luc, who lives with me, is my heart's friend, and has been a great comfort to me. The London air does not agree with my chest, though I live a short distance from town, near the King's palace, where they continually shew me many favours, and, latterly, the ministers also. *Prosit!* My idea would therefore be, if possible, towards the end of March, to go to Geneva by way of Neuwied, Basle, Berne, Montmirail, there to continue until the middle of May; and afterwards returning with my beloved children to Holland, dwell with them some time at the Hague, Amsterdam, and Zeist, and return with Mr. Salgas to England in summer; for the King desires him to visit him yearly. The *grestier*, H. Fagel, loves me, as well as several other gentlemen of consequence at the Hague. To procure such friends was the desire of the Disciple in England; and, if true and sincere, certainly are of some value. Sitting flesh I have none. Often do I think of the old times of my, and my late Louisa's acquaintance with you and your departed wife (formerly Maria Immig); then my eyes overflow with tears. I cleave to the Saviour as his *miserable!* with Him I live in silent communion. My hearing becomes worse daily; and for twenty years I have been unable to hear any thing in the meetings. I am, therefore, directed to the Saviour alone, from Whom I expect, and daily receive, new glances of His grace and mercy. I am to myself an unaccountable

being; the Saviour has turned the heart of my brethren and others towards me. He will continue to draw me towards Him, as a good shepherd does his ailing sheep. I pray Him to keep me in eternal communion with my Louisa, and to tell her I am very sorry I have not been a thousand times better husband to her; that I respect her memory, and I pray Him that I may meet her again at His feet; as a redeemed, humiliated, but thankful sinner—in myself incurable, but curable in Him. My dear brother, once more accept a thousand thanks for your love towards the truly poor

"JEMMY."

There being no impediment to Hutton's wish for a tour on the Continent, and as he was stimulated by a desire to hasten the release of the prisoners in France, he, on the 10th of March, took leave of the Brethren, and on the 16th, wrote to say that he hoped to effect the release, on exchange, of Captain Mugford and his people; that, in his way to Geneva, he would call on them at Bourbourg, the place of their confinement; and, on his way through Paris, do all he could to procure their liberation; which, from the kind promises he had received from the Commissioners in England, for the exchange of prisoners, there was room to hope, would be soon accomplished. This happy result of Hutton's exertions, the Brethren had the joy to witness on the 1st of May, when they welcomed Captain Mugford, and Br. Frazer his mate, on their arrival safe and well in their midst.

During his stay in Paris, Hutton, anxious for the future safety of the ship of the Brethren, (whose voyage was now become doubly hazardous, from the French having taken sides with the Americans against England,) applied to Dr. Franklin and the French authorities for a passport; and on the 15th of April, he thus expressed his obligation to his dear old friend the Doctor, who, as on a former occasion,* had at once acceded to his request, and thus paved the way for a successful application at the Court of France.

"I took courage, and went this morning to Versailles to M. de Sartine, who immediately did all I desired. I now, therefore, can go on my journey with cheerfulness and thankfulness to you, for your kindness to my people and to me. I am sure your giving me that protection, had the wished-for

* The passport then given, was available for one voyage only.

effect here. How many obligations have I and my people in America to you!

"It is a hardship for my heart, that circumstances have not allowed me to visit you. I am glad I saw you that evening, at Mr. Grant's. I was proud of the general approbation I heard, at different places, given to your paper, read yesterday.* You will remember Mr. Spangenberg desired you should be consulted on the Aurora Borealis, by Mr. Cranz, several years ago, I think 1769. I hope this paper will be printed.

"I go from Paris to Lyons, April 22nd. In order to have a good place in the *diligence*, I took it to-day. I shall always remember your civilities and kindness to, dear Sir, your much obliged and obedient servant,

"JAMES HUTTON."†

The passport, under the Royal sign manual, was dated 15th, and addressed to the Admiral of France, whose order, requiring its fulfilment, dated the 16th of April, was addressed à M. Hutton, ches Monsr. le Cour de Gebelin, Rue Poupée a Paris, with the following note in French:

"Versailles, 15th April, 1779.

"I have the honour, Sir, to forward to you the passport, which you have required of me for the vessel, the *Good Intent*, appointed to provision the Moravian missionaries, on the coast of Labrador. I am very happy to have met with this occasion of being serviceable to your Society. I am most entirely, Sir,

"Your most humble, and most obedient servant,

"DE SARTINE."

During Hutton's absence, he corresponded with the Brethren in London.

On the 16th of November, after a visit of eight months in France and Switzerland, he returned home; and on the 23rd, related to the meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, "how handsomely the French ministers had acted in granting the passport for the ship this

* Paper on the Aurora Borealis, read by Dr. Franklin, before the Royal Academy of Sciences, in Paris.

† Jared Sparks, Works of Benjamin Franklin, vol. viii. p. 325-6.

year, and with how much esteem they spoke of the undertaking of the Brethren, and of missions among the heathen."

It is said of Hutton, that at the end of this year, he closed his visits to the Palace, in consequence of the command of the fleet having been given by the King to the circumnavigator Rodney, whose name Hutton had mentioned to his Majesty shortly before, as an officer every way suitable for such a distinguished post, during the present emergency of the country. Hutton, on learning the effect of his recommendation, felt that he had made a mistake in presuming to advise the Sovereign; and, therefore at once and for ever, withdrew himself from the possibility of committing a like indiscretion.

At the first meeting of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in 1780, the Brn. LaTrobe and Hutton, were again elected to the offices of president and vice-president.

On the 21st of August, Hutton wrote to Dr. Franklin for a renewal of the passport, which he had granted for the protection of the Labrador ship in the spring of last year. The application was attended with the same success as the former one; but as the letter contains other matter of interest, it is given here.

"Pimlico, 21st August, 1780.

"DEAR SIR,

"Our last year's voyage to and from Labrador was a safe one. The Esquimaux remained friendly, and our people at both missions were well. Many thanks to you for the last year's passport, which I here return, that you may be sure no ill use can be made of it by us. Our Captain Mugford is, this year, not in such a state of health as to be able to perform the voyage; so that we take the mate in his room. He has begged us, if possible, to get a vessel with two masts, that, in case one was damaged in hard weather, there might be one remaining; as, in the event of the loss of the only mast, they might perish for want of succour in those unfrequented seas. We have agreed to his request, and bought a small brig with two masts, very little bigger than the former; the description of which is as follows: The brig *Amity*, Captain James Fraser, about seventy-five tons, square sterned, navigated by seven men. I should be much obliged

to you, if you would be so kind as to send another pass according to this description, so that it may, at the latest, be here before the 20th of May.

"We are all sorry for the loss of Captain Cook. I hope the papers, that are on the way hither from Kamtschatka, will come safe.

"I know not whether you could procure us a Spanish pass, or whether I should apply to Mons. de Sartine. I shall mention it to him, who will probably forward this. We had two old persons at our Labrador mission; one, an old Lutheran minister, a Dane, Drachart by name, who had been a dozen years employed by the Danes in their mission to Greenland. He, in his heroic way, though he had been many years retired to Herrnhuth, as soon as he heard of a mission to Labrador, dedicated his life and labours, freely and eagerly, to that service, and ended his days there, after a cheerful, laborious life. The other was a surgeon from Wurtemberg, very skilful, and much respected in his own country; his name was Waiblinger. These two old men died about the same time, and were buried at the same time. As they were much loved by the natives, many of them (all that were near) were at the burying, and not a few lost their horror for death.

"Since then, a younger man, born and bred among us, has offered his service, to succeed Waiblinger. His name is Kriegelstein, son of one of our first brethren, himself a physician. I am, &c.

"JAMES HUTTON."*

In common with all the brethren and sisters in London, Hutton was called on to share the alarm and danger arising out of the dreadfully atrocious proceedings of the rioters in the city, who were instigated by the mob-orators under Lord George Gordon. The following journal will convey some very faint idea of the outrages of the mob, and shew the support which our blessed Lord vouchsafed to His feeble and timorous flock:—

1780. *June* 2.—*Friday.*—This evening both Houses of Parliament were besieged and insulted by the very numerous mob attending those who, headed by Lord George Gordon, presented a petition for repealing

* Sparks' Works of Benjamin Franklin, vol. v. p. 122; vol. viii. p. 496-7.

the late Act in favour of the Roman Catholics. During this night the Sardinian and Barbarian (Bavarian) chapels were, in part, demolished and burnt: some of our brethren and sisters, living near them, were in great danger of the fires, but suffered no damage at all. At our evening meeting, we read a delightful portion of the "Acts of the Days of the Son of Man."*

June 4.—*Sunday.*—This afternoon the riotous proceedings of the mob, which were continued yesterday, began again; but, we were still unmolested, and enjoyed a blessed sabbath; which reminded us of the promise, "Thou shalt be far from oppression, for thou shalt not fear; and from terror, for it shall not come near thee."—Isa. liv. 14. The chapels and dwelling-houses of the Roman Catholics in and about Moorfields, were attacked, plundered, and partly destroyed and laid in ashes.

June 5.—*Monday.*—The mobs collected again; and, increasing amazingly, became more formidable. Many chapels and houses were destroyed in different parts of the city and suburbs. The utmost confusion now took place almost everywhere, and great terror seized the inhabitants in general. But the brethren of our Committee met to do their business as usual every Monday evening; as also many brethren and sisters of the congregation and society, for the reading of congregation-accounts, so late as eight o'clock. Our hearts were revived by an encouraging discourse; and, the Daily Word—"My grace is sufficient for thee," &c. proved very sweet and acceptable to us. We experienced, during these unnatural and hellish commotions, the reality of the words in the Antiphon: "Want I comfort? then Thou art my consolation." We thought much this day upon, and prayed for, our gracious and rightful Sovereign King George the Third; it being the celebration of his annual day.—God save the King!

June 6.—*Tuesday.*—The universal distress and calamity, accompanied with great dismay and oppression, rose yet to a higher pitch than hitherto,—a kind of infatuation having seized all ranks of people, even our city magistrates; frightening them from all opposition and defence of their property: the riotous mob seemed to rage and ravage through the city, with uncontrolled sway. But we trusted in our Lord, who alone can say, in a time of public commotion, and ravage of the spirit of the world, roused or increased by the powers of darkness: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed."—Job xxxviii. 11. He has permitted these distresses to come upon us, undoubtedly from most just motives; but at the same time, for loving and merciful ends: to prevent, very probably, in His deep wisdom, far greater evils, which the base enemy meditated to bring about through his tools. This afternoon, the general danger and distress approached nearer to our chapel, and the labourers' dwellings, which, as well as most of the houses of our brethren, were singled out, and threatened by the mob to be demolished, on pretence that we were secret Papists. We could say nothing to these rumours and menaces, but with King Jehoshaphat—2 Chron. xx. 21—"O our God! wilt thou not judge them? for we have no might against this great company that cometh against us, neither know we what to do, but our eyes are upon Thee." We still had our congregation meeting at

* *i.e.* The Harmony of the Gospels.

eight in the evening, which was attended by almost as many brethren and sisters as at other times. This meeting will not easily be forgotten by those that were present, who with panting hearts, enjoyed our dearest Saviour's sweet and comforting presence. Br. Clement spoke with a calm, happy, and tenderly affected heart; as if in the profoundest peace, on the subjects which both texts of the day pointed out: first, concerning the sweet command of "loving all the brotherhood," with an anointed heart and mind, and "all our neighbours as ourselves," even our very enemies. He then recommended the Daily Words of to-day and to-morrow, to every brother and sister's consideration, particularly in our present circumstances—"Let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ."

"Lamb, in every time and place,
And in whatsoever case,
Let our words and deeds resemble Thine."

"Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves."

We cannot but take this opportunity of owning, to our Lord's honour, that all our brethren and sisters have demeaned themselves, during the whole time of these disturbances, as it becometh children of God. At the delivering of the discourse, notice was also taken of the minds of all the genuine adherents to our Lord, which is the same as was in the three servants, who were cast into the fiery furnace:—"Our God, whom we serve, is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace; and He will deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. But if not, we will still trust in Him." Dan. iii. 17, 18. The meeting was concluded during a melted feeling of the peace of God, with the verses:—

"My griefs and cares to Thee well known,
My God, I cast on Thee alone;
In Thee is all my trust.
If Thou wilt manage, I'll be still,
Into Thy hands commit my will,
And thank Thee, prostrate in the dust.
I confidently do believe,
Me Thy poor child thou wilt not leave;
Thou loving Father Heart.
Fill but my soul with faith and love,
Then I am rich, here and above;
And from Thy love nought shall me part."

At the time of this meeting, Newgate prison was set on fire; the sight of which greatly affrighted some brethren and sisters in the Hall, who perceived it. Br. Liddington, a smith, was sent for, and called out of the meeting in great haste; a party of the mob having come to his house, with a number of prisoners whom they had let out of Newgate, to have their irons knocked off: on refusal of which, they threatened immediately to destroy his house; but before he could reach home, they were gone to another smith. When the brethren and sisters, living at a distance, went home, they beheld a most horrid scene of fire and destruction exhibited at Newgate and many private houses; but it is not here our intention to give a full description of the [infernal scenes which occurred], during

this, and the following nights; which, in some measure, has been done in the newspapers and pamphlets. Rest and sleep were not to be expected until towards morning, when the works of darkness gave way to the comfortable return of day. The inhabitants were obliged, whenever the mob was seen, to illuminate their windows; they were laid under contribution by the lawless rabble; all the shops were shut up in the afternoon; the words—"No Popery"—chalked on the doors and window shutters; and other feeble means of securing the houses from insult were used to deprecate, as it were, the fury of the insurgents. But our stay was in God our Almighty Deliverer, to whom our hearts sighed in stillness, and who was the first upon our lips, whenever we wanted to impart comfort and relief to one another. His sweet peace was truly enjoyed by us. We ought not to neglect taking the happy effects of that blessed principle in our hearts —love to one another; a want of which we have observed at other times; but which was now stirred up and felt in a remarkable manner: for although most of our brethren had to guard their houses, and to be a support to their families, yet they came from time to time, to see how their poor labourers did, and to be of comfort to the single sisters living in the choir house; most of whom continued together in their habitation until Wednesday afternoon. Some brethren generally staid at Br. La-Trobe's; his wife being, in these distressing times, destitute of the support of her husband, who was on a visit in the West of England.

June 7.— Wednesday.—The universal calamity in this city rising to a still higher degree, and the threatenings against our chapel, and the houses about it, becoming more frequent, we were necessitated to take proper measures to secure the single sisters, and our valuable writings, in places of greater seeming safety. In the afternoon, the Elders' Conference met to consult as to what should be done in our present circumstances. It was found proper, that most of our single sisters be lodged for some time in other houses belonging to our brethren and sisters. (Br. Wollin, in our deep concern of heart, with confidence in our Lord, opened in the Daily Words for this year, those of the 4th and 7th of August; which, together with the Antiphon, proved inexpressibly comforting to us, and may very properly be read in this place.) An extraordinary Helpers' Conference was appointed for the purpose; and a proper watch was regulated for our chapel-gate and Br. La Trobe's house adjoining it, of such brethren as should be able to speak to the mob in a proper manner, in case they should actually fall upon our chapel. It was found most advisable to let them convince themselves, by what they might see in our chapel and houses, of our not being Roman Catholics. We resolved to have no preaching this evening, since we undoubtedly should be disturbed if we did; the danger now coming still nearer, and this night being fixed upon for demolishing our chapel. Yet some brethren and sisters, and strangers, came to the chapel at the usual time for the preaching. It was likewise found to be proper to omit all our private meetings for some time, until we should be able to meet again without fear. The Conference was closed with this prayer:—

"Keep us to Thee unstain'd and pure,
In Thy wounds' fortress lock'd secure;
Untouch'd by foes may we abide,
And ne'er from Thee be drawn aside."

Some of the single sisters went this afternoon to Sr. Metcalf's at Chelsea, others to Islington, and some to a distant place in town. None of them, and, in general, none of all the brethren and sisters of the Congregation and Society, received any real harm, besides being frightened and afflicted at the general calamity. For which gracious protection we paid, but still owe, thanks and praise to our kind Lord and Saviour. One brother, living a few doors from our chapel, in removing some goods of great value, met with a very considerable loss. This night, indeed, exhibited the most shocking spectacle that this country perhaps ever beheld. The flames ascending and rolling over our heads in vast volumes, from the King's Bench and Fleet prisons and New Bridewell, from the toll-gates at Blackfriars bridge, and from houses in every quarter of the town, presented a scene horrible beyond the power of description. Four places in Fetter Lane, very near us, besides our chapel and a house in New Street, were threatened to be set on fire. The violent burning of the houses of an eminent distiller in Holborn and at Fetter Lane, which contained vast quantities of spirituous liquors, brought the danger nearer; but, our Lord turned away all harm from us. There was very little wind, the nights were almost the shortest in the year, and the weather very fine. A number of people, most of whom seemed to be of the rioters, in blue cockades, assembled about ten o'clock this night, before the gate of our chapel, knocking against it with great violence: however, the gate being opened, not one attempted to come in; and they soon dispersed. Our neighbours in Fetter Lane, who could not comprehend why we should be considered as Roman Catholics, shewed their friendship and regard for us; but now, that the mob had left us, supposing our chapel to be the safest place in this street, they carried their furniture, plate, and other goods of value into it. The Government had indeed exerted itself to the utmost, as far as its powers under the civil magistrate would extend; but now, threats which the rioters uttered against the Bank, the Tower, the Water-works, and all the public offices, which were attempted to be put in execution, made it absolutely necessary that the Royal prerogative should be exerted, and discretionary powers be given to the military.

June 8.—*Thursday*—Was the blessed day upon which our Lord discovered His merciful and kind design: "For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord." Ps. xii. 5. He put it into the heart of His servant, our gracious King, to issue a most humane and prudent Proclamation for the restoration of peace and good order in this distracted city; for which, all the children of God, and all other well-affected subjects of our dear King, could not but praise the God of our salvation. The expectation of the events which were now to follow, was indeed dreadful; for it could scarcely be supposed otherwise than that resistance would be made by those who had, these four or five days past, usurped dominion over their fellow-subjects. During the day, the King's troops, by their appearance, kept everything quiet. Some disturbances, particularly in the Borough, were soon quelled by the soldiers. When night came on, and the rioters, in spite of the Proclamation, began to assemble again in vast numbers, the troops stationed in different parts of the metropolis, were obliged to pursue, fire among, and disperse them; by which means, public tranquillity was once more, and effectually, restored. We, in obedience to the Royal Proclamation, kept at home after sun-set, and thus escaped all danger and mis-

chief, to which many of the inhabitants exposed themselves. Mr. Strahan in New Street, a printer to His Majesty, who is now printing the "History of the Brethren," and who, on account of the menaces of the rioters to demolish his house, had a strong guard of soldiers with him, was kind enough to send some of them to our place, to be informed of the avenues to it, adding the humane offer to assist us upon any emergency, as soon as we should inform him of our want of it. A certain Alderman, upon Br. Hutton's application, promised to send us a protection of soldiers, in case of need. Companies and volunteers were now found almost in every street, to prevent any further disorderly proceedings. But who is able to express the feeling of our hearts, when we, after a few hours of the night, could believe the report of peace and tranquillity restored? For "When the Lord turned again our captivity, we were like them that dream." Ps. cxxvi. 1. "Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing; seeing that the Lord had done great things for us, whereof we were glad." ver. 2, 3. After midnight, we could again lie down in safety, sleep in sweet peace, and rise again with joy.

June 9.—*Friday.*—The Elders' Conference met in the morning, in the peace of God. It was judged proper to set aside our private meetings for some days longer, until we should find that no danger was any more to be apprehended,—which many people were not yet willing to believe to be the case; and others could not credit it for joy. We also gladly closed this week, as we had done the last, with singing in fellowship the praises of our great Saviour. Meanwhile we made melody unto Him in our hearts.

June 11.—*Sunday.*—Was to us and our friends a truly blessed day of prayer and humiliation, of thanksgiving and praise and joy. The intercessors began this delightful duty of praying and giving thanks at their meeting, which was favoured with a remarkable out-pouring of the spirit of grace and of supplications. The Daily Word, which our dear Lord had given us for this day—"A day in Thy courts is better than a thousand"—was extraordinarily well suited to part of the subject of praise, which in these days employed our grateful hearts and minds; and was, in particular, taken notice of at this meeting, namely: That our Lord and Saviour had protected our place appointed for His worship, as one of His courts upon earth. For He Himself is the Temple in the New Jerusalem. Among other petitions in the Litany, well suited to our present situation, when the inhabitants have not yet recovered from the dreadful apprehensions into which they had been thrown, it was particularly impressed upon the mind of the liturgist to pray for preservation from needless perplexity. Our gracious King, and both Houses of Parliament, were special objects of our warmest supplications at this critical time. Both the Litany and the Sermon, were blessed with a very feeling sense of grace and peace. The attention of the hearers, both in the morning and in the evening—a much larger company being present than could have been expected—was remarkably great; according to the saying of Isaiah xxviii. 19—"Trials teach us to take heed unto the Word"—(Lutheran version). The texts upon which the sermons were preached, afforded blessed, comfortable, and rich matter for consideration in a day of adversity, and were, Hosea xi. 8, 9: "How shall I give thee up Ephraim? How shall I deliver thee? How shall I make thee as Admah? How shall I set thee as Zeboim? My heart is turned within me; my repentings are

kindled together," &c.; and Isai. xxvi. 20: "Come, my people, enter thou into thy chambers until the indignation be overpast." We concluded this happy and comfortable day of the Lord with the prayer He taught His disciples; and thus the day was ended, which, not only by us, but in many other places of religious worship in this city, had been celebrated with awe and reverence before God.

June 13.—*Tuesday.*—Every thing being quiet about the chapel, the single sisters having returned to their own habitation, cheerfully settled themselves again at their work; and all things were brought into proper order. Upon the whole, excepting the searching of suspected houses, and the imprisonment of many persons against whom informations were laid, the city again enjoyed the divine blessing of peace; though the numerous bodies of regular troops quartered in all the great churches, besides the militia and the association of volunteers, gave the whole metropolis a warlike appearance.

June 22.—We were this day informed that the well-known Dr. William Vowell departed this life. He had, since he left the Brethren, fully embraced the Antinomian principles. He did not act or speak against us, as far as we know; but rather would take our part. It is hoped that he died as a sinner relying upon Jesus' merits. He was born at Sherbourne, in Dorsetshire, 25th Dec. 1712, of dissenting parents, who brought him up as an Apothecary. Having been received to communion in 1744, he afterwards served at Bedford. In 1768 he appears to have been connected with Lady Huntingdon's people.

At the anniversary of the London congregation, on the 10th of November, Hutton gave some account of the first beginnings of the present blessed work of the Lord in this country; and animated the congregation in a hearty discourse to maintain, by the Saviour's grace, the true devotedness of heart and mind for His service, which is a chief characteristic of the Brethren as a chosen people of God.

"On Sunday, Christmas eve, at the usual time of the evening preaching, six o'clock, the chapel was so crowded as it had never been before. Four hundred copies of a printed Ode were distributed, but some hundreds were wanting. The solemnity was opened with singing part of the Ode, beginning, in a soft tone, with "Lord! I wait for Thy salvation," four times repeated, until the waiting seemed to swell to an eager desire and importunity. Our younger sisters being placed on the foremost benches in the area of the chapel,

exerted their voices sweetly, and to the purpose, in singing the choruses; and the whole congregation joined in the verses with life, devotion, and harmony. After a joyful hosannah unto Him that came in the Name of the Lord, Br. Grinfield, in the pulpit, rose with the congregation, and prayed for a rich blessing upon this meeting, and upon our spirit, soul, and body, with thanksgiving unto God for His unspeakable Gift. He then read the history of Christ's nativity, together with the circumstances preceding and following it. After this the singing and music went on in a very lively spirit, tempered with abasement, and a sweet sense of mercy displayed in that amazing act of love and condescension. Br. Grinfield then delivered a short anointed sermon on the name of Jesus, "Immanuel, God with us;" after which, our psalms and praises having been continued, he gave thanks, in the name of the congregation, for the out-pouring of a joyful, child-like spirit upon us at this time, and for all the immense blessings procured for us by the birth, death, and blood of our Immanuel. The whole having been concluded with a few verses of praise, and the assembly being dismissed with the peace of God, a large collection was made for the poor."

In 1781, LaTrobe and Hutton were again elected to the offices they had filled in the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, during the past year; and they had abundant cause to rejoice at the glorious display of the love of God, in calling Gentile nations out of darkness into His marvellous light.

On the 22nd of February was a remarkable celebration of the wedding-day of Br. John and Sr. Mary Edmonds; and as he and John West and Hutton were the only surviving male members of the original London congregation, its introduction here may not be improper:—

"Being the fifty-first wedding-day of our dearly-beloved Br. and Sr. John and Mary Edmonds, they gave the married choir a love-feast, to rejoice with them on account of the great things which the Lord had done for them; and to help them to render Him due thanks and praise, which were in some measure expressed in an Ode made by Br. LaTrobe for this joyful marriage jubilee; and printed copies of this

In 1785, Br. LaTrobe was again appointed Chairman, and Hutton Deputy-Chairman, of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, at its first meeting.

This year, also, there were pleasing evidences, that the hearts of many were turned towards the Brethren, who had so long been consigned to obloquy and reproach; and even the followers of Mr. Wesley, the least reconcileable, perhaps, of all their defamers, sought the services of Br. LaTrobe, who, in his journey to the north, in compliance with pressing invitations, preached in their chapels at Pudsey, Leeds, and Sheffield, to very crowded auditories.

At the close of the year, the widowers acknowledged, with thanks to our Saviour, the many blessings they had enjoyed in fellowship with the congregation, and in private communion with Him as their gracious Lord, Preserver, and Friend, who had strengthened them when weak, comforted them when in trouble, and been ever ready to pardon what was amiss.

LaTrobe and Hutton were, in 1786, continued in their offices in the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

On the 22nd of February in this year a portrait of Hutton was published by J. R. Smith, of 83, Oxford Street, and John Stockdale, bookseller, Piccadilly. It is in mezzotinto, and was engraved by the said J. R. Smith, engraver to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, from a painting by Richard Cosway, Esq., who, when he had retired from his profession, used to hold up his palsied right hand, that had painted lords and ladies for upwards of sixty years, and smile with unabated good humour at the vanity of human wishes. The portrait of Hutton is admirable, and all that could be desired, except the position of the hat, which would have been better under the arm than upon the head. The original painting now adorns the front room of the Mission House of the Brethren, No. 97, Hatton Garden. From these our engraving is taken with great fidelity.*

* Nicholls, in his "Literary Anecdotes," vol. iii. p. 436, speaking of this portrait, says, "In the attitude of listening with this instrument (an ear-trumpet) Cosway has taken a picture of Mr. Hutton, which does him honour; it being, perhaps, one of the most striking likenesses that ever was drawn. From this a mezzotinto was taken, which was eagerly bought up by Mr. Hutton's friends."

On the 29th of November, Hutton, and his brethren and sisters, with their many friends, were bereaved of their old associate in all that was lovely and of good report, Br. Benjamin LaTrobe—one who was known as an active, experienced, and worthy servant of the Lord. At his funeral at Chelsea, on the 6th of December, although a very rainy day, a large company assembled, and nearly encircled the whole grouud. Besides those on foot, no less than fifty-eight coaches attended, exclusive of those which followed the hearse. The many tears that were shed by those present, testified of the love which was felt towards the departed brother, and the high esteem in which he was held.

The following estimate of his character, which is believed to have been drawn up by Hutton (from whom a letter was read at the meeting on the last evening of the year, "expressive of his sentiments concerning our late dear Br. LaTrobe"), was printed in the "London Chronicle," and afterwards transferred to "Aikin's History of Manchester," p. 454:—

"On Wednesday evening, November 29th, 1786, died at his house in Fetter Lane, most sincerely lamented, in the 59th year of his age, the Rev. Mr. Benjamin LaTrobe. By a large circle of acquaintance he was known, respected, and esteemed. The goodness of his heart and the affability of his disposition, endeared him to all his connexions. Distinguished in the practice and profession of every Christian virtue, few men possessed a greater liberality of sentiment, or a more general and extensive knowledge of men and things. His last moments shewed that he knew his Redeemer liveth, and that he could meet him with joy; and thus, after a long and painful illness of nineteen weeks, which he bore with uncommon patience, he died as he had lived, in perfect resignation to the will of his Maker, an ornament to his profession, and a friend to mankind. His death will be a loss to his afflicted family and friends, of which those only who knew his value most, can form the idea. In the early part of his life he joined the Church of the United Brethren, and until his death proved its zealous friend and protector. The truly Christian and benevolent principles of the Brethren, were strictly conformable to his own sentiments; and, be-

coming an indefatigable pastor among them, he proved an useful instrument for many years in promoting the laudable purposes of the Society, both at home and abroad. In a variety of publications, which he carefully superintended for the press, he removed every aspersion against the Brethren, and firmly established their reputation. To sum up his character in few words, he was an honest man; and the fruits of his faithful services, as a minister of the Gospel, will long remain an emblem of his worth and integrity."

Hutton was his executor, and gave a receipt as such on the 26th of February, 1793.

On the 9th of January, 1787, Hutton succeeded Br. La-Trobe as President, and Br. Swertner became Vice-President of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

At the close of the year, Hutton, with the choir of widowers, thankfully acknowledged that their Saviour had approved Himself their kind Lord, Preserver, and Friend, ever ready to strengthen them in weakness, to comfort them in trouble, and to pardon all their faults.

January 8th, 1788, Hutton was continued Chairman, and Br. John Swertner Deputy of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

The inquiry into the West Indian slave trade, laid open the great benefits of the missions of the Brethren among the Negro slaves in those colonies; the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, having been applied to by the Bishop of London, in the name of the Privy Council, for a return concerning the West India Mission, it was supplied, and was very favourably received.

January 6th, 1789, Hutton and Swertner were re-elected to their respective offices; but, on the 30th of March, Br. Swertner was deputed to address the Synod, which he did on the 18th day of June, as President. Hutton, therefore, appears to have been laid aside at the time.

Hitherto the accounts of the missionary labours of the

Brethren, had been prepared and issued monthly in manuscripts, circulated from friend to friend for their personal information, but this circulation was necessarily of very limited extent. As early as the month of January, 1769, Br. Beuning suggested to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, the propriety of printing, weekly or monthly, a paper of the progress of the Gospel among the Heathen, when a quarterly account was thought to be more desirable, and Br. Francis Okely the most suitable brother to draw it up; but, for certain reasons adduced, nothing final was as yet done. On the 30th of May is the following entry on the Society's minutes: "There being a synodal rule that nothing be printed without previous approbation of the Directory for the time being, the proposal, therefore, of printing some accounts of our missions in a periodical paper or pamphlet must first be mentioned at the Synod, and leave obtained. Br. Hutton to draw up the letter to the Synod and the Missions' Deputation." Thus matters stood until the 4th of June, 1789, when Br. Christian Ignatius LaTrobe, Secretary to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, addressed the Society on the importance of having these accounts printed in a monthly paper, not to exceed one sheet of letter-press, in a good legible type. Having obtained leave of the Society, an application, evidently on the basis of the minute of the year 1769, was made on the 18th of June by the Society to the Synod, about to be held or then sitting at Herrnhut; and on the 12th of July, Spangenberg wrote in reply, stating that the communication had been received with much joy by the Synod, under whose direction he responded to it; and, addressing the Society, said, "Your proposal to print a short account every quarter of the missionary labours among the heathen, for the benefit of the honorary members of your Society, and others who feel interested therein, has the hearty concurrence of the Synod; yet, for the sake of good order among us, this account, before it is printed, will be sent to the Unity's Elders' Conference for revision."

The indorsement to the draft for the first Periodical Account by Br. C. I. LaTrobe is as follows:—

"This was the first sketch of a plan for printing what were afterwards called 'The Periodical Accounts' of the Missions,

&c. When I became Secretary to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, I entered upon my new office with zeal to do justice to it; and, finding the usual mode of making manuscript copies for circulation extremely insufficient and unsatisfactory, conceived an idea of gaining more in every respect by printing a sheet, &c. I went piping hot with this sketch, in 1787, to Br. Hutton, but he was not for innovation. I then wrote a letter to the Society, and it was proposed to the Synod in 1789. Of course, the plan has been altered and improved.—C. I. LaTrobe."

The above synodal letter was read in the Society on the 15th of September with great satisfaction. "The sending of the manuscript to the Unity's Elders' Conference, was a difficulty, respecting which Br. LaTrobe would write."

James Hutton was re-chosen Chairman, and Swertner Deputy, on the 12th of January, 1790; when the President, Treasurer, and Secretary of the Society were desired to prepare materials for the account to be published, according to a late proposal by the Society. The title of it to be fixed by the Brn. Swertner and LaTrobe. To be printed in 8vo., with continuous pages, and the first number to consist of a short preface, and a concise account of the whole of the affairs of the Brethren relating to their Missions.

On the 2nd of March, Br. LaTrobe produced the first number of the "Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren among the Heathen," which he had prepared for the press, and it was resolved to have three hundred copies printed.

"On the 27th of April, the Periodical Accounts, &c., having been printed and produced (submitted), copies were given to each member of the Society, and it was wished that our Saviour would lay His blessing upon it, and cause many who read it to take an effectual share in the support of the work of God in all parts."

"On the 17th of August, it was resolved to print five hundred copies of the second number of the Periodical, and two hundred and fifty more of the first. Mr. Chapman's (the printer) bill for these two numbers, was £11. 15*s* 4*d*."

"September the 14th, the dear Br. Hutton, aged seventy-five years, celebrated his birth-day, and the brethren and sisters wished him many blessings for his future course."

In the language of one of his own hymns, he could say—

Thy wounds and blood, my Lord and God,
With these shall be my conversation,
On these shall be my meditation,
Till I come to see—Thee
My Lamb so dear, whom I lov'd here;
And really kiss and greet
Those beauties in Thy hands and feet.

The fleshly mind can never find
Beauty and greatness in Thy passion,
Much less expect therein salvation;
Yet with greatest joy—I
To all confess, my happiness
Comes only through Thy blood;
Thy suff'rings make me own Thee God.

Ye angels, hear what I declare!
He, your so lovely God in heaven,
He has my every sin forgiven;
I am bright as you!—View
My shining dress, His righteousness:
You serve Him—I'm His Bride,
His blood-bought Queen, by His dear side.

A sinner I, I won't deny;
I own it to my loving Saviour,
I cannot boast of my behaviour:
He knew it well,—Hell
I had deserved, but He preserved
His sheep; He punish'd was,
Bearing my burden on the cross.

Let the world hear, this *Jesus* dear,
He is the object of my passion;
He is my spirit's meditation
In ev'ry hour;—Power
Lies in His blood, and ev'ry good
For worms, and sinners poor:
Ye sinners, own Him, and adore.

"At the anniversary of the London congregation, our old Br. Hutton, with great emotion, testified of the powerful grace prevailing at the period of the publication of Cranz's History of the Brethren; and at the close of the year,

the widowers, a small number, had felt experimentally the preciousness of that promise, 'Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.'"

Hutton was again re-chosen Chairman, and Br. Moore was appointed Vice-chairman, of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, in 1791.

On the 19th of April, Hutton prepared the following memorandum, which shews his steady adherence to the beloved cause which he had espoused. It was addressed—

"To the dear Committee of the London Congregation,—Beloved, in settling my affairs this day, I am glad to be able to give you some small token of my love; take it therefore as kindly as you have always done everything from me, from the first beginning, 1738-1739, to this day.

"There was £50. owing to me by the London Congregation, which I advanced towards the Burying-ground, for which interest has been paid up to Christmas 1790; this £50, at my decease, I leave to the London Congregation, together with what interest may be due thereon at the time of my decease. My last wish is and will be that the simplicity and heartiness of the first times may continue and increase among you, and that the pure Gospel alone, such as it was in 1738 and 1739, may be kept to without variation or lukewarmness, and without any of those refinements which, alas! threaten these present times; I am, beloved,

"Your old, infirm, poor faulty brother,

"JAMES HUTTON."

"April 19, 1791."

The following is a copy of his will, drawn up in 1763, excepting the part relating to the property of the Brethren, already given at p. 373 :—

"In the name of God, Amen! I, James Hutton, of Chelsea, in the County of Middlesex, late of Westminster, Gentleman; but, at this time of making my last will, residing at Herrnhuth, in Upper Lusatia, do make my last will and testament, in manner and form following:

"First. I commit my soul into the hands of my ever blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ, in whose death, merits, and

mercy, is my only trust, who has loved me and bought me with the price of His most holy blood, shed without the gates of Jerusalem, on that great day never to be forgotten by Christians; by which blood He has made propitiation for my many and great sins, and by the knowledge of which propitiation He has often comforted and refreshed my heart.

"I profess love and unity with all Christians who love the Lord Jesus, and who acknowledge His death and merits as the foundation and cause of their salvation; but am in a particular manner attached to that people who are known by the name of the Unitas Fratrum, among whom, in twenty-four years of fellowship and the most intimate friendship, I have seen the true faith working by love to my heart's content; and, though I have reason to look upon myself as a very unworthy member of this people, yet I desire, if it be possible without much trouble or expense, that my body may rest in one of their burying-grounds, if not at too great a distance from the place of my decease. I am (and would be every day more to the joy of my Lord) my Lord's and their poor fellow-member, living and dying; and Christ, who is my life and the forgiver of my sins, will raise my body in His time, and graciously let me enjoy communion with all His members in all ages. Amen!

"As to my worldly goods and possessions: First, I give, devise, and bequeath and leave to my dear wife, Louise, daughter of the late Rev. Mr. Brandt, of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, all my personal estate, as goods, money, debts, bills, books, and papers, and confirm as far as in me lies to her, for her natural life, the rents and profits of the house or houses in Westminster which my father built, and which, by a certain deed, were to come to her after my decease; and in case my sister's daughter, Catherine Astley, dies before she comes of age, or in case it shall be in my power to dispose of the said houses, I order my executor or executors, hereinafter named, to sell the said houses, and the money arising from the sale to be paid to my dear wife or her order, and be at her disposal. But if she die before my niece, and without making a will, and if my niece die before she comes of age, and these houses come into my hands, or revert to me, or be at my disposal, then my will is, that these houses be sold, and the money arising from the sale of the same be divided into equal portions, one of which I give to my dear

friend, Charles Metcalf, of Chelsea, in consideration of the many services and acts of friendship he has done me these many years in the care of my affairs; and the other portion I give to the mother of my dear wife, Madame Sarah Brandt, and her daughter Susan. But in case my wife should survive me, and make a will, I leave her entirely at liberty to dispose of whatever she has, or shall inherit from me or mine, according to her own will and pleasure, making her hereby the true and sole heir of the profits arising from the rents and sale of these houses, as far as is consistent with the laws of my country, and in any way possible to be executed, detesting all chicane, or dispute or contest, by any person or persons who would or might be disposed to controul my will herein; leaving her also my heir of that part of my estate at Kettering, in Northamptonshire, which my father was possessed of, and which my executor is hereby ordered to sell, and pay the money to her as soon as possible.

. . . . . .

"Item. I recommend my dear wife to give, in her lifetime, or at her decease, if circumstances will allow of it, such legacy or legacies to the daughter of my sister, Catherine Astley, as she, my said wife, shall judge proper, according to the behaviour of my said niece, which said niece is already sufficiently and well provided for, not only by what she inherited from her dear father and mother, but by what her uncle Astley, minister at Repton, in Derbyshire, has done, and always said he would do for her, to whom also her mother recommended her in a very particular manner, and who has so kindly and generously cared for her education. God bless him for it.

"And as I am at this present making my will at a distance from my own country, and from persons learned in the law, whose assistance might be necessary for the proper wording of every article, I devise and order that the plain sense of my words be accepted without chicane, and without putting my wife or my executors to any trouble about any matters herein for want of proper words and formalities.

"Lastly. I appoint hereby my dear friends, John West and Benjamin LaTrobe, to be the executors of this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all and every former will or wills at any time before made by me. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 21st day of July,

in the year of our Lord 1763, at Herrnhuth, in the Upper Lusatia.

"JAMES HUTTON. (L. S.)

"Signed and sealed in the presence of us,
(at this time in Herrnhuth),

"MATTHEW SURGINSON, of Owesfleet, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

"THOMAS JONES, of Llanvareth, in Radnorshire, South Wales.

"JOHN WOOD, of Chinley, Derbyshire."

On the 8th of November, Hutton, as Secretary of the Unity, was requested to inquire of the Governor-General of Canada, respecting the reception of a colony of two hundred Indians, who, under Br. Zeisberger, had left Detroit, in the American States, and crossed lake Erie into Canada. The issue of this inquiry does not appear to have been very favourable, inasmuch as the poor Indian brethren soon found it necessary to remove again from their temporary asylum.*

The memorabilia of the year state: "Our few widowers have been enabled, through faith, to rejoice in God our Saviour, and to trust in His promise that He will never leave them nor forsake them. Those, who are of an old age, have been graciously supported under all their infirmities."

The brethren Hutton and Moore were, in 1792, still continued in their offices of Chairman and Deputy of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel.

On the 18th of September, Br. Spangenberg was removed to a higher life; a loss which was much felt by the few of his old associates who survived him.†

On the 11th of November, the brethren and sisters celebrated the first jubilee of the London Congregation, and

* See Periodical Accounts, vol. i. p. 95, 108, &c.

† As, in 1855, a very interesting life of this devoted servant of the Lord, from the German of "Ledderhose," was published, with his portrait, by Messrs. William Mallalieu and Co. 97, Hatton Garden, London, it becomes unnecessary to say more here respecting him.

calling to mind the occurrences of the time past, encouraged one another to hope for their good Shepherd's love, care, guidance, and protection for the time to come. The aged Hutton was present on this interesting occasion, and delivered a written declaration of his sentiments and of his good wishes for the future prosperity of the congregation. He united in renewing the covenant with his brethren and sisters, and in dividing the cup of praise and thanksgiving, while a spirit of joy and gladness pervaded the whole congregation.

At the end of the year 1792, Hutton, with all his brethren and sisters, united in rendering their humble thanks to the King of kings and Lord of lords, that He had taken these realms under His peculiar protection. At that remarkable crisis in Europe a spirit of resistance and licentiousness, under the name of *liberty*, had gone forth to deceive the nations, and to subvert not only the constituted powers of government, but all order and subordination in society, yea, even to the trampling upon divine laws and ordinances. Appearances were gloomy enough in England for some time, and a malignant spirit of tumult and sedition manifested itself in various ways, and seemed to gain ground to an alarming degree: but God enabled the government and magistracy of this kingdom to step forward, and they were joined by a most respectable number of their loyal countrymen for the support of their excellent government, and for the maintenance of peace and quietness.—"Let us, therefore, join in fervent prayers that under the present auspicious government of our most gracious King, we may continue to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Let us pray for the peace and welfare of other nations, and that the Lord, according to His tender mercies, may stop the effusion of human blood everywhere."

With his brethren, Hutton could say, "Glory be to Him who, as the Head and Elder of his congregation, has led us with infinite love and wisdom, pardoning our manifold offences and trespasses, bearing with us with inconceivable patience, long-suffering, and forbearance, feeding us richly with the word of life, and His own body broken for us, and with His precious blood shed for the remission of our sins, and sustaining us under all the trials and afflictions of our pilgrimage here below."

The following hymn, by Hutton, expresses the unwavering faith and exulting hope which sustained and cheered his spirit as he drew near the end of his pilgrimage:

O Everlasting God! thy Blood
Which in thy Manhood thou didst shed,
Satan at Golgotha subdu'd,
Bruising, as promis'd, there his head:
Hell's kingdom in man now must fall to the ground,
All it's foundations are remov'd,
No place for it ever again shall be found,
Nor can this judgment be reprov'd;
No murm'ring nor plea which the fiend e'er can make,
Can us from our Lord now with justice retake.

O Lord, thou holy Judge of all,
Whose ways are truth and righteousness,
Thou hast recover'd from the fall
Man who was sunk in wretchedness.
O how can Thy pardon'd ones leave off to praise,
Or Thy redeemed ones to sing?
O open us doors, and O lengthen our days,
To testify of Thee our King.
The angels can see in Thy Church what is there,
They long in our joy, which so just is, to share.

Ye angels round the Godhead's Throne,
If ye can answer, tell us now,
Is not the blood of God's own Son
The thing which makes you bow so low?
Those five holy wounds, by all beings ador'd,
But chiefly by the sons of men!
I see in my spirit the joy of the Lord,
That He by them poor man did gain;
It never repents Him, His blood that He shed,
All beings renew'd by it, own Him their Head.

O Church, this God's elected Bride!
Worship Him here most heartily,
In Him for ever satisfied,
Go on your way most cheerfully.
So long as He lives, with you well it shall go,
But He shall never, never die;
By Him you can all things bear, have and subdue,
Believe it, and abide thereby.
O Sion, thy bulwarks and tow'rs shall remain,
Tho' Satan attack them again and again.

Hutton continued Chairman and Br. Moore deputy during the year 1793. The only other discoverable record of our venerable brother in this year is contained in the memorabilia, which say, "Our few (eight) widowers praise the Lord that He has graciously owned and blessed them, and, amidst trials and the infirmities of age, supported and comforted their hearts with a feeling of His peace."

The brethren Hutton and Moore were again, in 1794, elected to the offices they had held in the preceding year; but Hutton, now living at a distance, could not attend, by reason of age and infirmity.

It appears that about the beginning of this year, or shortly before it, he retired to the habitation of two kind friends, whom he called his daughters, at Oxted Cottage, near Godstone in Surrey, about twenty-two miles distant from London. Their assiduous attention contributed much to make the remainder of his days easy and comfortable. These ladies were the Misses Biscoe and Shelley. They were subscribers to the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel. The former was a daughter of Vincent Biscoe, Esq., and Lady Seymour, of London, and married Sir William Bensley, Bart., of Berners Street, Oxford Street, a Director of the East India Company. She was aunt to the present Lady Inglis, relict of the late Sir Robert Inglis, Bart., and bequeathed a sum of money to Oxted, where she and her friend, when single, had kept a school for the poor children of the parish. She was buried at Blechingley. Miss Shelley, who came from the East Indies, under the guardianship of Sir H. Inglis, was committed to the care of Sir William Bensley, and became a companion to Miss Biscoe, at Oxted Cottage. She is said to have married the Rev. Mr. Master, rector of Limpsfield, and afterwards removed with him into Devonshire, where he died. At her death, she left a legacy to the Missions of the Brethren.

In the month of March, the Brethren had to lament, "these deplorable times, in which men's minds are deceived with ideal happiness and liberty, though they remain the slaves of sin and of their lusts. We have often, both publicly and privately, prayed our Saviour to preserve us from the spirit of delusion which is gone forth into the world. Of our congregation in general we can say with pleasure, that it

consists of loyal subjects, who love their King and country, value the privileges which we and our fellow-subjects enjoy under a mild and good government, and pray the Lord that He would defend us and our King against all open and secret enemies, and in his own time give peace to these kingdoms and to all the world."

On the 14th of June, at the illumination on account of Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet, the citizen mob, ever rife for mischief, broke several windows in Fetter Lane, and among others those of Sr. Hopkins, at No. 32. To prevent a recurrence of this, the house and chapel door were well lighted up on Thursday evening, the illumination being then general throughout the metropolis. The following is a more detailed account of this affair:—

"In the course of this month (June) the news of the victory obtained by Lord Howe over the French fleet having arrived, the whole town was illuminated; but at first, no official intelligence having been given, a great many inhabitants were ignorant of the public intention; among these were the brethren and sisters residing near the entrance to our chapel in Fetter Lane. The mob accordingly broke their windows, and some evil-minded people insinuated that the Moravians were Jacobins, which caused us some uneasiness. However, when on the following night the people saw that all our brethren joined in the general show of joy, and also that our chapel door was properly illuminated, they expressed great satisfaction. In general, we must say, that amidst all the different disturbances which naturally take place in a time of war and commotion, we have, through mercy, not only enjoyed outwardly rest and peace, but all true brethren and sisters have been preserved from any party spirit. May our Saviour also in future seal us his poor sheep from sin henceforth, and from all misery of this earth."

It is probable that Hutton was present on the 9th of November, when the anniversary of the London Congregation was kept, and *some of the old brethren* joined in giving an account of its first beginnings; and prayed their Saviour to bring them all again to that first love and simplicity by which their ancestors were characterized.

The widowers, at the conclusion of this year, recorded: "We have felt our dear Saviour's consolation in age, loneliness, and infirmity, and bear a testimony of gratitude to

His love and tender mercies. Some were at present ailing, but cheerfully resigned to the Saviour's will concerning them. And their brethren and sisters could not but pray to Him that, as their dear aged brethren and sisters, were gently passing forward towards the end of their mortal life, to receive the fulfilment of all their hopes, those who were yet young might tread in their footsteps, give their whole hearts unto Him, and possess the same love and zeal in His service in the congregation; that thus we may not degenerate into a poor sickly resemblance of the old church of the Brethren, but bear their name and character in truth."

We have at length reached the closing season of Hutton's life. Although absent, with the excellent ladies, under whose roof his old age was rendered as comfortable as his infirmities would permit, his associates in the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel had too much affection and respect for their venerable brother to allow his name to be erased from their books; he was, therefore, at the usual time of appointing officers, in the year 1795, re-appointed Chairman.

On Tuesday morning, April the 28th, Br. Wollin, by a letter from Miss Shelley, of Oxted Cottage, received intelligence that if he, or any of his friends, desired to see Mr. Hutton alive no time should be lost, as the hour of his departure appeared to be at hand. Upon this the brethren Wollin and Moore immediately took a post-chaise, and arrived at the cottage at five in the afternoon, where they found their dear old brother in bed, and very weak, having sustained some strokes of paralysis. He knew and received them with a friendly smile; but his speech was already faltering, and almost unintelligible, yet he was still able to converse a little with them. Upon Br. Moore asking him, if it were clear to him that our Saviour would by this opportunity take him home? he answered, pretty distinctly, No. Whether he was comfortable and felt our dear Lord's presence in his heart? He answered, Yes. To other questions his answers could not be understood. The two brethren remained in an adjoining room the whole night, expecting that he would scarcely survive till the next morning. This expectation, however, was not realized, though he evidently grew hourly weaker. About ten o'clock, therefore, on

Wednesday morning, after the physician had been with him, and declared it to be his opinion that it was possible for the patient to survive for some days, the two brethren, for the last time, assembled round his bed. He held out his hands, smiled, and gave them to understand that he was pleased with their visit, and that he desired his love to the brethren and sisters in London. Br. Moore then knelt down, and recommended him in a fervent prayer to that Saviour in whom he believed, whom he loved, and had served so many years with zeal and faithfulness; and concluded, by pronouncing the usual blessing over him. Miss Shelley, his faithful nurse, a truly awakened person, was present, and seemed much affected. Thus they took a final leave of their dear Hutton, and returned to London, daily expecting to hear of his departure. This took place at two o'clock on Sunday morning, the 3rd of May, when, in a happy and gentle manner, he entered into the everlasting joy of his Lord.

Of this event an immediate notice was sent to London by the ladies in whose house he had found such a pleasing and comfortable retreat in his old age.

On the evening of the 4th, his remains were removed privately from Oxted Cottage to the room at the end of the chapel at Chelsea, where they lay until Monday the 11th, when, at four o'clock in the afternoon, they were interred in the burying ground there. Br. Thomas Moore conducted the service.

When the brethren considered, that their now happily departed brother had been in a measure useless for the last two or three years of his life, and had suffered much under various bodily infirmities, they could rejoice that the Saviour had permitted this his old and faithful servant to rest in His presence from all his labours; according to the desire he himself had expressed, two days previous to his departure, that he might be dissolved and be with Christ; for he was resigned to his Lord's will, and felt assured of a gracious acceptance whenever He should call him.

A stone was placed over his grave, with this inscription:

JAMES HUTTON,
Born, Sept. the 14th, 1715,
Departed this life,
May 3, 1795.

The following is related concerning Hutton in Nicholls' Literary Anecdotes, iii. p. 436-8. "The character of Mr. Hutton was well known to me, as well as his person. I frequently met him at the houses of mutual friends. Though he was a Moravian preacher, his charities were confined to *no sect;* and the latter end of his life was spent literally in going about doing good. How many of his relations Mr. Hutton assisted, I am not informed, but he shewed great kindness to a nephew brought up in the military line. Mr. Hutton possessed strong sense, with quick feelings and apprehensions, which the illumination of his countenance evinced at the age of seventy, though his difficulty of hearing was such that he could only converse by the assistance of an ear-trumpet. He was highly esteemed by the two first characters for rank and virtue in the British nation, and well known to many of the nobility and men of letters. To those in affluence, Mr. Hutton often recommended misfortune when beyond his own ability to relieve; nor was he refused admittance to the highest ranks, though his ardent benevolence inclined him greatly to neglect his dress, that he might the better feed the hungry, and cover the naked. An intimate friend of Mr. Hutton told me that, in the exercise of charitable pursuits, Mr. Hutton first met with those ladies with whom the greatest part of the two or three last years of his life was spent. These benevolent females, by their attention during that time gave comfort to a good but infirm old man, full of years and good deeds. Mr. Hutton was the Moravian clergyman of whom Mrs. Piozzi speaks, in her Italian Tour, with such enthusiasm, calling him, I think, 'dear, good Mr. Hutton.'"

APPENDIX 1.

(See page 309.)

He who is a Minister of the Gospel, and highly esteems the Sufferings of the Lamb, His Introduction to the Method or Way of the Evangelical Church of the Brethren in Dealing with Souls. To which is prefixed, A short Answer to Mr. Rimius's long Un-Candid Narrative. And a Lesson for Mr. Whitefield to read before his Congregation.

TO THE READER.

MUCH ill-founded ridicule having lately been made, and many untruths laid to the charge of the Moravians, or United Brethren, as they choose to be called, the following piece, which had lain in manuscript some years, called loudly to me to send it forth, for the conviction of such as have candour enough to see truth when it appears full-faced.

An established Church, with liberty of conscience, is a blessing in every country; but has this inconveniency, that it swallows up, and reckons in its number, all those who have no religion at all, and must therefore be more numerous than all the several bodies of Christians of all other denominations.

All those who differ from the Established Church, must be supposed to have considered Christianity so much, at least, as to be able to give a reason why they break the pale, and get out of that enclosure, which I wish I could call God's fold.

And in this view, I cannot but look upon them all as serious Christians; how much soever each may blame his neighbour for differing in opinion from him. "There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." 1 Cor. xii. 6.

And here I cannot help observing, that had we serious Christians of an hundred times as many denominations as we have, I do not see the least inconvenience could arise to the State in giving to them all the indulgence at present enjoyed; nor do I think it would be just to deprive any one of it, since God regards only the worship of the heart. And such as truly worship God in their hearts, must always be good subjects, submitting to the powers that be; "rendering to all their dues, tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour." Rom. xiii. 7.

I shall now take leave to say a word or two of the United Brethren, who appear to be at least as serious Christians as any, since they deny that works, the outside and showy part of Christianity, are of any avail; but that faith in Jesus Christ, and Him for us crucified, is all in all; and that though works are the fruits of faith, yet works are no proof that the worker has faith; that point, whether he believe or no, being to be debated between himself and his own conscience.

St. Paul is very clear on this point, in his Epistle to the Galatians, ii. 16: "Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified." And in his Epistle to the Romans: "We conclude that a man is justified by faith; without the deeds of the law." Chap. iii. ver. 28. And again, verse 31: "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid; yea, we establish the law." "By grace are ye saved through faith, not of works, lest any man should boast." Ephes. ii. 9.

I have a word to say to the author of the "Essay on Ridicule," that if the words of the Hymns are so very mean, as he would make them, there is the greater occasion for good music to make them go down; but I will give him a reason he seems to know nothing of:—these Hymns were not written in English; but have been translated into nearly twenty languages in the same metre, that so, the United Brethren, in whatsoever language they praise God, pour out their hearts to the same music, and in the same words, as nearly as the several languages will bear. Nay, to cavillers, I may allow, that perhaps, they may not be quite so closely translated as they think they could have rendered them; for the gift of tongues has long ceased among the disciples of the Lord; and we have His own word, that those who seek Him must be as babes and sucklings, for of such is the kingdom of God.

And as a large part of their worship consists in singing, (according to the rule of St. James, "If any be merry, let him sing psalms," ver. 13. "Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms and HYMNS, and spiritual songs," Col. iii. 16. "Singing and making melody in your hearts to the Lord," Ephes v. 19.) this is the more necessary, as it bids fair to make their service as really universal, as that of the Church of Rome is pretendedly so. The Church of Rome, to make their service universal, perform it everywhere in the same language; by this means depriving nine-tenths of their body from truly joining in a service performed in a language they are totally ignorant of. There is such a meanness in this, in the light I at present view it, that nothing can equal it: God's ignorance of all languages but Latin, can only

be matched by the superior power of a herring to disarm His thunder.

Mr. Rimius has largely treated of these Hymns. Had he been as skilful in his own language, as he seems the contrary, he could not have taken so much pains as he has, to make the peculiarity of one language, and that his own, the butt of ridicule, by a false translation into another. *Papagen* and *Mamagen*, in the German language, have no other meaning than *papa* and *mamma* in English; and we never take these to mean little father and little mother, but as expressions custom has made suitable for little children. And the highest ambition of those who use these words, is to be enrolled in the list of the children of the All-merciful Father: "Who hath hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hath revealed them unto babes." Matt. xi. 25. "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Christ's own words! Matt. xviii. 3.

So *Lammelein* means not little lamb in German, more than lambkin in English makes the lamb so called be less than his fellows, who are called plain lambs, without the addition of the last syllable: *lein*, in the German language, is a diminutive expressing tenderness, and is frequently tacked to the end of a word, when the speaker would be understood to have a tender regard for the person spoken to, or the thing spoken of.

In the same manner, he has translated *Manlein Jesus*, the little Man Jesus. If he had been a sufficient master of both languages, to set himself up for an interpreter to the people, he would have been able to discover another meaning, expressible in every language: nay, it is not impossible but in that case this *mannikin* in criticism, and perhaps in sincerity also, might have aimed at a more ridiculous term. But it may not be quite impertinent here to tell a short story. A would-be famous Irishman or German, no matter whether, had taken a resolution to write—but what?—this consideration employed much time. At last he took advice; and his best friend told him, it would be time enough to begin to write, when he knew what to say.

To this may be added, that the two German books, from which he has retailed so much scandal, have long lost credit; for being destitute of foundation in truth, like other idle reports, they expired with a stench; and can only now be revived for a purpose like that for which they were first published.

Here it may not be amiss to observe, that his knowledge of religion rises no higher than his learning: if he be a Lutheran, he has never read the writings of the author of his sect, which abound as much with New Testament and Primitive Christian phrases, as the Hymns of the Brethren: if he be a Calvinist, he has only trodden in the steps of his predecessors, and abused his

betters. And, since he could not keep his own secret, why should I? For MONEY has he betrayed, not like Judas, his Master, but himself, his ignorance.

The frequent occurrence of *blood* and *wounds* and *love*, in these Hymns, has given offence to many, who "professing themselves wise, become fools." Rom. i. 22. And in this instance they highly betray their ignorance of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Whom God hath set forth a propitiation, through faith in his BLOOD." Rom. iii. 25.

"Being now justified by his BLOOD." Ibid. ver. 9.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the BLOOD of Christ?" 1 Cor. x. 16.

"This cup is the New Testament in my BLOOD." 1 Cor. ix. 25.

"Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and BLOOD of the Lord." 1 Cor. xi. 27.

"We have redemption through his BLOOD." Ephes. i. 7. Col. i. 14.

"Ye who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the BLOOD of Christ." Eph. ii. 13.

"Having made peace through the BLOOD of his cross." Col. i. 20.

"The BLOOD of Christ Jesus cleanseth us from all sin." 1 John i. 7.

"Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own BLOOD." Acts xx. 28.

"What are these WOUNDS in thine hands?" Zech. xiii. 6.

"He was WOUNDED for our transgressions, BRUISED for our iniquities, and with his STRIPES we are healed." Isa. liii. 5. 1 Pet. ii. 24.

"Jesus said unto Thomas, Reach hither thy finger, and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side, and be not faithless, but believing." John xx. 27. "Because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they who have not seen, and yet have believed." ver. 29.

"Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, they may forget, yet will I not forget thee: behold I have GRAVEN thee on the palms of my hands." Isa. xlix. 15, 16.

"He that LOVETH hath fulfilled the law." Rom. xiii. 8.

"For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith, which worketh by LOVE." Gal. v. 6.

"All the law is fulfilled in one word, Thou shalt LOVE thy neighbour as thyself." Gal. v. 14.

"That ye, being rooted and grounded in LOVE, may know the LOVE of Christ, which passeth knowledge." Ephes. iii. 17, 19.

"Herein is LOVE, not that we LOVED God, but that he LOVED us; and if God so LOVED us, we ought also to LOVE one another." 1 John iv. 10, 11.

"Herein is our LOVE made perfect." ver. 17.

"Hold fast the form of sound words which thou hast heard of me, in FAITH and LOVE, which is in Jesus Christ." 2 Tim. i. 13.

And notwithstanding Paul frequently delivered himself in this unfashionable *cant* (as I have heard it called), Agrippa, whose interest and education, according to the situation of the times, absolutely forbade his public profession of Christianity, although he sat as Judge to condemn Paul, made this public declaration: "Almost thou persuadest ME to be a Christian." Acts xxvi. 28.

The writer of this has only to say for himself, that he thought thus much necessary to be said in behalf of the Brethren; it being natural to suppose that they will never join issue with such a calumniator, remembering this admonition of St. Paul; "Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath. Vengeance is mine: I will repay, saith the Lord." Rom. xii. 19.

If Mr. Whitefield had been more acquainted with the customs of the Primitive Christians, he needed not to ask, "Did the Primitive Christians visit the graves of the deceased?"

As to the illuminations, they are no part of the worship, and cannot concern him.

And as to their debts, he has no business to trouble himself about them—he will never be asked to pay them; for he among the Brethren to whom the Lord has been most bountiful, has taken upon himself to discharge them. Let the creditors be the judges of the truth of this.

But as his intelligence has been from such as St. Paul distinguishes by the name of false brethren, any man possessed of common sense, may know what regard it deserves.

One fault among the Brethren is, that they do not abound with charity sermons, and look sharp after the plate, as is done he knows where, and by whom.

Mr. Thomas Rhodes is so well content with what he has done, that he would do the same again, were it to do over again; which, I believe, is more than Mr. Whitefield would do, or he could not now behave as he does to those very people, whom, not long since, he pretended to wish himself perfectly joined in communion with, declaring he should think it a happiness, to be but a door-keeper to so heavenly a society.

Where too many words are used on any subject, new matter for cavil will always arise. By this time, I doubt not, Mr. Whitefield is able to answer his own queries; and, I hope, wishes he had taken Paul's advice to Timothy: "Foolish and unlearned QUESTIONS avoid, knowing that they do gender strifes." 2 Tim. ii. 23.

The Author's Preface.

My Brethren!

Among all people, it is not to be wondered at, that at one and the same time, we have the testimony of being ORTHODOX, and yet are charged with abundance of errors, and that for different reasons.

All small sects are dissatisfied with us.

That impartial men of learning agree best with us; but all pious or self-righteous, in all parties, are our most bitter antagonists.

Did the new sects only know, that they are thrashing but mere chaff; did zealous preachers see, that we attain, what they aim at; and did they believe, that even their method and way were opposed very strongly, and in a very unnatural manner, before the time of John Arnd; and that now we live in a time quite new, where the souls are disposed otherwise, and brought nearer to the old Bible method, (for which, as far as their faithfulness and labour have been helpful to it, they deserve thanks, and their reward of grace is certain) they would pass a quite different judgment.

As to the orthodox divines, they cannot but at last give us their full consent: worldly-minded divines nobody calls good. In this method all the sincere divines will soon observe, that our way of going on makes neither hypocrites nor proud self-holy ones; but that it rather makes such a people as hold the mystery of faith, with a pure conscience.

But as there are some, who would be solidly informed of the matter, I will now lay before them our Method, in the weightiest and chief heads; and prove it at another time by Scripture.

I. *Our Method to bring souls to happiness, is*—To set forth the tender-hearted LAMB, (who died for us, and gave Himself for our sins, notwithstanding his being the Son of God) by the preaching of His blood, and love to us, which brought Him even to death on the cross; to set Him forth to every heart of man, as the God, the Mediator between God and man, the Law-Giver, the Comforter, the Confessor, the Exorcist, the Saviour, the Throne of Grace, the Example, the Brother, the Husband, and, in short as All in All.

Not to swerve, or make digressions from this Lamb, for one quarter of an hour, neither in the proposition of the doctrine, nor in its demonstration.

To name no virtue but in Him, and through Him, and for His sake.

To preach no other commandment, but faith in Him; no other righteousness, but that He is sufficient for us.

No other holiness, but the privilege not to sin any more.

No other happiness, but to converse with Him, and to please Him.

No other unhappiness, but to displease Him.

No life but by Him.

No God but in His person.

To behold the Father no where else but in Him.

To derive the Holy Ghost from no body but Him.

To declare His Father to be our Father, because the Lamb is our Brother.

To know the Spirit by this only, where He glorifieth Jesus.

II. *Our Method to preach, is*—To the world, none else but the only God Jesus Christ: whosoever will not receive this, will be an Atheist, because, though he believeth a God by any other name, it will profit him nothing.

To the children whose sins are forgiven them in His name; not to allow them, that the Father of Jesus is their Father, before the Holy Ghost hath cried in their hearts, *Abba*. Not to describe what the Holy Ghost is, because a man without the Spirit turns only a scoffer; and he that receiveth the Spirit, knoweth, without description, that the Spirit is truth.

To inculcate, with great earnestness, all that stands in the Scripture so clear as two and two make four, and to let it be digested, and bring forth fruit; and if there be any thing else to be known or observed, to leave this to the revelation of God: only that it be according to this rule,—"For another foundation can no man lay," &c. "And if an angel from Heaven should preach any other Gospel," &c.

Preach Jesus the Crucified to the Jews and Greeks, and send the people home with this: let them forget you, your gifts, your actions, your demonstration, your paths, their own conviction, all virtues and duties, if, but after even twenty years, this still sounds in their ears, the true and everlasting God, for me, an undone rebel, hath died and shed His blood.

III. *Method with those that make any question, is*—According to the condition of each question, to answer nothing, or little, or only what is most necessary, or all at once.

IV. *Method with scoffers, is*—That they be offended, and that it be to them a savour unto death.

V. *Private Method with those that are dead, is*—To wait for the voice of the Son of God in their hearts, and to spare them all self-wrought stirrings.

VI. *Method with the unbelievers, is*—The same as with the

dead, except that one tells them sometimes, without faith it is impossible to please God.

VII. *Method with sinners, is*—Not to allow that sinning is their misery; but that their sin is, not believing in the true God.

VIII. *Method with the sectarists, is*—To have patience, to be hearty, humble, to yield as much as one can; but to stand fast, and not to be moved in the least, when one can yield no more: and all this in love, and that all words be anointed with the blood of Christ.

IX. *Method with the chief in any sect, is*—To treat with a sovereign contempt, or to attack so that their hearts quake.

X. *Method among the heathens, is*—To walk godly before their eyes, till they are moved to ask, Who is it that makes such people?

XI. *Method with the Jews, is*—To deny that Moses and the prophets have known of any other God but Him who is become Man, and whom they have hanged on a tree. "Hear, O Israel, there is no other God but Jehovah, thy God. Where is a prophet, whose God is gone for them to be their Jehovah" (Jesus)! As for the rest, not to dispute with them, but to see whether the veil hangs still before their eyes; and if so, not to meddle with them.

XII. *Method with the naturalists, is*—To laugh at them, as He doth who dwelleth in heaven.

XIII. *Method with those who maintain there are faults in the Scripture*—To prove all that out of the faults, which they would prove out of its infallibility. Here I should add the *Quomodo*, but I fear it might be as the sword of Scanderbeg.

XIV. *Method with the world, is*—To have a heart full of brotherly and tender love towards man; a heart full of respect for the least good that is in any other, full of shame for our own grace, full of desire after the happiness of others; to speak humbly, modestly, friendly, cautiously, and distinctly.

XV. *Method in regard to errors.*—These are not of one nature. The devilish errors, as for instance, the doctrine of reprobation of work, holiness of self-doings in the work of salvation, of the sinfulness of the marriage state, of piety without faith, of faith in an unclean conscience: these are partly to be cast out of the Church of Christ, with great zeal; partly not to be hearkened to at all.

The human errors, which keep up the form of religion, are to be treated with the same patience and wisdom with which the Head of the Church bears them.

The others are either to be left to a man's own conscience, or only hinted at in a modest and cautious manner.

In regard to those who hold erroneous doctrines, one ought to avoid all drawing of consequences, and every passion; and rather to find out that good design which gave occasion for such errors; and by another, and better way, to lead such as err out of sincerity, to that good, in their progress towards which they mistook the way.

XVI. *Method with regard to the demonstration of the truth.*—There is required a full coherence of Scripture, in such sense which nobody can turn any other way, because of its being so clear, and nowhere otherwise explained in Scripture, much less really contradicted in another place of Holy Writ. It must be taken out (*sede argumenti*) without all bye ideas, without all forced and unusual explication; avoiding all such texts which formerly have been thought *dicta probantia cardinalia*, but which very often prove a matter there only where nobody will contradict; and on the contrary, in an hundred or more instances, are opposed, either in a more solid or plausible manner, or were made use of by some, to the proof of the opposite. One ought also to be cautious in alleging such texts, whose translations are different from the Greek or Hebrew. For though it cannot be denied that the Apostles in the Thesis have followed the version of the LXX, yet their method cannot be made use of in the Antithesis; because, as soon as about a place of Scripture there is room for a dispute, either hermeneutical, etymological, or grammatical, all solid demonstration ceaseth.

XVII. *The Method to be observed in controversy.*—If the opposite party will talk alone, we let him; if he will be answered, we answer; if he express himself better than his thoughts are, we let it pass; if worse, we help out; if he be in an error, we gladly set him right; if he be in a passion, we endeavour to soften him; if he be offended, we behave friendly to him; if he be indifferent, we spare him; if his opinions be dangerous, we detect him; if he be flighty, we pull him down; if he be thirsty, we are open; if he be civil, we behave humbly to him; if he be in the right, we thankfully allow it him; if he rail, we disregard it; if he examine our foundation, we explain it to him; if he would overturn it, we let him see it is upon a rock. In general, we must be concise, clear, and deal roundly, and as distinctly as possible; in points not material yielding, in material points unmoveable; shewing on all occasions as hearty a humane love and brotherly respect as the circumstances of the opposite party will admit of; especially there, where the contrary might be expected, must this love most clearly shine forth.

XVIII. *The manner of preaching.*—This must be first, in mixed companies, according to that wisdom the Lord gives us; secondly, in congregations, concise, the chief truths, and such as are un-

questionable first to be spoken of. In Jesus all must be sought, found, and given; the continual subject is Jesus. The object is the heart. The service of God, and true Christianity, attend the spiritual birth, as the five senses do the natural. Grace to live is from grace. Life itself is through grace. The powers, evidences, and operations of life, flow from the nature of life, according to the eternal law, to scripture, and experience.

XIX. *Of the elocution.*—The expression must be distinct, and free from ambiguity; in the ground exactly scriptural: so piercing, and so entire, that the sense may instantly appear. *Spiritus Biblicus ore Biblico.*

XX. *Observation concerning the persons to be employed in the service of God.*—To a professor of the truths, nothing more is required, than a natural honesty, and a clear understanding; but to an Evangelist, a pardoned sinner's heart.

All men may be friends of the congregation, because they are nowhere so much beloved. All may be scholars or learners. All who feel their misery may be partakers with the congregation. All believers may be members. All faithful and entire souls labourers. All faithful and wise servants may be nurses of the Church.

XXI. *Manner of behaviour towards magistrates.*—A hearty inclination to be subject. A true love to each in authority over us, because God sets up and pulls down kings. Seek the good of the city, and pray to the Lord for her, &c.; never defending any right, nor pleading privileges against them; but patiently suffering all injustice, excusing the magistrates; both in our hearts, and before all men, shunning all self-defence. When this cannot be, without injury to others, then to decline it as much as we can, and if need be, quite go out of the way, till one is brought to such circumstances, as to be obliged to say, though with humble respect, "Here I am, I can go no further; God help me."

XXII. *The Method of behaviour in common life, towards the preachers in the national religions.*—An universal respect towards them, as having a character from the magistrate which demands it.

Towards such as have set up themselves, regarding, compassionating, or disregarding them, more or less, as they deserve, in the matter of our Saviour; towards the fellow-servants true-hearted and serious; towards the free servants civil and neighbourly; towards the hireling impartial; towards the ravening wolves vigilant and quick of despatch; "thy eye shall not spare him:" but we are neither to seek them in the wood, nor kill them when fallen into a pit.

XXIII. *The behaviour towards the religious in general.*—Each

religion which holds Jesus Christ to be the only true God, is to be treated cautiously, that no soul which Jesus nurses therein may be drawn out before its time, and so, through a method unsuitable to her, be spoiled, and become a verbal instead of a real Christian. This is a divine caution, for which we rather would bear all sorts of latitudinarian nicknames, than turn aside from it one step. Especially in the Roman Catholic Church, the poverty of spirit, the equivalency of the name of God and Jesus, are what we should look upon as the salt of this religion; and this treasure we should not dispute with them, but preserve, help forward, and provide ourselves with it. In like manner, among the Calvinists, the free election of the sure heritage of the Lamb. Among the Lutherans, the universal grace of God from heaven for all men, who are only not willing to perish. Among the Quakers, who are the only separatists that deserve the name of a religion, because they are the first who have kept up the plan, that every one, though not of their people, has liberty of conscience. Among the true Mennonists, the strict following their own conscience.

In this manner we fulfil the advice of our forefathers, and keep up their method, and labour with their blessings; having salt within us, and peace with every body.

XXIV. *But how shall we do to preserve ourselves from error?*—My brethren, I recommend you to God, and to the word of His grace, &c.

XXV. *But what is now the proper character of a teacher of the ancient renewed Churches of the Brethren?*—They are poor sinners before God, and all the holy angels; admirers and lovers of all simple good things, wheresoever they can be found; enemies and creators of suspicion against all things which though good in themselves, are made subservient to an evil purpose; what is notoriously bad, they suffer and bear with it; that evil which creeps, they feel and discover.

The creation, redemption, and sanctification, they attribute to Jesus Christ. What the Father and Spirit have done therein, is looked upon as a co-operation; in general, they treat the *mystery* of the Trinity as what stands behind, and is concealed, and laid open only in Jesus. When spoken of, it is described as happy for the experience, but too great for the words: among the heathen, to be able to hunger, thirst, and wait; among the Jews, to sigh; among the erroneous, to learn patience; His blood for their helmet, His word for their sword, and His love, which is better than life, for the element of their lives.

To live to His will, Who will have us live on earth, and to be at home no where but with Him, yet willingly to go and be where He will; to be indifferent as to the manner of call, by land or sea, short or long, convenient or inconvenient, much blest or quite

tution, but would be as it were entirely absorbed therein; and, consequently, that their existence as a Church would cease; but they perceived, and were at length convinced, that the Brethren knew how to value their ancient Church-constitution and privileges. The late Ordinary of the Church of the Brethren, and some eminent divines, not of our pale, declared themselves for the upholding and conservation of this ancient Church, and they cautioned the Brethren earnestly not to suffer themselves to be incorporated inconsiderately into any other religious constitution, as they would probably find sufficient reason to repent when it might be too late, of having taken such an unadvised step. At last, when the abovementioned Lutheran divines, who would have persuaded the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren to join the Lutheran Church, saw that episcopal ordination was established in the congregations of the Brethren in Germany, by means of the renowned Reformed divines, D(aniel) E(rnest) Jablonsky, and Sitkovius, both bishops of the ancient Church of the Brethren, it provoked some of them, who were not well versed in the canon law, to take more upon them than they had done before, and to declare against the Brethren; and, at times, to step forth as bitter opposers.

Our public Declarations, that the doctrine of our Church was diametrically opposite to that of absolute reprobation, excited some Reformed divines to exceed all bounds of Christian deportment towards us, so that as the former were stirred up against us on account of episcopal ordination, the latter were less willing to bear with us, than with other Protestant denominations, on account of the aforesaid doctrinal tenet. Accordingly, both commenced a controversy, and began to make it a common cause to act against the Brethren to the utmost of their power; and, as is customary in most controversies, this was carried on with great vehemence, and accompanied with a multitude of absurd imputations and scurrilities against us. These have been since propagated in the world, repeated, and warmed up *ad nauseam usque*, without paying the least attention to what the Brethren had to say for themselves, or to what they had answered with the greatest regard to decency and truth. The Brethren bore this treatment as well as they could, but were thereby thoroughly convinced of the real value of the jewel of their own Church-constitution; and saw evidently to what bondage of conscience they might have been exposed, even in those Protestant constitutions, if our Saviour had not, in a remarkable manner, as their faithful Shepherd, prevented it by His omnipotent hand, and also inclined the hearts of the magistracy towards them, after they had been obliged anew to endure various sufferings, oppressions, and persecutions, some of which were severe indeed.

But to return to the proper aim of this Declaration, we will barely recite the manner in which our opponents have treated

us touching the conversion of the Heathen. As these, our antagonists, were unwearied in their endeavours to render the Brethren suspected every where, they went even so far as to tell the public in their writings, that all that the Brethren had related occasionally of their labours among the heathen, was nothing but vain boasting, pretensions and fictions. But when ocular demonstration, and the evidences of the grace of God among the heathen, confuted these calumnies in the most effectual manner, then our opponents had recourse to a new artifice, and began to represent the labours of the Brethren as tending to the prejudice of the public good; thus occasioning new lets and hindrances to the work of our Lord. This method was first used abroad, and we were necessitated, in the year 1740, to publish a declaration concerning our labour among the heathen, according to which we have since been judged and treated by persons of candour and understanding. But we have, for some time past, observed, that even in England, some writers have begun to represent us in the same odious light, being misled by the aforesaid authors, without ever considering, whether they had written truths or falsehoods, and have laid several things to our charge which have not the least reference to us, but are entirely contrary both to our principles and practice.

It is a matter of the greatest importance to us that the Government and the whole nation, may not be pre-occupied with false ideas, and thereby be prejudiced against innocent subjects, and useful fellow-citizens of the English dominions. The most profound respect for the Government, and esteem for the public, constrain us to publish in English the same Declaration which has spoken in our behalf for twenty-seven years past, in the consciences not only of the Governors, but of every candid and impartial person in the different countries abroad, where we are known and settled, and this Declaration hath been the stronger evidence for us, as it has appeared that our practice and conduct are every where conformable to our words.

We are at present actually engaged in the ministry of the Gospel among the Indians, in North America, as also among the negroes in Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbadoes; and we must own that we have been for several years desirous to publish the Gospel to the heathen in several other West Indian islands, belonging to the English Government. We own we also ventured, by the special encouragement of his Majesty's Board of Trade and Plantations, to get among the Esquimaux in Terra-Labrador; and as we are masters of their language, by means of our mission in Greenland, we are still willing to be serviceable to this very savage nation to the best of our ability, by bringing the Gospel of peace among them. Our missionaries at Tranquebar, on the coast of Coromandel, have from thence visited some of the English settlements in the East Indies, and we have certain advice

that they have been kindly received and encouraged by persons of distinction there, to apply themselves to the conversion of the heathen in those parts. And indeed, our general call to the service of the heathen in all nations, does not allow us to be inattentive to any particular call of that kind.

We grant that we cannot ensure the success of our undertakings, nor can we be more answerable for the conduct of our missionaries than were the Apostles of the Lord; or the Lord Himself for His messengers; but in this case we have each to be answerable for his own conduct in all circumstances which may occur. Herein we have a heart full of confidence to our dear Saviour; and as we know that such undertakings are attended with numberless difficulties, hindrances, and seeming impossibilities, especially at the first setting out, and are frequently undertaken by unlearned men, and such instruments, whose appearance at first does not speak much in their favour, it cannot be expected that the progress always answers the most sanguine expectations. Yet, upon the whole, we find the greater occasion to look with wonder and gratitude at the good and blessed issue with which our good Lord has been graciously pleased to crown our undertaking hitherto, and which has been taken notice of by our superiors with much pleasure and satisfaction. As our congregations are frequently excited to render unfeigned thanks and praise to our gracious Lord for the free access which He has granted us among the heathen nations; so, we are also thankful to the high and benevolent promoters of this great work of God, and entreat God our Saviour that He may graciously remember them for their kind assistance, and grant them an eternity of blessing.

By this, our public Declaration, we entreat with the most sincere and Christian concern our dear Magistrates; yea, and all our fellow Christians, for the Lord's sake, to continue their kind patronage to the ministry of the Gospel among the heathen; to wish us success and blessing in this important work; not to suffer any to interrupt our labours, or to lay impediments in the way of our missionaries, who, in the attempt itself, must always venture their lives. And that this our request may find the more ready reception in the minds of all men; and that every one who is desirous to be as well acquainted with our principles and practice herein, as we are among ourselves, we will not decline to give the public once more an opportunity of getting a more clear insight into the nature of our labour among the heathen, by publishing the following concise points:

1. We never enter into controversy with any other denomination, nor do we endeavour to draw their members over to us.

2. Much less do we attempt to win over to our Church any of the heathen who are already in connection with those of any other Church.

3. Or, to stand in the way of the missionaries of any other Church.

4. We are very attentive that the bond between the Government and the heathen may not in the least suffer by means of Evangelical tenets; should this moreover appear unavoidable in any place, through the nature of things, and the particular circumstance of the place, we should, in that case, rather choose to retire from thence.

5. We never attempt, by means of our Missions, to obtain the least influence in civil or commercial affairs; but are contented with what we can earn by our industry in useful employments for our support, to the satisfaction of the Government.

6. As to the rights of the Sovereign and the magistracy, we require no further insight into them than to know what is commanded, and what is prohibited, that we may act conformably thereunto, as loyal and obedient subjects; least of all would we act from any other principle than that of being, with our whole heart, subject to those who have the rule over us, gladly exerting ourselves to the uttermost to maintain the best understanding between the Government and the converted heathen, which, in fact, follows, of course—desirous also to be as instrumental as possible in establishing the same good principles, even among the unconverted.

7. We carefully avoid intermeddling with anything that can increase the wrong and prejudicial ideas, which the heathen savages and slaves have imbibed against the Christian religion.

8. We confess and preach to the heathen Jesus Christ and Him crucified, as the Saviour of the world, because there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ; and we seek, as far as in us lies, to keep them ignorant of the many divisions in Christendom. But if they happen to have been informed thereof, we endeavour, with great precaution, to approve ourselves impartial, speak of the several divisions with much tenderness, and seek to extenuate and not to exaggerate the differences; that thus the knowledge of the mystery of Christ may be increased, and misapprehensions diminished.

9. We endeavour to treat our opponents with love and heartiness, and to erase out of the minds of the heathen all the thoughts they may have concerning the hardships and oppression under which our Brethren sometimes labour, and which often become almost insupportable to the heathen themselves.

10. But as to the main point itself, namely, the conversion of the heathen to Him who has made an atonement for the whole world with His own blood; to Him to whom all Christians must yield, we don't give way—no not in the least; but stand fast upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and with faith

and patience expect the constant aid and protection of our Lord and Saviour, according to His promise. We beseech all men to look to Jesus, the Apostle and High Priest of our profession, and cannot refrain from warning each with all faithfulness, lest, by opposition, and trampling upon the seed of the glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, he render himself unfortunate, and expose to Divine judgment himself and those who belong to him.

Our duty to the public constrains us to make this solemn Declaration, which we do accordingly herewith, and in the name of our Lord, lay it before the impartial public in all simplicity and love.

In the name of the Directors of the Missions of the Church of the Brethren among the Heathen.

M. AUGUSTUS GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG,
Episc. Fratr.

Lindsey House, Sept. 22nd, 1768.

APPENDIX III.

(See page 363.)

Three Letters from Mr. Hutton to three different great men; written, two of them in the year 1750, *the third in* 1754, *and now all thrown into one.*

The difficulty of coming at the domestic character of great men, has been frequently, and with reason, lamented by those who have studied or written history.

If I wanted to come at the real character of any hero or shining man in life, I imagine I should best arrive at the truth by seeing him alone, at all times and seasons, or in large or smaller companies with his most intimate friends, with friends of a lesser degree of intimacy, with persons of whom he is aware that they are false friends, and with his open enemies: in short, in his own sphere, at home, with his family, his children, or with those who, he is sure, are entirely devoted to him.

This I take to be the point from whence true criticism on a man's personal character is to be begun, if it be to be begun at all; and from hence one may be able to judge with as much certainty, as the nature of man will allow, of those actions which appear before the world, or of the man himself. As the constant maxim of the Church of the Brethren is, that the dictates of every man's conscience are to be respected and handsomely treated, there is no other room for being devoted to one another, than what the sight of real and undisguised worth produces.

Not only many of the open steps I have taken in life, have shewn that I prefer what appears to me to be truth to all other considerations; that the most tender friendship in my own breast could as little overbalance what I took to be truth, as party-spirit, principles of education, or the hopes or fears about worldly interests; but in my own house and family I pass for a man of truth: and though I look upon myself as far too weak an instrument, and too unworthy among the Brethren to make any boast that I belong to them; yet as I am with regard to men and things upon earth, as much without ambition as without fear; so I shall not be so base as to be silent about the excellency of a man I so much admire, because so many bulls of Bashan round about, as brute beasts without understanding, roar so madly against him. Men as stupid as the gods of the heathen, who have eyes and see not, &c.

I see a nobleman of the first rank, by birth and alliances related to the greatest and highest Protestant families in Europe; however he has condescended to enter into the detail of a poor people, reviving from the heap of ashes it had so long mourned under, to whom he has been a patron, defender and nursing father:—

A man, for his own person, most deeply convinced of every truth which constitutes an orthodox Christian according to every Protestant system; and very far from being an indifferentist in matters of faith: and yet so zealous for liberty of conscience for others, that he has, for that reason only, been charged with being a partaker of all the errors and heresies of others, to whom he wished liberty of conscience, and whom he admired for any excellency and virtue which were in them, notwithstanding he thought so very differently from them in many matters:—

A man, the friend of mankind, a man endowed with justness of thinking, a humane man abounding with bowels, sedulously anxious for others, strangely neglectful of himself, indefatigable in labours of love; a man whom my soul blesses when it sees him, a man of the noblest, most generous and exalted, and yet most natural and simple sentiments, whose stream and tide of soul are constant; lively and vehement in friendship, and in Christianity, devoured by zeal for the welfare and delight of mankind, for the peace, prosperity and forgiveness of his enemies; a man being, and capable of being, of the greatest service to those who hate him every day, wearing out his partisans, his relations, his best souls, in persisting to bear with, to comfort, to help, and spare, at the expense of his own reputation, and, oftentimes, his ease, his safety, and his purse, many of those whom he finds the most virulent of his enemies:—

I see this man, whom I wish I was able to paint as he deserves in his true colours, and in all that loveliness I have so long had the happiness of constantly seeing, (though his excellencies and virtues are so striking, as to be sometimes too great for weak or disordered eyes to bear); I see him whom every spectator cannot but reckon among the foremost of Christian heroes; a man most extraordinary and amiable, described by adversaries without cause, who neither know him nor see him, without making any ceremony, as a Mahomet, a Cæsar, an Impostor, a Don Quixote, a Devil, a Beast, the Beast, the Man of Sin, the Whore, the Antichrist.

In this light have writers of different ranks, from the highest to the lowest, treated my friend Count Zinzendorf, the present Ordinary and Advocate of the Brethren.

If I had been born dumb, my tongue would break loose infallibly, neither shall I be able to speak coolly about him.

Those who know the warmth of my heart will bear with it, as

they know its honesty; and the admirers of the judicious *sang-froid* must excuse me; I have no time nor patience here.

Providence first placed me as an eye-witness of my friend, and my lot fell in a fair ground; I have been seven years constantly near the person of Count Zinzendorf, though my intimate acquaintance with him is of above fourteen years standing.

I have examined him as with a microscope; I am quick, vehement, touchy, of as much vivacity as is fit for a common man, and of as much weakness, yet not without eyes; and I have had the best opportunity in the world of coming at the truth in my man: he loves me, and has confidence in me, and he knows the freedom of my thoughts and speech: I have observed him early and late; I have travelled many hundred miles with him; I have watched him when the common accidents, and the greatest, have befallen him; I have seen him with all sorts of persons, and at all seasons, at home, in his sort of ease, on the theatre of great and high life, with friends and enemies, under examinations, in friendly conferences; at a distance, near at hand, I have studied him, and declare with pleasure, (not to his enemies, or those who have interest in being so, my desire is not that they should thereby be tormented before their time; to his friends I need not say what they already know, but) to those who are neither acquainted with him, nor have joined in the clamour against him, but who may be, perhaps, puzzled what to think of a man whom the daubings and grotesque paintings of his enemies have described so oddly:

That his behaviour throughout is worthy a divine, a reasonable man, and a friend; and that that which strikes so much in his character, does not come from an exercise like that on a parade, from a formed scheme of action, or a theatrical representation; or from something like a hot bed, forcing fruits before the season; but from the excellent bottom which the Creator and Saviour has laid in his heart, and constantly keeps in order, manuring and watering it Himself, and producing ripe fruits, so that all the glare of the greatest good actions sits easily upon him, and the *simplex munditiis* of his commonest actions shew his virtues to be genuine.

As to his religion; a man who, in common with all professed Christians, heard that God became man, and died for his sins on the cross: he heard it with attention in his younger years, and very tender age, and it affected him strangely, for he believed it in good earnest: (if this was a folly, it must be pardoned him, considering it is the matter professed in all Christian Creeds) and as firmly as one believes any other historical fact.

He considered, *hæc omnia fecit pro te Deus Creator, Redemptor! Quid facis pro Illo?* It attached him to that Divine Person, who was represented to his mind as his Creator, taking

upon him a vehicle capable of suffering pain, on purpose to suffer it, bearing and enduring the weakness of flesh and blood, and condescending to die out of love for the whole human race, strangers, aliens and enemies.

Is it not easy to account for his devoting himself in so extraordinary a degree, as is visible to all the world, to the service of such a Lord and God? And can any thing make his devoting himself so entirely to Him, be looked upon as something extraordinary, but the extreme want of faith in the world, of which the Son of man would not be likely to find great abundance, if He were to come at this time upon earth? The more he rose in life, the more he thought; for he does think, and that not servilely.

His idea of that God-man, that kind Person, must always be of a-piece with that first idea. Whatsoever appeared to him lovely, amiable, great, noble, generous, he supposed made up the character of Him, who could condescend from being Creator to become a man.

He doubted not of this first principle; he loved it with too much rapture to depart from it; it filled his soul with peace, elevated his thoughts, affected his conduct, sweetened every difficulty, led him away with ease from all meannesses and crimes; he looked upon sin as causing the greatest grief to Him who suffered so much to expiate it for others.

This first principle of his recurred always and with force upon him, and whatever is pleasing to his Creator, is with him the rule of all his behaviour, and what is called good breeding in the world; zeal for the honour of God, as well as gratitude for His vast love to mankind, being the inventor and director of every thing that seems peculiar in him, and of everything wherein he differs from those who are not so deeply smitten with the great fact of God becoming a man.

A philosopher he is, who acts from true principles consistently: these being taught him in the Bible, he believes without scruple, and owns and loves them.

He follows them whithersoever they may fairly lead him; for as he is neither a fanatic, who acts by starts, nor is governed by fancies and flights, so neither is he a coward, nor dishonest to his principles.

Uprightness is at the bottom of the man, and sound sense accompanies all his actions, when they are looked upon with exactness.

He believes, that He who could die for mankind, enters with pleasure into the observation of the most minute circumstances relating to mankind; and loving his observer, he leads therefore a most blessed life, worthy of the emulation of, though attainable by, every believer. He is sure that his Friend will die no more; he has seen so much of Him and His Spirit, and has such a state

for His sentiments and maxims, that he rejoices at the thought of dying, to come nearer and closer to that Being who has loved him, as he supposes, so much, and whom he has loved so long: he expects to find nothing in Him which makes mankind weary of one another with good reason, but hopes and waits for the happy hour, when the faith which at present affords a glimpse of the loving disposition of that great being Jesus Christ, which He shewed so manifestly in laying down His life for his soul, and for the salvation of all men, shall be turned into sight, and exposed to open day; a sight he waits for with longing; living in the mean time however, here on earth, with his Maker, with the unaffected tenderness a child uses to a fond parent, though never devoid of that abasement and deep adoration, which the sense of His Divine Majesty, grandeur of love and mercy, and what He in Himself is, always causes in true believers.

Can inward satisfaction and peace be a stranger in such a breast? and ought one not to wonder rather that he does not act more differently from unbelievers than he does? or how is it possible for him to get through this otherwise busied world tolerably?

Yet there is in him a continual never-ceasing presence of mind, good sense, and a constant regard for what is proper and decent in the eyes of all men, and the most lively aversion to absurdity and extravagance of every sort, which he supposes to be always very much resembling immorality in its very nature.

From this spring, therefore, of sincere faith in his Redeemer, and consequent love to Him, flow his love to all mankind, and his affection for all his fellow creatures, which I have observed secretly with infinite pleasure, when I have walked with that benevolent man through the crowded city.

When he awakes in the morning, he is all sweetness, calmness, tender harmoniousness with those about him; all the day long busied in doing and contriving the kindest offices for mankind. Always severe to himself, in general indulgent to others, unless their faults hurt others besides themselves; then indeed, if he can at all prevent it, he is all fire and zeal, which devour him, hasty only then, but then indeed like a whirlwind, torn in pieces himself, by his eagerness to hinder misery from falling upon others; no cool spectator he of destruction, quick to perceive it, in flame to prevent it, sympathising intensely with those who suffer under it.

He cares for those who have desired him to care for them, as well as in secret endeavours to be a blessing to those who wish him dead; his most bitter enemies and persecutors, even the falsest and most inhuman part of mankind, take up his time; these are the things which employ him, these are his deep and far-fetched designs, at which some think it necessary that the whole world should be alarmed.

These are the matters which make him forget to eat his bread, or to close his eyes, often times when the most zealous of his followers have been many hours asleep; being usefully employed constantly eighteen hours in twenty-four, and very frequently more.

A man of no expense at all upon his own person, so that whosoever should receive fifty pounds a year to find him in all necessaries to his satisfaction, would certainly be no loser by the bargain.

Who keeps no servant employed about his person; the little help he wants being performed by persons who are employed in many other different sorts of matters, and about other persons besides.

Who never built, or caused to be built, for his own person or family, properly so called, *i. e.* for himself, his countess, or children, any house at all, but one plain one at Herrnhuth; every house in which he has lived, and which is said to have been built for his use, having indeed generally been at his expense in the end, though built for the service and general use of the community, and in which he has had apartments when on the spot, moderate enough for any private man.

Who permits that every estate that has come to him, or his family, or nearest kindred, or adopted children, either by succession, purchase, or bequest, every legacy left to him, them, or any of them, is always devoted and used to and for the services and benefit of the whole community (and of the children of the labourers especially), in which they themselves are very moderate sharers from beginning to end.

A man who has absolutely declined immense legacies and donations, left to him or his family, in favour of the relations of the donors, without its having been desired of him.

A man who has always caused and ordered, that in every place where he has been concerned at all, the effects of every person dying intestate among the Brethren, though at ever such a distance from their relations, should be carefully preserved for the next of kin, even though the deceased had been disinherited, wronged and abused, and renounced entirely for several years by all his kindred.

A man who is so extremely careful and circumspect to prevent the very first wrong motions in the mind, all appearance of evil, and the remotest possibilities of danger, that wherever his advice is followed, or he has a right to direct, not even the place where the bed of a child of two years old is placed, nor its manner of lying in the bed, is left without inspection, every thing with regard to that being considered and contrived in the best manner, that such a little noble creature as a child is, be treated with care, respect and caution: neither do any young man, and young woman, in

any place where congregation-order is followed, or his advice asked, though they are own brother and sister, sleep so much as in one house, unless the house be so large that those of different sexes have each of them their end of the house and separate staircases; or even any boy and girl, except the parents had first solemnly promised to use particular care, and provide the proper distinct apartments for children of each sex.

Wherever he lives, in any house or castle, with ever so many rooms, passages or corners, he never suffers any room or passage to be open in the night, without a light burning constantly, so that there is not a dark corner in any house where he lives. I need not perhaps mention here, that there is wherever he is, and any number of people, constant watch kept in the house every night.

If, after this account of things, stories are told of disorders happening in any family of his, every man may be assured either that the stories are not true, or that they are true notwithstanding the most excessive care to prevent them, and after such care as never was taken hitherto since the beginning of the world, by any other person, without going quite out of the world, and cutting off all even the most necessary intercourse.

What must I now not think, when I see descriptions of him, which I and thousands of honest men, my brethren, know to be pure calumnies. I daily see with these eyes of mine every thing that is excellent in him; and yet find almost every writer describing him as so much otherwise than he really is.

I expect posterity will do him that justice which is at present denied him. Those who follow not a multitude to do evil, nor think absurdly, nor take up matters generally on trust, should not join in the howl of village curs against a sheep or other noble beast, because boys and puppies take it for a wolf or a fox.

If I had only been an eye-witness of his integrity at the commission in the Upper Lusatia, in the year 1748, where, with all the zeal of a confessor, and at all hazards, he scrupled not to lay plainly before the eyes of the Commissioners, and to insist very positively on some points not very acceptable, and so far from acting there *ad captandam benevolentiam*, he not only asserted what he actually believed, but procured and laid upon the table, before the said Commissioners, twenty of the most virulent pieces written against him, selected from among the chief men of his opponents; some of which pieces I procured myself from the public library at Zittau: and which, as it appears by a writing inserted in Spangenberg's Exposition of the answers to more than three hundred accusations against the Ordinary of the Brethren, printed in German, 1751, p. 249, incited the Commissioners to ground their examination upon any queries they should think fit to make, taken out of any of these books.

If I had been eye-witness of only that one striking instance of freedom and openness of heart, which was certainly enough to confound the malice of all those who might pretend to say he hid himself and his doctrine, when pushed, I should never suspect him of tergiversation: but I have seen him in more such instances, and in his daily behaviour, and must say he is, in point of owning and confessing his doctrine, as free as the most impertinent curiosity could wish, and more so than the vile treatment he has met with deserves.

He has urged, incited and desired, in every place where his people are settled, serious and solid examinations of his principles and practices: for he delights in the daylight, and to explain to magistrates and competent judges, the most hidden springs of all his actions, and the real ground of all his faith.

He neither believes nor acts any thing of which any man needs be ashamed; what need has he therefore of any equivocation, quibble, or tergiversation? A modest concealing of what makes for his glory, a suppression of well deserved praises, is his practice, and there is room for it.

It is his rank in personal worth, his sincere love of truth, his honest and earnest believing the Bible and all its truths, and his living accordingly, which have raised him the bitterest of his enemies: it is his open profession of the name of Jesus (still called upon in this adulterous generation so long as it furnishes bread, and so far as it may serve to keep preferments) which startles the secret, as well as avowed infidel; and he has said but too much, and too often, how true his faith in Jesus is, for his own quiet.

Shall such a confessor of truth as he is, be charged with tergiversation? Is such a charge to be endured?

The charge of equivocation and shuffling may fit tools, Arians, Socinians, or secret Deists, who have subscribed Christian creeds and articles, to which a sense has been fixed by law, and subscribed in this kingdom, and who thus eat the bread provided by the piety of ancient times for the maintenance of true religion.

If any divine who has preferment should be an Arian, Socinian, or secret Deist, he is no honest man, unless he throw up preferments which he holds by professing and subscribing the contrary opinions. If people of those sentiments have, or seek preferment in countries where subscriptions are required, they may probably, when pushed, use evasive answers: it has been said, prevarication and lies, and perjury, have been practised by such. I look upon a man to live a lie, and to be a thief, as to every morsel he puts into his mouth, if he live upon revenues, and eat bread which is provided for ministers of any confession of faith he does not sincerely believe.

If I had only been an eye-witness to his paying, and providing

for the payment of many thousand pounds, debts contracted by others, without and contrary to his advice or judgment, in more countries than one: if I had only seen him plunge himself into difficulties, which make my hairs stand on end only to look at, to rescue poor debtors and creditors from being ruined, some of whom were enemies, evil and unthankful, and known by him to be so; I say, if I had only seen these shining and striking instances of grandeur of soul, love of justice, generosity, and liberality, I could not but pronounce him magnanimous, just, generous, and liberal, and all those in the highest degree.

But I have seen frequent constant instances of the same spirit in his common life, undisguised, and flowing naturally, as a stream continually

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

If I had only seen his frequent extracting one book after another out of the Bible, for the use of the congregations, who are so gladly partakers of his ministry therein: if I had only heard his frequent exhortations to his friends to be fond of the Bible, I had ground enough to say, no man was more passionately bent than he to urge the reading of the Scripture he so commends, and out of which he shews so many incomparable books can be taken without exhausting it; but I see him in his privacy, and observe the use he makes there, and the pleasure he finds in the Bible, and am as certain as I am of my own existence, that the Bible is the guide of his ideas, and that he not only does not seek to anticipate the ideas of the Bible, but has got them from thence; and if he have found by chance that he had at any time some idea, however favourite, through misunderstanding some place in the Bible, which he has afterward found either contradicted, or which but seemed to him not sufficiently grounded therein, he has either dropped, or suspended, or revoked his opinion: so that though by the force and richness of his genius, (which might be thought as luxuriant as spring by those who only read some rapturous pieces of his,) he might be imagined to be led away into flights; yet to me who know him, I perceive he is a man who bridles fancy, and rigorously prunes every thing approaching to exuberancy, down to the standard of the simplicity of the Gospel and Bible truths, and to the natural consequences of believing that God took flesh and blood, and so suffered for our sakes, which consequences, in their utmost simplicity, he lets take their course in his mind and heart.

If I had only seen two or three of the remarkable instances of forgiveness of enemies, who had not only not the least thing to be said in their favour, but had been his enemies under the most aggravating circumstances, I had seen enough to paint him to my sight as a happy imitator of his great Original therein; but this

view of him I have seen so clearly an hundred times, in as many instances, and the liveliness of his joy at any opportunity he could but get at of heaping friendly coals of fire on their heads, who were bitter against him, or at the news of any steps leading towards reconcilement he could hear of in those people; I have read in his eyes the sparkling, humane pleasure he had at reading any such letter, and the humility with which he received any such advance.

He has carried one sort and branch of this love of enemies, so far as to be scarcely ever induced to read any one book written against him of late, since he has almost always found that the hopes he had flattered himself with, and which gave him pleasure, that those who wrote against him did it out of the sincerity of their heart, were entirely taken away by his reading their books: it is a pain to him to perceive that any man is disingenuous and dishonest, and I have had much to do with myself to endure and follow him in the ideas and steps he has been always ready to have, and take, to prove to me and others, that those wretched writers were honest; and I have not borne with patience, or read with pleasure any thing he has written to such writers, in order to convince them of the contrary of what he supposes they believe, which I think I see they either do not believe, or have dared to write about subjects to the defamation of a man of character, without having taken honest or common pains to make themselves masters of the subject they write about.

His persisting for several years in defending to me the character of the writer of the History of the Moravians in Wetteravia, translated and published in this country, has something so simple, and, I might say, ridiculous in it, that if I did not see it came entirely from the goodness of his heart, which would neither hear nor see any thing that could give him proof to the contrary, I should suppose him infatuated in the strangest degree.

But it is not only so with regard to that wretched instrument and contriver, and apologist for tyranny, breach of faith, and injuring of a people to the amount of a damage not less than £20,000, by those who were saved from ruin by that very people, but so of all the rest of the rabble of writers about our matters.

And it lasts so long, till he is teazed to read their writings, and see with his own eyes the perverting of the ideas, words and actions of his people by these wretches, in a manner so void of honesty and humanity,—their pleasantries on subjects to him so sacred and his all,—their cruel seducing of mankind from the plain acknowledged simple truth of the Gospel, to their own eternal ruin, and to the same hazard for their readers, for the sake of blackening him, or producing rags and remnants, and scraps of false, clumsy, and filthy wit, and blundering criticism.

It is then, out of love and zeal for mankind, and for the

glory of Him who has been so gracious, being very God, to become man for us,—and out of detestation at the advantages taken against our Saviour's original greatness and majesty, by the vile and ungrateful seizers and catchers at His own blessed words, when He had emptied Himself for a time of His divinity,—and out of penetrating respect for that sacred body which saved us from death eternal by its blood-shedding, every drop of which he looks upon as perfectly meritorious, and intended to be meditated upon by all mankind, in order to save them from all sort of miseries; I say, it is from these principles, that he breaks forth into those fiery expressions, so contrary to the usual benevolence of his heart: when he meets with divines, who pretend to have learnt Arianism out of our Saviour's words; accompanied with pleasantries and comparisons about the body of our Saviour, which ought not to come out of a Christian's mouth, much less out of a teacher's in Israel, who is by his office able to poison generations to come.

He has been looked upon by those who know not the bottom of things, as a designing man, with regard to the offices he is invested with in the Church of the Brethren; sometimes possessing several at once, sometimes seeming to possess none at all, and then afterwards possessing them all again.

Have this world of liars and abusers of him, who profess at the same time they cannot come at the bottom of things about him, and yet declare and decide as explicitly and positively as if they knew everything, deserved at mine or anybody's hand, any account of the reasons for his conduct? or any account of matters at all? If they had asked they could have been informed; and would have found that the names of Ordinary and Advocate he has not arrogated to himself, but that they have been given him by the supreme magistrates in different countries where our Brethren have establishments. That in one country they gave him the title of Ordinary, because it expressed that office which he has. That in another they gave him that of Advocatus, because it expressed, in their style, that business of his, about which they desired of him to treat with them.

They would have found, that he, not only *ad invidiam vitandam*, and to save his people from being hated by his personal mad enemies, has earnestly desired to lay down, but has actually laid down his offices at different times, out of a real pleasure he takes in retirement, and from the taste he has for a private and quiet life.

But as he has once put his hand to the plough, he has no design of deserting or betraying his Brethren; neither is he of that sort of men, to be pleased to let people go on and ruin themselves, when he sees he can be of service to them, though at the hazard of his own life, ease and safety; and he therefore, when-

ever the affairs of the Brethren have required or wanted his intervention, has taken up again at such times, that is, in times of danger, either of the Church of the Brethren, becoming unhappily great, or of their being trampled upon and extirpated, those offices he had so sincerely and earnestly desired to resign. I have, however, never seen matters go on well, but when his advice was punctually followed, which has not always been the case. He has reason therefore, whenever he lays down his offices (which are not offices in their nature constantly necessary, but most certainly and absolutely so, and must be in activity, in time of need and danger) to do it with that condition, that he will not abandon his Brethren in their necessity, but shall take his charge again when there is occasion.

There have happened frequent intervals in which he has had the satisfaction not to be active; though I cannot say it has given me satisfaction, when I consider that the Church of the Brethren has suffered by his inactivity, whenever it has happened for any considerable time at once; and not only the Church, but its neighbours and every body about them.

I must beg pardon of my friend for having been so free as to attempt to draw his picture; I should never have done, if I went on to paint the hundred beauties more which I see in this man's character rising upon me every day; every one of which I am certain is not flattered under my hands, but falls short of the original.

I find that to be true with regard to this matter, which St. Jerome says:

"A great subject is too big for a small genius: when he was going to make a panegyric on dear Nepotian, his mind was troubled, his hand trembled, &c."

However, I will only add, that notwithstanding great actions which strike at first sight, will not always stand the test, yet those of my friend are such, that although they strike amazingly at first sight, yet the more and the oftener they are scrutinized, the higher their value appears, and are only lessened by their constant frequency; were it therefore the fashion of these times to raise statues by the public to men of merit, his would, by the consent of all who really know him, be placed with those of the worthiest men in general, and in the foremost rank among them; for every ear which hears him must bless him, and every eye which sees him must give witness to his excellencies.

Yet does he love retirement so much, which cannot be the lot of everybody; and especially, is not likely to happen to those for whose sake principally this was published. Enough of the sentiments of the man may be seen in his writings published in English, the unpremeditated overflowings of his heart, out of which they ought to be judged, rather than from little

pretended quotations of his writings; here a line, there a sentence, there a page, there a verse, one, two, three, or more; detached, wrested, inserted, and led (as lawyers are said to have led evidences in a weak cause) to say what they say not, and introduced as meaning what they do not mean, and translated in the same manner.

Though after all, with regard to things of God; the words of the Apostle, however wrongly applied by fanatics, or rejected as insolent by false-hearted Christian fops, are the words of truth and soberness: "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned."—1 Cor. ii. 14. The application of which must be left to every man, as he is more or less awake and honest to God and his conscience; the language proper to such things being a sort of technical terms, which the usual dictionaries will not help him to understand.

APPENDIX IV.

(See page 499.)

Selections from the Hymns of James Hutton.

[Taken from the Hymn-Book of the Brethren, Edit. 1754.]

It was intended to give here a short account of the Hymn-Books published in English by the Brethren; but the necessity of such an account is superseded by a History of their Hymnology, now in preparation.

As, however, Hutton was most intimately concerned in the publication of those Hymns of the Brethren which were translated from the German, his protest against their mode of translation must not be omitted here, as it justly subjected them to criticism in after years. This protest is found at the end of "Part III., second edition. London. Printed for James Hutton, Bookseller, in Fetter Lane, over-against West-Harding-Street, 1749:" namely—

"*Mr. Hutton having been in some sort dissatisfied with the execution of these translations, and presuming that the Director of the Psalmody abroad would be so too, he wrote him the following letter, on occasion of this Third Part; which was immediately answered by him; and both are here annexed, which we thought would be the more acceptable to the Reader, as the most material Objections to this Work are raised and partly removed therein:*

"In spite of all my Protestations to the contrary, and my repeated Declarations, that the noble Precision, Elegance, and Justness of Expression, and the correct Poetry, without any Expletives, in the *German* Hymns, could never be translated with any Justice to the Originals, if my Brethren would persist, as they servilely do, in preserving the Measure and the same Number of Lines in the Translation (for the sake of the Tunes) as there are in the Original; yet here, Sir, you have again [an] other Parcel of Hymns so translated.

"I cannot but make an Apology to you, when I present you Hymns so well known to you in the Original, which want so many Beauties in this Translation, of which you are so good a Judge; for though, in Prose, the Question in spiritual Writing is, what are the Sentiments? Yet, in Poetry, Mankind expects something besides Sentiments, and their Ear will have its part of Delight.

"I hope, however, that those who peruse them seriously, will rather read them as Prose, look for the Sentiments and taste

them; 'till, perhaps, in some future Time our Translators will venture to exceed the number of Lines in the Original, give room to their real Talents for Poetry to exert themselves, and do Justice, on the one Side, to such noble Pieces of *German* Poetry—there being in the original Language, but few of the same Value—and on the other, to their excellent Taste in that noble kind of Writing.

"My heart is not ashamed of the Sentiments, and, for the Sake of these, I can excuse every other Defect. I am," &c.

The Answer.

"As the Editor of these Translations has sent me your kind Letter, I cannot but tell you, that I am very well satisfied with the Reason; by the very Matter of which your Complaint is answered: namely, that in the Convocation-House, when sometimes twenty Languages unite in the Praises of the Lord, that Nation would be at a loss, which, out of Care to preserve the Neatness of Poetry, had altered the Tune, and with it the Harmony and Chorus. I am," &c.

No. 33.

Lamb, what wonders hast Thou wrought?
Thou hast sinners dearly bought:
Helpless, vile, unthankful we,
Have a right to come to Thee.

Doom'd by law to endless pains,
Captive held by countless chains,
Lamb! one thing has brought us thro';
'Twas Thy being slaughter'd so.

Who then would not come to Thee?
Who needs fear, he lost should be?
Ev'ry one that comes, Thou tak'st,
Ev'ry yoke and chain thou break'st.

Sin and mis'ry, guilt and fear,
Stop Thee not, but bring Thee near.
Go, ye sinners; this I know,
I have—ye may find it so.

O that all, my words would hear,
O would sinners lend an ear!
Would they go, they all would find,
That He casteth none behind.

He will ne'er reproach a heart,
Has it much or little smart:
He each soul will welcome home,
Say, "My sinner, art thou come?

" I have waited long for thee,
Wish'd, and that most earnestly,
That thou knew'st what I had done,
What I bore for thee, my son!

" Bring thy sin, thy guilt and fear;
See my side, come hide thee here;
Sprinkle with My blood thy heart,
Then the slayer must depart.

" Henceforth keep thy eye on Me,
Thou shalt ne'er forsaken be;
I for thee have shed My blood,
Should I keep back other good?"

Who can tell how much He'll say,
Talking with us night and day?
Do not think, it is not true!
This He even means for you.

No. 75.

Teach me yet more of Thy blest Ways,
Thou slaughter'd Lamb of God!
And fix and root me in the grace
So dearly bought with blood.

O tell me often of each wound,
Of ev'ry smart and pain;
And let my heart with joy confess,
From hence comes all my gain.

For this, O may I freely count
Whate'er I have but loss;
And ev'ry name and ev'ry thing
Compar'd with this, but dross.

Answer me, O Thou gracious Lamb,
Why did'st Thou die for me?
Me full of sin and void of worth!
The cause was all in Thee!

Thy loving heart could never bear
To see me bleeding lie,
To see me fall a prey to Death;
Thyself wouldst rather die.

Engrave this deeply in my heart
With an eternal pen,
That I may, in my small degree,
Return Thy love again.

But who can pay that mighty debt,
Or equal love like Thine?
Thou wert, when sorely wounded thus,
A person all divine.

O rather give me daily more,
More ev'ry hour to see,
That Thou a bounteous giver art,
A debtor I to thee.

No. 76.

Ah Love! come sweetly bind me
To Thy so pierced side,
And evermore remind me,
That Thou for me hast dy'd.
I beg to hear Thy Spirit
Of that for ever preach;
That Thy love, blood and merit
May me *obedience* teach.

Thou know'st that my salvation
Is certain thro' Thy love;
Yet ah! on each occasion
May I more faithful prove!
What's past Thou hast forgiven,
I will forget it too,
And forward run to heaven,
Where I can better view.

Thy lovely wounds so bleeding,
Thou know'st they're my delight,
All sweetness far exceeding,
While they are in my sight:
O that I might but ever,
In this world's vale of tears,
Look towards Thee, and never
Involve myself in fears.

I feel Thou'lt not forsake me,
Tho' I am much to blame;
O from this moment take me
To Thee, just as I am.
Again I here present me
To Thee! Thou'lt not refuse;
Nor shall it e'er repent me,
That such Lord me did chose.

No. 79.

Stream thro' the bottom of my soul,
  Blood of the Son of God!
And take away whate'er in me
  Thee hath so long withstood:
Drink up my nature's hurtful fire,
  Drown all my useless strife;
And let my heart for nothing thirst
  But Thee the Well of Life.

Here let me drink, for ever drink,
  Nor ever once depart:
For what I taste, makes me to cry,
  "Fix at this spring my heart!"
Dear Saviour, Thou hast seen, how oft
  I've turn'd away from Thee:
O let Thy work renew'd to-day,
  Remain eternally!

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Errata, p. 19, line 13, for Ulsperger read Urlsperger.
——— p. 32, line 15, for exposed read espoused.
——— p. 33, line 11, for take read taken.
——— p. 44, line 35, for *Fl*agan read *H*agan.
——— p. 49, line 39, for Reyneké read Reineké.
——— p. 57, line ult., for reciving read receiving.
——— p. 96, line 8, for Finninlg read Finninley.
——— p. 111 heading, for 1742 read 1743; also p. 112, 113, 114.
——— p. 111, double line wanting after "Yorkshire."
——— p. 120, line 9, a full stop after the word exist.
——— p. 138 note. It appears from the MS. diary of Arvad Gradin, that the Count was really imprisoned in the castle of Riga in 1743, together with his whole retinue.
——— p. 156, note line 2, for Mr. read Mrs. Wesley.
——— p. 160, line 16 from the bottom, for minute read minute.
——— p. 164, line 25, for *ree* read *are*.
——— p. 176, line 3, for husband read husband.
——— p. 185, line 4 from bottom, omit the , after Anna.
——— p. 193 heading, for 1746 read 1747.
——— p. 198 heading, for 1747 read 1748.
——— p. 225, line 6, for 10 o'clock read 1.
Errata, p. 312, line 3 from bottom; p. 314, line 22; 319, line 25; 321, line 14; 324, line 29, for Arau read Aarau.
——— p. 321, line 29, for accoant read account.
——— p. 323, line 10, add *to* between *ought* and *be*.
——— 349, line 1, for owu read own.
——— p. 357 heading, read 1759 for 1758.
——— p. 433, page no. 43 should be 433.
——— p. 459, line 29, read . for a , after "to day."
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1779. Hutton writes to the Unity's Elders' Conference in acknowledgment of their letter of condolence, 524—527; is invited to Holland by Mons. de Salgas and his wife, 525; proposes a tour in Switzerland, 526; obtains deliverance for the captured Labrador ship's captain, &c. 527; and a passport for the ship from Dr. Franklin and the French king, 527; returns from his continental tour, 528; closes his visits at the Royal palace, 529.
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1784. Hutton's letter on the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel reprinted, 542; he joins Br. LaTrobe in petitioning Government respecting the heathen Esquimaux, 543; visits his relations, 543.
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1787. Hutton succeeds Br. LaTrobe in the Presidency of the Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel, 546; which he holds until his death.
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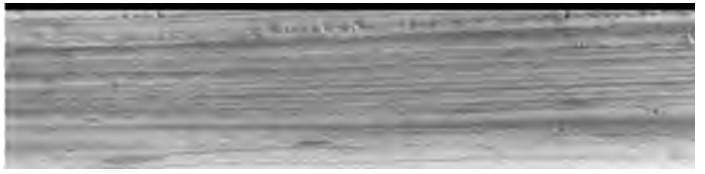
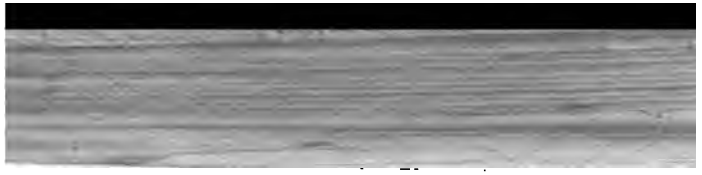
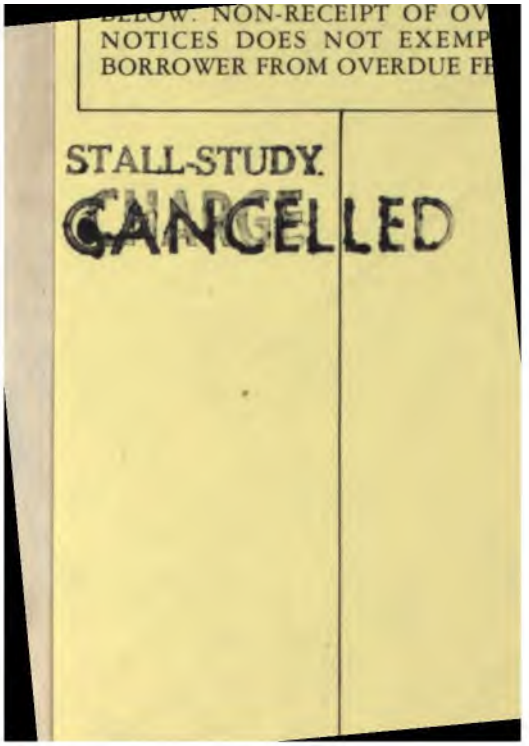
THE END.



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